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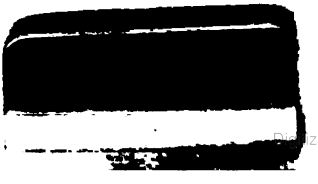

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PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE SESSION.

THE fact that Parliament was to meet on January 29 deprived the month of much of its customary interest. The Prime Minister, in an interview published by the *Manchester Guardian*, anticipated that the Ministry would secure two or three years of effective work before another general election; but it was generally felt that the programme of the coming session must be formidable, and that grave difficulties would attend the Ministerial measures dealing with licensing, education, and finance. In the conflict with the Upper House the Ministry seemed to be slackening, and to be receiving inadequate support in the country. The economic outlook was becoming overcast. The high tide of prosperity had begun to ebb. The Revenue returns for the October quarter showed a decrease in all departments except the Post Office, and amounting altogether to 1,150,000*l*. The Board of Trade returns showed that, though the exports of coal were heavy, those of manufactured goods were decreasing; and the financial stress in the United States and Germany was ominous of depression in Great Britain. In the Lancashire cotton trade a serious dispute was impending, and the question of unemployment was becoming more acute. The Eight Hours Bill for miners was expected to reduce the output of coal, and thereby to hamper all other industries; and the spokesman of a deputation from the Mining Association of Great Britain, which waited on the Home Secretary on January 8 to deprecate the measure, estimated the reduction at nearly 34,500,000 tons annually.

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In Church matters the outlook was more hopeful. There were signs, which were not altogether borne out later in the year, that the conflict between Church and State over the Deceased Wife's Sister Act might be abated: the Bishop of Carlisle in his New Year pastoral favoured the celebration of the marriages in question in church, and intimated that he would not debar the parties from the Communion. The significance of the coming Pan-Anglican Conference was recognised by the Primate in a message to his diocese. Its deliberations, he said, would enable English Churchmen to view somewhat differently, with the help of observers from other lands, the large questions of educational, social, and liturgical policy which the Church would have to face in the coming year.

The political speeches in January, as in previous months, were mainly echoes of the controversies of 1907, though one new subject was brought into prominence by Opposition speakers —the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter VII.). The women's suffrage agitation continued to diversify party politics. In the first week of the year certain women suffragists had interrupted the proceedings in some of the London police courts by protests against the condemnation of women by "man-made law"; and Mr. Haldane's warning to the feminine agitators—given before the Scottish Liberal Council at Glasgow on January 8—that their vexatious methods had injured their cause in Parliament, was quite ineffectual. He stated at the same time that ultimately the suffrage could not be withheld from women. On the same day, at Stirling, the Lord Advocate declared that the recent Unionist campaign in Scotland had been "wholly bloodless," and the Earl of Crewe, at Watford next day, promised an Education Bill which would satisfy moderate men, a Licensing Bill accelerating the reduction in the number of public-houses, and a continuance of Mr. Birrell's policy in Ireland.

A more important speech, as defining the position of the small "Centre party" of Unionist Free Traders, whose views were best expressed by the *Spectator*, was delivered by Lord Cromer before the Unionist Free-Trade Club of Glasgow on January 10. It was largely a reply to criticisms on his speech of Nov. 21, 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 221). Free Trade, he declared, was a safeguard against the creation of huge trusts, it had specially benefited the poorer classes, and it was the soundest possible basis for a healthy Imperialism. The Customs duties in Egypt, which had been quoted against him, were duties for revenue, and an equivalent excise duty had been placed on native cotton goods to safeguard the Customs revenue and check the rise of an artificially protected manufacture. He went on to ask if the additional revenue demanded by tariff reformers was really needed, and strongly protested against an old age pension scheme, as developing in Great Britain that demoralising dependence on the State which he and others had

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done their best to eradicate in Egypt. He urged his hearers to beware of this "new-born and ill-advised enthusiasm for fresh taxation," and, if a positive policy had to be found for Unionist Free Traders, he urged the enforcement of economy, the reduction of taxation, reform of the House of Lords, and opposition to hasty reforms. Lord Balfour of Burleigh also spoke, pointing out that Tariff Reformers virtually admitted that the new taxes would raise prices by their eagerness to disclaim all intention of taxing raw materials. If, as Lord Lansdowne had seemed to say, a Unionist victory would not commit the party to colonial preference, but only to the summoning of a new conference, they had the germs of a reasonable compromise. But he thought the Unionist leaders could not control the ardent Tariff Reformers, and he referred to the success of a section of the latter in extracting a declaration in favour of Tariff Reform from Lord Henry Bentinck, a Unionist Free Trade candidate in South Nottingham. This section, of which more was heard later, was known as the "Confederates," and was described by Lord Robert Cecil in *The Times* of January 23 as "political moonlighters"; they intended to run Tariff Reform candidates against all Free-Trade Unionists, and were said to have twenty such candidates in readiness. The Free-Trade Unionists were believed to be contemplating retaliatory measures, possibly at the coming Worcester election.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at Lancaster on January 15, remarked that, as the Protectionists predicted, less satisfactory trade years were coming, but in them Free Trade would prove the sheet-anchor for British industry. He promised that the Education Bill would be short, simple and drastic, and indicated that an old age pension scheme would be begun. Sir Edward Grey on the same evening at Alnwick after contrasting Liberal union with the marked divisions among the Unionists, and pointing to the Liberal successes in army reform, South Africa, India, and other departments, remarked that foreign nations were increasing their navies, and that, although the British navy was adequate against any probable combination, if the foreign programmes were carried out our own navy must be further increased. He agreed with Lord Cromer that a Protective system would greatly increase the probability of a hostile combination against Great Britain.

Mr. Balfour spoke in Glasgow on Friday, January 17, and had an enthusiastic reception. He declared that the autumn campaign in Scotland against the Lords had failed; the Government Bills dealing with Scottish land were not meant to pass, but to promote the agitation. He elaborately attacked the two Bills in question, incidentally telling the story of the crofter agitation in Barra and Vatersay (*post*, Chapter VI.) to show that the Crofters Act had failed to check congestion in Scotland; and said that the Government, instead of passing beneficial legislation, seemed to think that the only way to help any class was

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to alter the constitution. Cobdenism was part of a general system of *laisser-faire*, a principle abandoned by the Government in other than fiscal matters. The Unionist policy would have to face great difficulties in domestic legislation, in Colonial and Indian administration, and in fiscal reform; though he thought the dangers ahead in fiscal reform far less serious than in social reform; but the party must not stand aside and leave the work to others. He closed with an earnest appeal to the Free-Food and Tariff-Reform wings respectively to co-operate with the main Unionist body.

On the same day the women suffragists advertised their cause by one of the eccentric demonstrations that grew more familiar as the year went on. While a Cabinet Council was being held at the Prime Minister's official residence in Downing Street about a dozen women attempted to surround him as he entered. They were kept off by the police, but some shouting "Votes for women," chained and padlocked themselves to the area railings, while two entered the house, but were stopped. Eventually Mrs. Drummond, Miss New, and three others were arrested, and, refusing to enter into recognisances, they were sent to prison for three weeks.

Their fellow-agitators had taken an active part against the Liberal candidate in Mid-Devon; and next morning the Ministerial position received a severe shock on the declaration of the poll. The constituency had been strongly Liberal since its formation in 1885: but the Unionist candidate, Captain Morrison Bell, now converted a Liberal majority of 1,289 in 1906 into a Unionist majority of 559. No doubt he lived in the division and had become locally popular, but his opponent, Mr. C. R. Buxton, was an extremely able candidate, and had been regarded as certain of victory. On both sides the election was keenly contested, and the vigour manifested occasionally degenerated into serious rowdyism, especially on the declaration of the poll. The Tariff Reformers were specially energetic, the travelling vans sent out in the autumn proved useful to them here as elsewhere. One argument in the contest which seemingly proved cogent was that food had risen in price under a Liberal Government. The suffragists claimed the largest share in the Liberal defeat; and it was mortifying to the Liberals to find that the votes given to their candidate were actually fewer by 447 than at the general election.

Another Liberal disaster was the death from pneumonia on January 17, after two days' illness, of the Attorney-General, Sir J. Lawson Walton, K.C., an able expositor of Ministerial measures and a skilful and effective debater.

The defeat in Mid-Devon, however, was made light of by Mr. Winston Churchill, in a speech delivered at the National Liberal Club on January 18, the day after his return from his African tour (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 426). He described the election as a storm in a teacup, and sketched the past and

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prospective work of the Ministry, predicting taxation of land values in 1909, and a measure dealing with the Lords' veto in the following year. He then gave an interesting account of his tour, arguing that first-hand knowledge was valuable to all who were responsible for taking a share in the large decisions of Colonial policy, and that it was important to convince officials on the spot—to whose energy and self-sacrifice he paid due tribute—that the tremendous transference of January, 1906, did not mean any falling off in sympathy or interest at headquarters. He had been astonished at the beauties and the climate of parts of the East Africa Protectorate and Uganda—the latter he described as a garden—but was careful to point out the drawbacks of these districts regarded as a white man's country. Our African possessions would need grants-in-aid for some time to come, but he believed this expenditure would prove reproductive. It was, however, most important that we should be faithful to our responsibilities as trustees for the native races, and he gladly bore testimony to the way in which our civil and military officers construed their duty towards them. He spoke very highly of the civilisation of Uganda, and freely acknowledged the debt we owed to missionary enterprise. On the British Indian difficulty he held that the action of the Transvaal Government, however regrettable, was entirely within their powers. At the same time, he hoped that some compensation might be offered by the opening of certain areas in the equatorial protectorates to the enterprise of Indian colonists.

Mr. Birrell, speaking at Reading on Tuesday, January 21, devoted most of his speech to Ireland. He understood that the Irish policy of the Government was to be the subject of fierce attack; but he was not at all afraid to meet the Opposition. He did feel anxiety as to the future of Ireland, especially the problem of the breaking up and distribution of the grass lands. Chief Secretaries were quickly used up—he had twelve predecessors living, while no other Minister had more than five; but so long as he remained in Ireland he would remain in the interests of the country as a whole. He was there to represent the goodwill, good feeling, and honest desire of the democracy of England and Scotland to give fairplay to Ireland. He referred also to the British Indians in the Transvaal, and asked what reception 50,000 of them would get in the North of England as immigrant workers; we could not dictate on such matters to self-governing Colonies. Finally, he touched briefly on the sessional programme, and, though his speech had been much interrupted by suffragists—who had come from outside Reading—he declared that he would continue to advocate women's suffrage nevertheless.

Mr. Churchill was similarly interrupted during an address on Free Trade at Manchester on the same evening, and replied by ridiculing the idea that great causes could be advanced simply by throwing large meetings into confusion. He showed

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the enormous growth of the cotton trade since 1903, in which spinning profits had risen by leaps and bounds, and the production of goods 22½ per cent.; and mentioned that the increase in British export trade in 1904-7 had been 13·9 per cent., in that of the United States 10·7 per cent., of Germany 6·9 per cent., and of France 3·5 per cent. Next day he severely criticised the claim to "parental right" in education, and declared Liberalism to be a middle party between reaction and revolution, whose task was to build up a minimum standard of life. On the 20th, Lord Avebury, speaking at Dundee, had declared that, if carried to its logical conclusion, protection of British industry would be synonomous with the destruction of British commerce, and that if all the rest of the world became Protectionists we should still be wise to remain Free Traders.

Sir Henry Fowler's speech to his constituents at Wolverhampton on January 20 was chiefly remarkable for its energetic denial of the newspaper rumours of conflicts in the Cabinet and for its equally energetic denunciation of Socialism in so far as Socialism meant the nationalisation of the means of production, sale and exchange. Mr. Gladstone, he stated, had said of land nationalisation, "If you mean to pay for the land it is folly; if not, it is robbery." On the other hand, a manifesto was published on the same day from 100 ministers of the Established and other Churches (among them the Hon. and Rev. James Adderley, the Rev. R. J. Campbell and the Rev. William Tuckwell), declaring that their "Christian Socialism" involved the public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution and exchange, that it was the same Socialism as that generally held, and that they believed it was implied by Christianity. Two days later the Labour Conference at Hull, after rejecting by a majority of ten to one a motion identifying the Labour party with Socialist aims, adopted another Socialist formula, moved by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and declaring that the Labour party should have as a definite object the "socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange" and social and economic equality between the sexes. This was passed by 514,000 to 469,000 votes. The first resolution was rejected on tactical grounds as breaking the party's alliance with non-Socialist members: the second was strongly opposed by Mr. Shackleton, M.P. The difference, if any, was that the second resolution made the aim rather more remote than the first. The conference had previously resolved that women's suffrage on the existing property qualification would be a retrograde measure, and had declared for equal adult suffrage by 784,000 to 257,000. An amendment declaring the extension of the suffrage to working women to be urgent was defeated by 791,000 to 224,000.

Meanwhile the danger of Socialistic measures was being insisted on by Mr. Balfour, who, with his fellow-member for

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the City, was entertained at luncheon by the City of London Conservative Association in Merchant Taylors' Hall on Thursday, January 23. In reply to the toast of their healths, Mr. Balfour spoke of the contrast between Unionist prospects at that moment and when he last spoke in that hall (Feb. 12, 1906). He had then expected a revulsion in public feeling, but not one like the Mid-Devon election. He would not triumph over its result, but its lesson was the great interest excited by tariff reform. When he last spoke, everything about the policy of the Government was cloudy; now the fog had been dissipated and their policy throughout was little qualified to benefit anybody, but was always well devised to injure somebody. Social reform was part of the Unionist programme, but the greatness of a country depended on individual initiative and that depended on the security offered to the results of private enterprise. He specially instanced the Scottish Land Bill. He thought the conflict in the future would be between Unionists and Socialists; there was little scope for the old-fashioned Liberal. Whatever social legislation might be, it must be based on the security of property.

Mr. Asquith replied to this speech at Norwich next day by denouncing the mendacious placards of the Mid-Devon election, and declaring that the Liberal aim was to assert against particular class interests and privileges the overriding claims of the good of the community as a whole. The Education Bill put the nation first, and the Churches and sects afterwards; the Licensing Bill aimed at recovering for the community the control of that monopoly in the liquor trade which it had itself created and should never have parted with.

Of the Opposition leaders, Mr. Lyttelton, speaking at Oswestry on January 24, described the state of Ireland as scandalous, and that of the British Indians in the Transvaal as worse than under President Kruger. Their case placed Great Britain in a serious dilemma between incurring Indian resentment and interfering with a self-governing Colony; and this dilemma was the creation of the Government. He endorsed Mr. Balfour's appeal for Unionist union. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking on the same evening at Birmingham, treated the Mid-Devon result as a reaction against the view pressed on the electorate by Liberal speakers, that a Liberal Government must mean cheap food. Tariff reform would increase employment, and that was more important than any small cheapening of commodities.

A forecast of the outlook had been given on the previous day by Mr. Winston Churchill at Birmingham. After references to the Free-Trade controversy and to South Africa, he said that he did not expect a general election for three years, but that the House of Lords might precipitate it at any moment, and he insisted on the necessity of limiting the Lords' veto. This year there would be Government Bills on temperance and edu-

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cation, from which the Ministry would lose as well as gain, but the *pièce de resistance* would be the old age pension scheme, which would not be immediate and universal. He thought also that there was room for a considerable increase in the proportion and amount of direct taxation.

In anticipation of Mr. McKenna's Education Bill, a deputation of clerical and lay Churchmen, organised by the Churchmen's Union, waited on the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Education at Downing Street on January 23, to press for "simple Bible teaching" as the solution of the education difficulty. The deputation included the Bishops of Hereford and Ripon, several masters in secondary schools, and some well-known clergy (chiefly Broad Church) and Conservative laymen. It was described as representing a large body of clerical opinion and an overwhelming body of lay Churchmen. They received sympathetic replies, Mr. McKenna in particular pointing out that ethical instruction, desired by secularists, was impracticable under existing conditions without the Bible as a basis, and that the parents as a whole had been quite satisfied with the Bible teaching of the School Boards. The organ of the National Society, however, declared that the deputation was unrepresentative of Church feeling, and the Dean of Canterbury asked (in *The Times*) if "simple Bible teaching" meant specifically Christian teaching, or only ethical teaching, since the National Council of Free Churches had repeatedly affirmed that it was only to mean the latter. It may perhaps be said that the deputation, and those who thought with them, were prepared to accept simple Bible teaching as a basis for more specific religious instruction, in the belief that, since most teachers had been trained under Church supervision, it would in the great majority of cases be Christian in character.

The Bishop of Hereford, in a letter to *The Times*, had commended Mr. McKenna's regulations for secondary schools; but the case against these and the training college regulations, had been forcibly summed up by the Warden of New College, Oxford, in a letter published by that paper in January.

Replying on January 26, in a speech at Whitfield's Tabernacle, Mr. McKenna contended that the conditions of Government aid to training colleges and secondary schools had never been regulated by legislation, and that the new regulations had been discussed and sanctioned by the House of Commons both in Committee of Supply and on the Appropriation Bill. He added that the Church in 1839, through Archbishop Howley, had prevented the establishment of a national training college; but the conscience clause for elementary schools, introduced in 1870, had established itself in the conscience of the nation, and for training colleges it would probably establish itself likewise.

The land policy of the Government was defended against Mr. Balfour (p. 7) by Lord Carrington at a dinner given to him and Mr. Harcourt at the National Liberal Club on

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January 27. Its object, he said, was to secure the interests of the tenant and render him as secure under a bad landlord as under a good one; and he gave interesting particulars of the effect of the first month's working—still incomplete—of the Small Holdings Act. Applications had come in from 45 counties for a total of 41,000 acres; and, with 12,000 acres of Crown lands also applied for, the total was roughly 83 square miles. The men applying were the right sort, men who had saved money and were anxious to remain on the land.

In spite, however, of a few such tokens of encouragement, the prospect as the session opened was on the whole unfavourable to the Government. The cotton trade dispute indeed had been settled, though, as it proved, only for a time; and the decline in economic prosperity was characterised by Mr. Lloyd-George at Cardiff on January 25 as a shallow depression. But sensational demonstrations were projected on the part of the unemployed; great efforts were being made by the trade adversaries of the Licensing Bill to impress the public, largely through advertisements in the leading journals, with the idea that any depreciation of brewery stocks must cause grave financial and banking disturbance; and, in view of the predictions by Ministers of increased direct taxation, an Income-Tax Reduction League had been formed, and had been addressed at its inaugural meeting by Viscount St. Aldwyn and Lord Avebury. The disturbed state of parts of Ireland was made much of by the Unionist party, though Mr. Birrell attributed it largely to the mutilation of alleviatory measures by the House of Lords; and there were dangers ahead in the education problem and, for the moment, in the question of British Indians in the Transvaal. The Ministry, too, seemed likely to be weakened by the state of the Premier's health. The practical identification of the Labour Party with Socialism would probably further alarm the Free-Trade Unionists and the comfortable middle classes, who were already more or less unfavourable to the Government through their apprehensions as to the effect of old age pensions and the Licensing Bill. The Mid-Devon election had shown a conjunction of all the influences unfavourable to the Government, and was evidence that Tariff Reform was gaining ground; and the action of the "Confederates" against Free-Trade Unionists, though vigorously resented by the latter, seemed to have affected the fortunes of the party little more than the renewed attack on Mr. Harry Marks by his dissentient constituents (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 236) whose letter to the Speaker, calling attention to the unrefuted charges against their member, was declared by that dignitary to deal with a matter outside his province. As a result of the recent negotiations, the Irish Parliamentary party had reunited, and Mr. Healy and Mr. William O'Brien had returned to the main body. The Unionists hoped, however, to make a strong case against the Govern-

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ment in regard to Ireland and unemployment, and to assist its composite majority to break up.

CHAPTER II.

THE SESSION UNTIL EASTER.

PARLIAMENT was opened with the customary ceremonial by the King in person, accompanied by the Queen, on Wednesday, January 29. The outdoor pageant, favoured by brilliant weather, was far more successful than on any previous occasion since His Majesty's accession. The popular reception of the King and Queen was enthusiastic, and the scene within the House of Lords was conspicuously impressive. There were two curious incidents; certain militant women suffragists attempted to reach the state coach with a petition, and very nearly succeeded, and a candidate to the dormant peerage of De Morley presented himself in the House of Lords, but was removed before Their Majesties' arrival.

The Speech, which was read by the King, stated that the cordial reception given to the German Emperor and Empress had been much appreciated, and "could not fail to confirm the friendly relations existing between the two nations." After mentioning the death of the King of Sweden, the Speech characterised the Anglo-Russian Convention as enabling the two Governments concerned to maintain a peaceful policy, notwithstanding the situation in Persia; and touched on the joint treaty for preserving the integrity of Norway, and on the Hague Conference. It mentioned that the instruments attached to the Final Act were under the consideration of the Government, and that representatives of leading maritime Powers would be invited to a conference in London in the autumn to come to an understanding on certain important points of international law for the guidance of the new Court of Appeal (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 347). References followed to the situation in Macedonia, with the fresh British proposals (*post*, p. 44) and to the Congo State. The Ministry were fully aware of the great anxiety felt regarding the treatment of the native population; their sole desire was to see the government humanely administered in accordance with the Berlin Act, and the King trusted that this would be effected by the negotiations in progress between the Sovereign of the Congo State and the Belgian Government. Reference was also made to the negotiations for arbitration on the Newfoundland fishery dispute, to the settlement of the difference respecting Japanese immigration into Canada (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 457, 459), and to the threatened famine in India. The usual paragraph on the Estimates omitted the customary reference to "efficiency and economy," but promised proposals "for mak-

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ing better provision for old age," and Bills were promised to amend the law of licensing and education in England and Wales, to regulate the hours of labour in coal mines, to deal with housing and town planning, to amend the system of valuation of property for the assessment of rates and taxes in England and Wales, to improve and extend Irish University Education, to amend the Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903, especially with reference to the compulsory acquisition of untenanted land for the relief of congestion, to establish an authority for the control and improvement of the Port of London, and to consolidate and amend the law relating to the protection of children and the treatment of juvenile offenders. The Scottish Land and Valuation Bills of 1907 would also be submitted afresh.

The business of the House of Lords practically began with the admission of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who had been elected an Irish Representative Peer on January 20. The Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper Office in Ireland appeared at the Bar and presented a return to the writ for the election of an Irish representative peer *vice* Lord Kilmaine deceased. It stated that Lord Curzon had received the largest number of votes, but that his name was not on the roll of Peers of Ireland entitled to vote at such elections, and that the next highest number of votes had been received by Lord Ashtown. The Lord Chancellor gave it as his opinion, after examining the Act of Union—and the Earl of Halsbury, his predecessor on the Woolsack, concurred—that Lord Curzon was entitled to take his seat, and that peer, who had been waiting on the steps of the throne, came forward and took the oath. [Subsequently (Feb. 12) a Bill was brought in by Mr. Swift MacNeill identical with one introduced in 1876 to repeal the statutes under which Irish Peers were created; but it was dropped.] The address was moved by Lord Airedale and seconded by Lord Nunburnholme, who during much of 1907 had sat in the Commons for Colne Valley and West Hull respectively as Sir James Kitson and Mr. Guy Wilson.

The Marquess of Lansdowne, commenting as usual on the Speech paragraph by paragraph, laid most stress on the absence of any reference to Ireland, suggesting that the paragraph on Macedonia might have served with a few verbal changes. He charged the Government with preparing the destruction of the grazing industry, and ridiculed migration as a crazy policy; would people in Roscommon tolerate immigrants from Connaught? He denounced, also, the Ministerial refusal to resort to the Crimes Act. He condemned the assumption of the new and colossal liability involved by old age pensions, and, after touching on the licensing and education questions, challenged the Government to bring forward their scheme for dealing with the House of Lords, and asked for proper opportunity for the discussion of Bills.

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The Marquess of Ripon replied, declaring that the Government were ready to meet any attack on their administration of the law in Ireland, and, after other speeches, the debate was adjourned. It covered the two next sittings (Jan. 30 and Feb. 3) and dealt wholly with the subject of Ireland. Great stress was laid by the Marquess of Londonderry, Lord Clonbrock, the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Ashbourne, and other Peers, on the prevalence of cattle-driving, and, especially by the first-named, on the amount of other agrarian crime and terrorism existing. On the Ministerial side it was contended by Lord Castletown, Earl Beauchamp and Lord Denman that the existing evils were greatly exaggerated, and a notable speech was made by the Earl of Dudley, who expressed his belief that cattle-driving was due to the national demands of the people for a change in the system of Government, and that the demand for the Crimes Act was inconsistent with the whole spirit of Unionism. On the last day the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Crewe defended the action of the Government, and the address was agreed to.

The explanations of Irish affairs in the Commons' debate, however, were more satisfactory and fuller, though the debate ranged over a wider field. The proceedings began with an Irish episode, the formal announcement of the committal of Mr. Ginnell for contempt of court (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 254) which was made in a letter from Mr. Justice Ross read by the Speaker. Mr. Redmond moved the reference of the letter to a Select Committee; but the Speaker held that precedents did not justify this course, and that the privileges of Parliament did not cover contempt of court.

The address was moved by Mr. Lehmann (*Harborough, Leicestershire*), and seconded by Mr. W. H. Davies (*Bristol, S.*).

Mr. Balfour followed, and after sympathetic references to the death of the Attorney-General and the absence of the Prime Minister—due partly to his own weak health and partly to the illness of his brother, sometime member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities—reviewed the administrative acts of the Government since the prorogation. On the Anglo-Russian Agreement he asked for a separate debate, criticising it unfavourably, however, as affecting English trade in Persia, and as containing no textual reference to the Persian Gulf. He expressed some doubts, also, as to the success of the coming Maritime Conference, and, postponing his remarks on South Africa in view of a coming amendment, he asked whether anything had been done by regulations under the New Hebrides Convention to protect the women and children, and to modify the admitted evils of the treaty. The programme of domestic legislation was intended either not to be carried at all, or to be carried under conditions making freedom of debate impossible. He hoped the process of Parliamentary decay would be allowed to go no farther. Mr. McKenna's administration of the Edu-

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cation Department he denounced as cynically partisan, and he laid special stress on the existing disorder in Ireland.

Mr. Asquith, after heartily endorsing Mr. Balfour's tribute to the late Sir J. Lawson Walton, replied *seriatim* to his criticisms. The Persian Gulf was not mentioned in the Agreement because it was largely Turkish, whereas England and Russia were the only two Powers with substantial interests in Persia. He regretted the disposition in many quarters to belittle the Hague Conference; it was a great thing to get the representatives of the Powers together for discussion; the results might not equal the most sanguine anticipations, but there was a serious and substantial advance. He deprecated any discussion at present of the question of British Indians in the Transvaal. Instructions had been issued by the British and French Governments separately to Commissioners in the New Hebrides to assist them in framing regulations, and these would await their report. As to Mr. McKenna's administration of the Education Department, the vote of 100,000*l.* in 1907 was embodied in the Estimates and the Education Bill, and, if the trusts of the training colleges had been interfered with, so had the trusts of elementary schools by the Education Act of 1902. But, in fact, the trusts were not interfered with; it was merely stated that the colleges should only receive grants on certain terms. They might themselves make their trusts more elastic under the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Act. Mr. Balfour seemed to suggest that Mr. Birrell was deliberately neglecting to enforce the law in Ireland to make out a case for Home Rule. But his picture of Ireland was a caricature. The Government did not put the Crimes Act in force because they had been protesting against it for twenty years—mainly because it enabled a Government to use extra legal powers without coming to Parliament for them. But no Chief Secretary could ask Parliament for exceptional powers under existing conditions. Apart from cattle-driving there had been little crime. Cattle-driving the Government had never palliated; it was not only criminal, but stupid. They had used the resources of the ordinary law, but they recognised that they must remedy social and economic grievances, and he again intimated that there would be compulsory purchase of the grazing lands. In a session of reasonable length, with a better allocation of time and with devolution of non-controversial Bills and parts of Bills, ample time might be found to discuss such a programme as that of the Speech. At any rate, they meant to make the attempt. Judged by Mr. Balfour's standard, it might be excessive, but no item in it was not at once urgent and practicable.

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) regarded the King's Speech as disappointing in its omission of national self-government for Ireland. He claimed Mr. Balfour's speech, in view of its remarks on the programme of the session, as an unanswerable argument in favour of Home Rule. But he congratulated

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the Government on its intention to introduce an Irish University Bill, which would be favourably received by the Catholic laity and, he believed, by the clergy if it recognised the principle of equality of treatment between Catholics and Protestants. He welcomed the announcement that compulsory land purchase would not be confined to the congested districts, and declared that there was a conspiracy to represent crime as rife in Ireland in order to injure the Home Rule cause. It was a fallacy to describe cattle-driving as an attack on a prosperous industry; it was a symptom of a very old evil, the depopulation of the rich lands to make room for bullocks. The second-class pastures, Sir Horace Plunkett said, would be better under a system of mixed farming. He congratulated the Chief Secretary on his refusal to apply the Crimes Act; to resort to it would have been to court disaster.

Mr. A. Henderson (*Barnard Castle*), who had just been elected chairman of the Labour party in succession to Mr. Keir Hardie, promised its hearty assistance to the Ministry in social reform, and pressed for attention to unemployment; and, after other speeches, the adjournment was moved by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (*Leicester*), who next day (Jan. 30) moved an amendment to the Address regretting that no legislation had been recommended on that subject by the King's advisers. Unemployment, he said, now amounted to 6·1 per cent. of the population, yet this was after a boom in trade. The Act of 1905, a most courageous piece of statesmanship, was only passed for three years. He deprecated awaiting the report of the Poor Law Commission; the Local Government Board possessed sufficient information. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Pete Curran (*Jarrow*), who declared that the statistics understated the amount of unemployment in unskilled labour, and urged that the State should give employment to those willing to work, even to the detriment of private enterprise. Mr. Masterman (*West Ham, N.*), who declared that it was only through the hope of work for all that tariff reform was making progress, repudiated this Socialistic solution, and concluded that the most hopeful remedy was migration or emigration. Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*), Secretary to the Local Government Board, gave particulars of what had been done under the Act and declared that there was no sovereign remedy. The Socialist scheme he dismissed as chimerical, and, as to tariff reform, there were demonstrations of unemployed in Berlin and Chicago. One cause of unemployment was rural immigration, another drink, and a third juvenile labour, and these might be modified by the Ministerial legislation. A permanent cause also was our treatment of the tramp and loafer class. Mr. Austen Chamberlain defended fiscal reform as a remedy on the whole; Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*), in a very effective speech, argued that to take money to employ people in uneconomic ways tended to throw others out of employment, and suggested

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that the question could only be solved on existing historic and economic lines. After other speeches, including one from Mr. Long (*Dublin, S.*), Mr. John Burns (*Battersea*), President of the Local Government Board, wound up the debate. He was not disposed to pessimism. Some 50,000 to 70,000 less per million of unskilled labourers were unemployed at that time than twenty years earlier. Pauperism was decreasing in the country generally; it was swelled in London by the attraction of charities. He himself, on the day of his call to office, had gone down to the Thames Embankment at 1 A.M., taken his place among a string of unemployed, and received his portion of soup and bread. The pauperism in this country had been greatly exaggerated, and whatever test was applied, the workers in Free-Trade London were better off than those in Berlin. The attacks on the administration of the Act and the demand for legislation before the Poor Law Commission reported were unsupported by any responsible authority. He intended to continue the Act pending the publication of the Report, and to go on supplying funds to the districts most in need of help. The Government were not neglecting the interest of the workers, and would do nothing to enlarge the field by pauperising employment.

The debate was then closured by 315 to 80, and the Labour amendment was negatived by 195 to 146. 24 Liberals and 24 Unionists voted in the minority, and 7 Unionists in the majority, the rest abstaining.

The next day (Jan. 31)—after the issue of a new writ for Worcester had been moved by the chief Opposition whip and assented to by Sir William Robson (*South Shields*) in his first speech as Attorney-General—the debate was resumed with the moving of an amendment by Dr. Rutherford (*Brentford, Middlesex*), calling attention to the condition of India, representing that the proposals of its Government were inadequate to allay the existing and growing discontent, and urging reform in the direction of giving the Indian people control of their own affairs. The mover declared that India had lost confidence in British justice; it had been hoped in vain that Lord Curzon's "reign of terror" would be reversed; and he advocated provincial Parliaments for India and an "Imperial Duma." The amendment was seconded by Sir Henry Cotton (*Nottingham, E.*) and supported by Mr. O'Grady (*Leeds, E.*) and by other members, some with Indian experience. They deprecated the existing bureaucratic system, and advocated reforms in the direction of popular government, and Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) advocated a Parliamentary Committee on India. Mr. John Morley, who was able to preface his reply by announcing the settlement of the British Indian difficulty in the Transvaal (*post*, Chapter VII.), in a speech strongly commended by the *Spectator*, saw serious drawbacks to a Parliamentary Committee, but promised to continue to bear

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it in mind. He bantered Dr. Rutherford on his six weeks' tour in India, whence he had brought back twenty authoritative pronouncements of his own on the difficulties which were perplexing the India Office, and emphasised the absurdity of producing "standardised patterns" of Government for communities of widely different habits and ideas. He was surprised that he had received no thanks that afternoon for appointing two Indian gentlemen to the Secretary of State's Council (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 153). The situation had greatly improved during the last two years. He justified the deportation of the leading agitators, and declared that he had always been sympathetic towards the natives, and that if he were shown where the system of bureaucracy was at fault he would do his best to show his sympathy.

The amendment was withdrawn, and Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Tyneside, Northumberland*) followed with another, regretting that though the British Consul-General in Egypt had expressed views favourable to Constitutional reform, the British Government had not enjoined on him the duty of granting the demand of the General Assembly that former forecasts of such reform should be fulfilled. This was seconded by Mr. Higham (*Sowerby, W.R. Yorks*). Sir Edward Grey, in reply, echoed what Mr. Morley had said as to the application of *à priori* political doctrines to totally different countries, and said he must await Sir Eldon Gorst's views. They must begin by developing existing representative institutions, and, in his opinion, they should begin from below with the powers and composition of the provincial councils, the powers of the municipalities and the provincial towns. The amendment was withdrawn.

The debate so far had shown that the chief danger to the Government came from their own more advanced followers; but the result of the South Herefordshire bye-election, declared on Saturday, February 1, gave a fresh stimulus to the hopes of the Opposition. The seat, indeed, had been won by the Liberals in 1906 for the first time in its history; Captain Clive, the successful candidate, was very popular locally, and the suffragists had made great efforts to defeat his opponent, Mr. Thomson; but the depression in the local hop industry had probably helped largely to this victory for Tariff Reform.

The militant women suffragists had been specially active at this as at the Mid-Devon bye-election; the calmer supporters of the cause had held a very successful meeting at Queen's Hall on January 24 "for women only," in connection with the Women's National Liberal Federation, and had sent a deputation from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on January 30, whose members had urged the special claims of working women to the vote, and emphasised the recent and pending bye-elections as evidence of the change in the feeling of the electorate towards

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the subject. But Mr. Asquith, while promising to give due weight to their arguments, said that, even were the Government unanimous, they could not take the initiative in a matter which was not before the country at the last general election. Meanwhile the more militant suffragists had been resorting to more demonstrative methods. At the opening of Parliament, banners advocating "votes for women" had been displayed, and four women bearing a petition had nearly reached the royal carriage. On the morning of January 30, at breakfast time, the houses of various Ministers were visited by deputations, whose purpose was stated to be to call attention to the omission from the Royal Speech of any reference to women's suffrage. They were refused admission; and several of their members, declining to leave, were arrested. In default of paying fines or entering into recognisances to be of good behaviour, they were sentenced to imprisonment, some for six weeks, others for a month. Efforts were made in both Houses to get them treated as first-class misdemeanants, but it was explained that this was left to the magistrate's discretion.

The news of the murder of the King and Crown Prince of Portugal (Foreign History, Chapter IV., *post*) reached London on Sunday, February 2, and was received with astonishment as well as horror. Little attention had been paid by the general public to the progress of the struggle, and there had been no thought that any enemies of the Dictator might turn their vengeance from him to the Crown. The murdered King was popular at the English Court, and had repeatedly visited Great Britain. Sympathy was expressed universally, from the Court downwards, and on Monday, February 3, notice was given in both Houses that an address to the Crown would next day be moved expressing the "indignation and deep concern" of Parliament at the murders, and praying His Majesty to signify to the King of Portugal their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Royal Family and the people. In the Commons this address was moved (the members uncovering) by the Prime Minister, who depicted in vigorous words the indignation and horror everywhere shown at the murder of "the kind, manly, friendly King"—an outrage on humanity redeemed only by the courage of a woman. Mr. Akers-Douglas, in the absence of Mr. Balfour, added a few appropriate words on behalf of the Opposition. In the Lords a similar motion was moved by the Marquess of Ripon and seconded by the Marquess of Lansdowne.

The debate in the Upper House (p. 12) had shown that the regular Opposition attack on the Government would be mainly based on the condition of Ireland; and in the Commons on Monday, February 3, Mr. Long (*Dublin, S.*) moved an amendment deploring the omission of any reference in the Speech to the increase of agrarian crime and disorder in Ireland, or any assurance of the adoption of measures for the better

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protection of life and property or the repression of lawlessness in that region. He ridiculed Mr. John Redmond's allegation of a Press conspiracy against the Irish people, based his case on judges' charges and on the proclamation of counties just after the prorogation (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 265) and attributed the abatement of cattle-driving to a compromise by the Government. An increase of shooting outrages had followed the repeal of the Peace Preservation Act; the number of people under police protection had increased; and he complained bitterly of the weakness of the Government in neglecting to punish the instigators of cattle-driving and to use the Crimes Act of 1887. He hoped, also, that a Bill would be introduced to regulate the sale of arms. Mr. Lonsdale (*Armagh, Mid.*) seconded the amendment.

Mr. Birrell replied with great animation. The permanent peace and prosperity of Ireland, he affirmed emphatically, depended on the settlement of the land question and the speedy acquisition of untenanted land for distribution in economic holdings. Under the Act of 1903, 19,500,000*l.* had been paid for land to the Irish landlords, agreements had been made respecting land representing 34,500,000*l.* more, and negotiations were pending as to land to the value of 4,300,000*l.* This total —roughly 58,500,000*l.*—represented only one-third of the total value of Irish land; two-thirds remained to be dealt with; the landlords were paid in land stock, which had recently risen from 81 to about 89, but even at that price the excess stock necessary to pay the landlords amounted to 124,000*l.* per 1,000,000*l.* issued. On 100,000,000*l.* it would be 12,400,000*l.*, representing an annual charge for sixty-eight years of 403,000*l.* That charge could be met by the Irish Development Grant to the extent of 68,000*l.* and the balance was equivalent to a 5*d.* rate over the whole of Ireland. That was an impossible situation, and a readjustment was necessary; at the present rate of progress the Congested Districts Board would take 150 years to acquire the needful land. Yet in this difficulty the party opposite was calling for more coercion. What frightened him was not cattle-driving, but the price of land stock, the possibility of bad seasons, and the fear that Irish hopes might not be realised. The state of Ireland, regarding which he gave statistics of outrage, was less satisfactory than last year; but, though he loathed boycotting, some of its forms could no more be put down by law than could covetousness. As Mr. Gladstone had said, the source and character of crime must be considered as well as the amount. Cattle-driving aimed at breaking up the grass lands; it came of disappointed hope, it was usually unaccompanied by outrage, and there would be no contentment till compulsory powers were given to break up the grass lands. The executive had worked the ordinary law with the utmost vigour; juries had shown sympathy with the defendants in cattle-driving cases, but the use of juries was to enable the

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Executive to keep in touch with the people. He could not ask or expect the House to invest him with the powers of the Crimes Act. He denounced as insulting to the Irish Bishops the suggestion that he had bargained with them for a discontinuance of cattle-driving in return for favourable terms in regard to University education. He was an avowed Home Ruler, and it was not likely that his Irish experience would change his mind; some eminent Unionists had become Home Rulers, or something very like it, through theirs. He would do anything to put down outrages, but he did not believe that the Crimes Act would stop them, and if he was told to put it in force, he replied "I won't." (This emphatic declaration was loudly cheered by the Nationalists and Liberals.) He ridiculed the Lords, who had sold their Irish land so well, for talking about "agrarian revolution."

Mr. Butcher (*Cambridge University*) drew a vivid picture of the terrorism of the Irish National League, and he and other Unionist members denounced what they alleged to be the weakness of the Chief Secretary. On the other hand, Mr. William O'Brien (*Cork*) warmly defended Mr. Birrell, declaring that he was only doing what Lord Dudley and Mr. Wyndham had done, and what Sir Antony Macdonnell had been appointed to do. Had he followed Mr. Long's methods, they would have had far more cattle-driving. The cause of the trouble was the breakdown of the congested districts clauses of the Land Act of 1903. In the debate next day little was added, and, after attacks on the Government by Mr. Chaplin and Sir Edward Carson, and speeches in their defence by the Solicitor-General and the Attorney-General for Ireland, the amendment was rejected by 414 to 115.

The questions of expenditure on armaments and Home Rule had been reserved by arrangement (*post*, pp. 54, 73). On February 5, therefore, the Address debate was resumed with an amendment moved by Lord Robert Cecil (*Marylebone, E.*) and seconded by Sir P. Magnus (*London University*) attacking the recent action of the Board of Education as not in accordance with the traditional principles of administration in Great Britain. The mover charged Mr. McKenna with holding the balance unevenly between Churchmen and Nonconformists in educational questions, particularly in Wales and the West Riding of Yorkshire. He referred to the refusal of the Swansea local authority to pay salaries in Church schools equal to those paid in Council schools, to the delay of teachers' salaries in Church schools, and to the action of the Board of Education in a Yorkshire dispute. In regard to training colleges and secondary schools, he complained that the new regulations hindered denominational teaching, and he attacked the action of the Board regarding trust deeds and the building grant (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 187, 198). He stated that disproportionate amounts had been allotted to Monmouthshire out of the

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building grant, and severely criticised the appointment of Mr. Davies as Secretary for the Welsh Department of Education. After speeches by Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) supporting the action of the Board, and by Mr. Boland (*Kerry, N.*) criticising it unfavourably, Mr. McKenna made his defence. In the Swansea difficulty he had continued the action of his predecessor, and he had been congratulated on the settlement by opponents. He had no power to enforce the payment of equal salaries in all schools. He contested in detail the other charges made, and pointed out that trust deeds had again and again been altered. He only told the trustees that, if they took public money, they must conform to public conditions. When the trustees had complied with the new regulations, they would find that their fears of the collapse of their colleges were groundless. The building grant had been discussed repeatedly; and no part of the money had been allocated to his constituency or applied for in it. He complained that he was made the target for vague charges which his accusers never attempted to substantiate. They really meant that they disliked his policy, but he was not put there to carry out the policy of the Opposition. He asked for definite facts which he could definitely either refute or admit.

Sir W. Anson cited instances in which he alleged departure by Mr. McKenna from departmental traditions. Mr. Acland (*Richmond, Yorkshire*), speaking from experience in the department, contested this view, and, after other speeches, Mr. Lyttelton went over and reiterated the charges in respect of Swansea, Garforth, and the training college regulations, particularly complaining against the prohibition of building undenominational hostels in connection with denominational colleges. After other Unionist attacks, Mr. Dillon, in a spirited speech, warned the Government of the danger of misusing their power like the Tories in 1902, but said that it was a common belief that the Opposition wanted to use the denominational schools as a pawn in the Tory game. Mr. Lough, Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education, complained that the Opposition had wasted time over three cases settled months before, and defended the new training college regulations, which, he said, constituted the real Opposition grievance. The amendment was rejected by 272 to 79.

An amendment moved by Sir William Holland (*Rotherham, W.R. Yorks*), a Liberal, and seconded by Mr. Bonar Law, in favour of placing the Presidency of the Board of Trade on a par with a Secretaryship of State, was generally approved, but withdrawn (on Feb. 6) on the understanding that the Government would consider a rearrangement of the *status* and functions of that and other Departments, particularly the Local Government Board. Mr. F. E. Smith then moved an amendment regretting that the British representatives at

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the Hague Conference were not authorised to forward the reduction of international armaments by assenting to the principle of the immunity of enemy merchant vessels, other than carriers of contraband, in time of war. He pointed out, in a long and learned speech, the importance of the question to British commerce, and hoped for inquiry by a Commission. Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Tyneside*) seconded the motion, declaring that while we claimed this semi-barbarous right of capture, it was futile to press disarmament. Mr. Bowles (*Norwood, Lambeth*), however, thought this case exhibited the only commendable action of the Government. Sir Edward Grey replied in a weighty and very effective speech. The motion, he said, had originally been an amendment to the amendment advocating a reduction of armaments; pending the debate on that subject, the House should not come to a hasty decision. The attitude of the Government was expressed in its instructions to the delegates, and no other Power had given any indication that it regarded the question as material to the reduction of armaments. Had this latter question been pressed, it would have set up friction and dissent. Until a declaration should come from the Powers that armaments would be so reduced as really to diminish the apprehension of war, they must consider the question of immunity of private property from capture from the point of view of the existing situation. Would there be any certainty that a convention to respect an enemy's private property would be kept during war? Neutrals would have no interest in its enforcement, though they were deeply interested in the enforcement of the Declaration of Paris. "Methods of barbarism" had been alluded to, but it was humane to capture property if a war could thus be shortened and life saved. Our ability to end a war rested entirely on our sea power, and the immunity of private property would mean leaving our enemy's means of communication undisturbed. Commercial blockade would be given up likewise, and he did not see how the war would ever end. Lord Palmerston had been quoted, but he had said later that for us to agree to the immunity proposed would be national suicide. In the third paragraph of its instructions the Government had said that we could not diminish the effective means the Navy had of putting pressure on an enemy. The growth of other mercantile marines made for the maintenance of peace, but its influence would be greatly impaired if we declared that private property should be immune from capture. Great Britain had only the Navy as an offensive weapon, and other countries would then be given to understand that they might make war on the principle of limited liability. That encouraged speculation, and he did not wish to encourage speculation in war. If, with only our Navy to rely on, we cut ourselves off from the power of bringing pressure to bear through it, we might be encouraging other great

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countries to increase their armaments, and they might declare war against us with little risk to themselves. That would be dangerous, though at that moment he believed Great Britain enjoyed the goodwill of the world. So long as our navy could contain the navy of the other Power, we should not suffer; but suppose complications arose, and through bad luck or some piece of ineptitude the navy lost command of the sea, we should have before us not merely defeat, but conquest. The Government could not incur the risk involved in the proposed change.

Sir E. Grey's opinions were cordially endorsed by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, but Colonel Seely (*Abercromby, Liverpool*) suggested that we, possessing three-fourths of the fast vessels of the world, had most to lose by maintaining the right of capture.

After other speeches, the amendment was withdrawn, and Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) moved and Mr. E. Cecil seconded another condemning the Government for its neglect to safeguard the interests of Civil servants retrenched in the Transvaal. Mr. Churchill, who said that the report on which the mover's speech was founded was a confidential document, pointed out that those Civil servants who had received temporary appointments only had no claim to pensions and that the established Civil servants had been offered and had refused a pension scheme. Since the establishment of responsible government 144 had been retrenched or discharged, but 187 had been discharged under Lord Milner and under precisely the same conditions. The Colonial Office would do its best to find employment for those discharged, and he believed that the Transvaal Government contemplated a pension scheme. He denied that the Transvaal Government ousted Englishmen to replace them by Dutch.

Mr. Lyttelton expressed himself as not entirely convinced by this speech, but recommended the withdrawal of the amendment, and another amendment moved by Mr. L. Hardy (*Ashford, Kent*) representing the depressed condition of the hop industry, was met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the promise of a Select Committee and withdrawn likewise. The debate on the Address was then closured by 249 to 62, and the Address itself was agreed to.

The first private member's Bill of the session was debated on Friday, February 7. It was introduced by Mr. Dickinson (*St. Pancras, N.*) and provided that for registration purposes the administrative county of London should be one Parliamentary borough. This would prevent the loss of a vote by removals from one borough to another, and would abolish plural voting in London. The Bill would also improve the system of registration and keep the polls open till 10 P.M. An amendment was moved by Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*), condemning the measure for dealing with London separately and

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neglecting the question of redistribution, and he and other Opposition members described it as an effort to manipulate the franchise in London in the interest of the Government. The Bill was cordially welcomed on behalf of the Government by Dr. Macnamara and Mr. John Burns, the latter of whom stated that they had intended to legislate on similar lines; but it was talked out. Later in the session, however (p. 110), it was intimated that the promised Reform Bill would fulfil this intention.

Meanwhile, the House of Lords had discussed the case of the British Indians in the Transvaal (Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VII.) and the Anglo-Russian Agreement. The debate on the first-named subject—initiated by Lord Ampthill on February 4—was deprived of its main interest by the compromise just effected, and dealt mainly with the terms of the settlement, which were criticised as not sufficiently favourable to the British Indians. A notable feature was a maiden speech from Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

The Anglo-Russian Agreement was debated on Thursday, February 6, Lord Curzon of Kedleston calling attention to it. Disclaiming hostility to the Government, he expressed cordial approval of the existing British policy of alliances and understandings, which was largely due to the Marquess of Lansdowne, and partly to the Crown. An *entente* with Russia was the natural sequence of an *entente* with France, and was thoroughly acceptable to the country; it had indeed been contemplated both by Lord Salisbury and by Lord Lansdowne when at the Foreign Office, and by the Indian Government in his own time. He did not agree with the [Radical] objection that an Anglo-Russian agreement might prejudice Russian reform. But, as a business transaction, its terms must be subject to criticism. He criticised in detail and with considerable severity the concessions made to Russia in Persia, declaring that we had jeopardised our economic, political, and telegraphic interests in that country in order to protect a corner of the Indian frontier. He deplored the absence of any mention of the Persian Gulf in the Treaty. Russian railways would be extended to the Gulf, with danger to British ascendency there and in Southern India. We must not risk being suspected of carelessness of Mohammedan interests. He was sceptical as to the value of the treaty in preventing Russian intervention in Persia, and in conducing to the security of India, the independence of Persia, or the peace of Arabia. The Convention affecting Afghanistan he criticised similarly, arguing that our pledges were not balanced by corresponding Russian pledges, and that we had gained nothing in return for substantial concessions: and in Tibet, the advantage of our recent action had been thrown away. In both countries, the provisions of the Treaty would open the way to agitation and difficulty,

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The Earl of Cromer, speaking from the cross-benches, dealt with the Agreement more generally, in connection with the existing condition of affairs in the East. The transition stage there, he said, had now become acute. Western and Eastern ideas were meeting. Religious feeling was in conflict with agnosticism, old-world customs and ideas with methods of government wholly novel to Eastern minds, a great gulf existed between the masses and the educated classes, the latter of whom were bringing their knowledge, unleavened by experience, to bear on complicated political problems; and the growth of democracy in England introduced further complications. The Japanese war, too, had greatly influenced the minds of Eastern peoples. All this might give rise to serious reflection, but should not, he thought, cause great anxiety. The result of the ferment could not be predicted, especially as the principle of nationality had apparently displaced previous bonds of union. But the mutual rivalries of European nations had greatly increased the difficulty of dealing with these Eastern problems, and he instanced Morocco and Macedonia. But for the treaty, there might have been considerable Anglo-Russian tension in regard to Persia, and he believed it would facilitate their dealing with other Eastern problems, of some of which a vivid illustration had been afforded by the Sinai incident of 1906.

Lord Fitzmaurice, after an emphatic tribute to Lords Curzon and Cromer, remarked that in its more general features the treaty had not been assailed. Persia had gradually declined; when Sir H. Drummond Wolff was Minister at Teheran, British capital had been applied there, but on the whole the results were disappointing. Then there was "a policy of rival loans" to Persia from foreign countries, and then—under the present Government's predecessors—it became clear that there must be a policy of agreement with Russia. The Government had had abundant expert advice from India Office officials and from our Ambassador at St. Petersburg and Sir Charles Hardinge, the leading adviser of the Government at the Foreign Office, both of whom had had considerable Persian experience. The line of demarcation, which M. Vambéry as well as Lord Curzon had criticised, was not a Customs frontier, and he believed it recognised existing facts. They had secured the Indian frontier and kept some of the most important trade routes. Insistence on retention of the Baghdad-Khanikin route would have wrecked the settlement and might have brought Germany into the field against us. The Imperial Bank of Persia approved of the settlement. The same fears of the decay of British influence in Afghanistan and Northern Persia had been expressed in 1885. To await the assent of the Ameer would have led to great delay. After dealing in detail with Lord Curzon's criticisms, and mentioning that the Persian Gulf was left out because our position there was not arguable,

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he said that in Tibet they had followed in the steps of their predecessors; Russian interests there had been admitted in 1904, and Buddhist pilgrims were admitted because they could not have been kept out. Judged by the standard of peace, and in view of the situation in Persia, and on the Turco-Persian frontier, the Convention merited the praise it had received both from the Press generally and from Lord Cromer.

Lord Lamington, while approving the treaty generally, endorsed some of Lord Curzon's criticisms, and regretted that the Persian Gulf had been omitted; and the debate was adjourned till Monday, February 10, when Lord Sanderson (for many years Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office), Viscount Midleton (formerly Foreign Under-Secretary), and Lord Reay expressed their approval of the Convention. So did the Marquess of Lansdowne, though he made some exceptions, and hoped that the policy of the late Government was maintained in Tibet. After a general defence of the treaty by the Earl of Crewe on behalf of the Government, Lord Curzon replied on the whole debate, generally maintaining his criticisms and pointing out that, in spite of the new Anglo-Russian harmony, many British claims for damage to shipping during the Russo-Japanese War were still outstanding.

The Convention was also debated in the Commons a fortnight later (Feb. 17), when Earl Percy moved a resolution approving of an agreement in principle, but criticising the actual terms. He complained they were ambiguous, and that, contrary to the current practice, it established or recognised a *condominium* in Tibet and Afghanistan, and strove in Persia to avoid a collision of interests by an arbitrary delimitation of territories. The Persian Gulf question, the most important of those raised, should not have been excluded from the text.

Sir Edward Grey, in a reply followed with close attention, contrasted Earl Percy's pessimism with Lord Lansdowne's optimism. Ambiguity characterised all international agreements; and, but for the Convention, both Russia and Great Britain would have already interfered in Persia. There had been an opportunity in 1906 for a forward policy there, but it involved a constant further advance and greater expenditure, and must have led to friction in Anglo-Russian relations everywhere. Experts differed and took a somewhat concentrated and intense view of the interests on the spot. Another line of demarcation had been discussed on each side—through Khanikin, Kermanshah, Hamadan, Ispahan, Yezd, and Kerman to Seistan—but this, though marking out the actual British commercial sphere more accurately, would have placed Teheran in the Russian sphere, opened a route into Mesopotamia through Persia or Russia, and, most fatal of all, it would have laid Seistan open to a Russian advance. Strategic considerations had been paramount with the Government. He believed a Russian invasion of India would be a vain

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expenditure of blood and treasure against the great natural rampart of the Indian frontier, but that was not every one's opinion, and a Russian approach would have set up large and irresistible demands in India for increased military expenditure. After meeting certain criticisms of details, he declared that it was unfair to say, as Lord Curzon had, that by this Agreement the Government had thrown away the efforts of a hundred years in diplomacy and trade. For much of those hundred years we were without a competitor in Persia, yet we had only concessions for the Imperial Bank, the navigation of the Karun, the Ahwaz to Teheran road, and another for roads from Ahwaz which had not been practicable, while Russia in the last twenty years had made enormous advances due to her geographical and military position. We had given up nothing under the Agreement that was not gone before. As to the Persian Gulf, in future the developments would be more important on the Mesopotamian than on the Persian side, and we were better off with our declaration of special interests there, than we should have been with it mentioned in the Agreement. Afghanistan had always been regarded as a buffer State, and the Russian Government naturally asked for reassurances as to our policy. The Agreement did not restrict the Ameer's right to develop his own country. In Tibet the Government had carried out the negative policy of their predecessors. In regard to a point often raised outside the House—the undesirability of making an agreement with Russia during the present crisis—an attempt at interference by foreign policy with domestic affairs was merely irritating; had there been no Agreement, Anglo-Russian relations must have got worse; an opportunity had been seized which might not have returned. He trusted that as a consequence of the Convention good feeling and confidence would grow up between the two countries, and if that were gained, the criticism of the details of the Agreement would appear hereafter as mere dust. In Afghanistan we had sacrificed nothing, unless we had favoured a forward policy; in Tibet nothing; in Persia possible but uncertain trade advantages, and we had secured the vulnerable part of the Indian frontier. The Government had continued Lord Lansdowne's policy of alliances, the Agreement had strengthened this country and greatly improved the prospects of peace.

Among the subsequent speakers, Mr. Lynch (*Ripon, W.R. Yorks*), whose family had long been concerned in Persian trade, strongly condemned the Agreement as throwing Persia back under Russian influence just when that buffer State had a chance of working out its own salvation. Mr. Balfour thought that a strategic gain had been secured in preventing Seistan from being made a base for attack on India; but it might perhaps have been obtained at less cost. Tibet, which touched our frontiers, was treated as if it also bordered on Russia;

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Tibet might break treaties with us, but we could not obtain satisfaction. In Afghanistan we might have to consent to the admission of Russian commercial agents, and that would destroy its value as a buffer State. Persian territory might be leased to Russia, and Russian forces concentrated near Herat. He strongly disapproved the placing of the termini of the great trade routes in the Russian sphere, and he thought that in Afghanistan we had given up a market which we might control and got nothing in return. The Agreement carried with it substantial advantages, but he could not regard it as a great diplomatic success.

Mr. Morley, winding up the debate, warmly defended the Agreement as a great gain for the purposes of Indian government. Difficulties and ambiguities might arise in all treaties, but he laid stress on the fact that both parties were pledged to observe its terms. It should be realised abroad that disparagement in debate would have no effect on our policy. As to prestige, was British prestige forwarded by Anglo-Russian squabbles in Persia? It had been impossible to consult the Ameer, because the precise terms of negotiations could not be foretold, and when he was in India he specially desired that no politics should be talked. They would get his assent within a given time. Mr. Morley also answered some of Mr. Lynch's criticisms, and declared that we might congratulate ourselves on the achievement of the Agreement. The motion was withdrawn.

Meanwhile, the Worcester election (February 7) had resulted in another Ministerial defeat, though the success of Mr. Goulding, the Unionist, was doubtless due in part to the long suspension of the writ by a Liberal majority in the House. The cessation, after an existence of two years, of the publication of the *Tribune* which was ascribed to the difficulties set up by the financial depression in America and elsewhere in the way of raising further capital, entailed a loss to Liberal prestige, and the progress of the cause of Tariff Reform had been the subject of justifiable jubilation at the annual meeting of the Tariff Reform League, on the same day. A note of discord, indeed, was struck there by a resolution limiting the proposed change, provisionally, to the transfer to imported manufactured goods of a portion of the existing taxes on food; but it was all-but unanimously voted out of order. At a dinner at the Hotel Cecil in the evening Mr. Lloyd-George, in virtue of his Patents Bill, was claimed by Mr. Austen Chamberlain as far on the way to Tariff Reform.

Earlier on the same day Mr. Churchill, speaking at a luncheon at the Hotel Metropole given by Mr. Thomasson, M.P. (*Bolton*), in connection with the annual Conference of the League of Young Liberals, had denounced the "wild and deluded remedies" advocated for unemployment, and consisting in bureaucratic management and Tariff Reform. The

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greatest problem of the Empire, he held, lay at home, where the poorest classes were worse off than the savages of Africa, and they looked to the Liberals to solve it.

In the succeeding week the first instalment of the Government programme of social reform for the session, the Children Bill, was presented by Mr. Herbert Samuel, Under-Secretary for the Home Department (Feb. 10), and read a first time. He explained that its object was to consolidate and amend the law relating to the protection of children and young persons, and juvenile offenders. The question of children in public-houses would be left to the Licensing Bill, and on the employment of children, unhappily, there was not general agreement. But the Bill proposed to strengthen the Act relating to baby-farming, and to increase the powers of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. The subject of overlying was dealt with, and also that of juvenile smoking, and it was proposed to forbid the sale of cigarettes to young persons under sixteen years of age and to prohibit them from smoking in streets and public places. There would also be a right of entry under the authority of the Secretary of State into the homes for destitute children which were supported by charitable contributions. This was to prevent cruelty and neglect. An attempt was to be made to solve the problem of the vagrant child by the machinery of the Compulsory Education Act. Juvenile offenders were to be segregated from adult criminals and to receive such treatment as suited their special needs. Separate courts for juveniles were to be established, and separate places for their detention. Parents were to be made responsible for the wrong-doing of their children, and to this end the power to fine parents was to be increased. Finally, it was proposed to ask Parliament to do away altogether with imprisonment for children.

It may here be added that the second reading was debated on March 24 and April 1, the Bill being entrusted to the Lord Advocate. Considerable criticism was spent on some of the details, and several members contemplated amendments. The Movable Dwellings Bill, which covered part of the same subject, but was not a Government measure but due to Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, was read in the Peers a second time on April 1.

The first step in resuming the conflict with the House of Lords had been taken on February 6, when the Land Values (Scotland) Bill and the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill were reintroduced amid significant Liberal cheers (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 228, 239), and on February 12 the Prime Minister moved a lengthy resolution limiting the debate on each Bill to one day for the second reading (with any financial resolution that might be required for the purposes of the measure) and one day for the Committee and third reading, or, should the Bill have been amended, a second day for the report and third reading. He admitted that this comprehen-

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sive closure-by-compartment resolution (covering two Bills) was a novelty requiring justification, and it could be justified without referring to the controversial merits of the measures or levelling reproaches at the House of Lords. The Small Landholders Bill had been fully discussed, and had been deliberately approved both by the House of Commons and also by Scottish public opinion, before and since its rejection by the House of Lords; and measures embodying the principle of the Land Values Bill had been twice passed by the House under the late Government. The chief reason assigned for the failure of these measures to pass the House of Lords had been lack of time; therefore the Bills were reintroduced earlier in the session. The course taken was consistent with the Ministerial declaration of last year, and both Houses had had full warning. He would prefer a more regular method to the "guillotine," but it was unexpectedly difficult to set up a Committee of Business, and this resolution was a question for the House itself. The resolution would maintain the dignity and save the time of the House.

Mr. Balfour contrasted the Prime Minister's admission that the Lords were justified in their action by lack of time with the attacks delivered on them from Scottish Liberal platforms. To the actual procedure adopted the House of Lords would raise no objection, as it had long desired some method of carrying over Bills to a subsequent session. Such a method had been opposed in 1890 by Mr. Gladstone, because reintroduction involved remodelling; but the present plan prevented either process. There had been no proper discussion on the details of either Bill, and the debates in previous Parliaments were only Friday debates, the results of which merely signified that something should be done in the direction indicated. After bantering the Government on the ability of its members to devise Bills needing no revision, which nevertheless were differently understood by different Ministers, he declared that the Bills were not meant to pass, but were mere pieces in a political game. But the bye-elections showed that the Government were not in a condition to carry out a revolution.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer strongly repudiated Mr. Balfour's description of the Bills, which imputed political hypocrisy to Ministers, who, he declared, were backed by the Scottish people. This motion was not carrying over; it was asking the House whether it still approved of the principle of the Bills. There would be opportunity for reasonable amendments. Both Bills had had fair discussion in 1907, and the facilities now offered were enough for any legitimate purpose.

Later Mr. Munro Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*), a Liberal, while supporting the resolution, commended the Land Values Bill and condemned the Small Landholders Bill. Next day (Feb. 13) the debate was resumed with a resolution moved on behalf of the official Opposition by Mr. H. W. Forster (*Sevenoaks*,

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Kent), declining to curtail the House's liberty of discussion until the Government should have produced their general scheme for dealing with controversial Bills. Mr. Forster laid stress on (1) the great change involved in the reference of such Bills to Standing Committees (the closure, he said, had been moved fifty-nine times in twenty-two days on the Small Landholders Bill in the Standing Committee); (2) the use of the guillotine at the Report and third reading of Bills sent to these Committees; (3) its use also in Committee of the whole House. They were increasing the use of a new and drastic closure and making it difficult for private members to take part in the debates. The Prime Minister was a policeman with a truncheon always in his hand.

Mr. Asquith, who described the last figure as a ridiculous caricature, admitted the importance and urgency of the question of the management of business, but pointed out that they were not now dealing with fresh legislation. The real question now was whether these Bills were adequately discussed in the session of 1907, and he contended that they were. The debates in the Grand Committee, fully reported in the *Scotsman*, showed that the closure had not been too hastily applied.

The subsequent discussion dealt mainly with the last contention, and the amendment was eventually rejected by 332 to 83. Another amendment, moved by Lord Robert Cecil, was described by Mr. Asquith as merely dilatory. It left the allocation of time to a Select Committee, and was rejected by 332 to 85. The resolution was carried by 331 to 84.

Mr. Balfour's remark on the inability of the Government to carry out a revolution had been partly motived by the Ministerial defeat at the Worcester bye-election (Feb. 7), and it received support next day by the figures of the South Leeds election. It was not a Liberal defeat, but the heavy loss in the Liberal and Labour parties as compared with 1906 was more than counterbalanced by the Unionist gain. The Roman Catholic vote, indeed, was now given to the Unionists; but part of the change was referable to the growing belief in Tariff Reform.

Here, as elsewhere, the women suffragists had been active; and on February 11 a three days' "Women's Parliament" began at Caxton Hall, Westminster. A number of working women had been brought up to attend it from the manufacturing towns of the North. A resolution protesting against the absence from the King's Speech of any mention of women's suffrage was moved and seconded; and a rider being moved from the body of the hall that it should be presented to the Prime Minister, a procession marched with it towards Palace Yard. Stopped by the police, the women continued to press forward, and batches of them were successively arrested. Two were admitted to the precincts of the House, but the Premier refused to see them; others nearly gained admittance, being

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brought up close to the strangers' entrance concealed in a furniture van. The leaders, meanwhile, drove round Parliament Square in cabs, and one of them shouted appropriate maxims through a megaphone. Similar proceedings took place in the evening, and again on the last day of the Conference. Fifty women were arrested on the first day, and ten on the last; and almost all preferred imprisonment to fine, among them Mrs. Pankhurst, one of the chief organisers of the movement, who was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment on February 14.

The women's demand was not allowed to interrupt the sessional programme; but, before approaching it, the House of Commons was invited to dispose of the two Scottish Bills left over from 1907. The Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill was read a second time in the Commons on February 18, discussion on the financial resolution authorising the payment from the Consolidated Fund of the expenses of the Land Court and Commissioners to be set up by the Bill having been waived at Mr. Balfour's suggestion. The second reading was moved by Mr. Sinclair (*Forfarshire*), Secretary for Scotland, whose speech necessarily traversed ground familiar in 1907. Security of tenure, he argued, was necessary, and had been given by every other country; if it were given by purchase, the purchasers would be few, and might sell, mortgage, or subdivide their holdings. Existing tenants might contract themselves out of their right of having their rent fixed by the Land Court. Amendments would be considered aiming at greater protection for the landlord, provided they did not impair fixity of tenure. Disturbance of farmers in order to take land for small holdings would be checked by the heavy compensation payable. He attacked the rival Bills introduced in the Lords by Lord Lovat and the Earl of Camperdown, declaring that Scottish County Councils could not be entrusted with the purchase and letting of land, partly because they were less representative than in England, and partly because the counties were poorer. The opposition to the Bill was in essence political. The Government would willingly consider amendments in the other House.

Mr. Lambton (*Durham, S.E.*) moved, and Mr. Younger (*Ayr Burghs*) seconded an amendment declining to establish in the Lowlands a system of tenure alien to the traditions of the people and unsuited to the conditions of agriculture. The Government's policy, Mr. Lambton said, was based on hostility to the landlords. They proposed to spend 65,000*l.* a year to establish in Scotland the dual ownership which was to be abolished in Ireland at a cost of 100,000,000*l.* He could not see why the English Bill should not be applied to Scotland, and did not believe the Government now expected the Bill to pass. The Bill was also condemned in the interest of Scottish agriculture by two Liberal members, Mr. Tennant (*Berwickshire*) and Mr. Munro Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*), whose alternative solution (the Scottish Land Bill) was rejected by the House three

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days later by 184 to 44. Mr. Murray (*Aberdeenshire, E.*) declared that all his constituents, and many Scottish Tories, favoured it: and Mr. Long, summing up for the Opposition, denied that their motive for resistance was political, and commented on the change in the Ministerial attitude to the House of Lords, which was now to discuss amendments that the Commons had no time to consider. The Lord Advocate pointed out that 57 Scottish members were for the Bill and 15 against, and urged that it was time to check the rural exodus. More emigrants had left Scotland than Ireland in 1906, and there were nearly 3,000,000 acres of deer forest. The County Councils did not want to administer this legislation, and Scotland wanted this Bill and not the English one. The closure operating, the amendment was rejected by 353 to 106, and the second reading carried by 347 to 103.

The Land Values (Scotland) Bill was read a second time next day, February 19, after a livelier debate. The Lord Advocate (Mr. T. Shaw, *Hawick Burghs*) explained that a beginning was made with Scotland because an annual valuation had been established there in 1854, with which the Bill fitted in, though its ulterior aim was to prepare for a more equitable system of rating. Were the counties excluded, the statistics would be incomplete, the county authorities would be encouraged to resist the expansion of the towns, and many police burghs would be excluded. The rating of land values would hit the land speculator but relieve the *bona-fide* agriculturist. He referred to the high prices demanded for land in certain cases—85 years' purchase for Rosyth, 136 years' for a piece bought by the Edinburgh Water Trust, 917 years' for land bought by the parish of Cathcart—and urged that such transactions entitled the people to know the real value. Should the Lords reject the Bill, valuation and taxation might be combined in one scheme.

Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*), a Liberal, moved the rejection of the Bill in a speech that delighted the Opposition. The real intention, he said, was to tax land alone, and this would shift the burden from well-to-do suburban residents to the industrious dwellers in the centre of towns, and increase rates for the farmer and labourer. Much land was owned by trade unions, friendly societies and building societies, and these would be plundered under the Bill. Mr. Soares (*Barnstaple, Devon*), also a Liberal, seconded the rejection, and Mr. Sutherland (*Elgin Burghs*) declared that the Bill was eminently desired by the people of Scotland. Mr. Bonar Law (*Dulwich, Camberwell*) said that if the Government wanted information they might have experimented on two or three representative areas; the valuation would be enormously costly, and the proposal had depreciated feu duties and injured the building trade. He commented on, and interpreted unfavourably, the divergence of Ministerial views in 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 185) and declared that the proposed valuation was impracticable, and that the

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Bill would save the rich at the expense of the poor; if a man put up a big house, he would pay proportionately less. The "unearned increment" was a delusion; increased land value was due to private enterprise. The Government were going to treat land like Socialists, because they and their friends did not own land.

After other speeches, the Solicitor-General for Scotland (Mr. Ure, *Linlithgowshire*) explained his views at some length. He denied emphatically that he had supported the taxation of feu duties; he had merely stated the reasons on which the Select Committee had based its conclusions. If the fear of such taxation had depressed the building trade, why was it more depressed in England? Site and structure could not be fairly combined in the same rating standard. Structure was perishable, site permanent and generally likely to increase in value. They had been separately valued and rated in parts of Scotland for many years. Experienced valuers had said that the change would be easy. It would not mean confiscation. By bringing more land into the market, it would reduce value and therefore rates near the centre of towns. Mr. Bonar Law's argument that the value depended on private enterprise took the accidental for the essential. This speech was cut short by the guillotine, and the amendment was rejected by 363 to 99. The Bill was then read a second time.

The Committee stages of the two Bills were taken respectively on February 25 and 26. On clause 1 of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill Mr. Balfour renewed the familiar protest of the Opposition and the representatives of the Scottish landlords against the extension to the Lowlands of laws intended to meet the special circumstances of the Highlands and islands; but the Scottish Secretary defended the Bill as a means of checking the rural exodus and enabling the Lowland farmers to obtain labour, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland urged that the advantages both of small holdings and of peasant proprietary could be secured by continuing the existing system of tenure with two amendments—the abolition of the right of arbitrary eviction and the recognition of the right of the tenant to bequeath his holding. This speech was interrupted by the guillotine, and the clause was agreed to by 350 to 95 and the other clauses by 352 to 96. Finally, the Bill was read a third time by 347 to 90. The Land Values Bill was similarly passed on February 20 by 347 to 90, after an amendment, proposed by Mr. Barrie, confining its operation to Lanarkshire and Glasgow, had been debated at length, and much of the ground covered on the second reading had been traversed again.

The House of Lords, however, was preparing to deal in its own way with Scottish land problems. A Bill applying to Scotland the Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1907, with the additional provisions that County Councils might re-sell small holdings compulsorily acquired and that no land should

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be so acquired from holdings under 150 acres or during an existing lease, was read a second time on February 25, on the motion of the Earl of Camperdown. So, two days later, was another for which Lords Saltoun and Lovat were responsible, and which amended the Crofters Acts, thus separating this question from the more controversial issues with which it was associated in the Government measures. In both cases the Government objected to the separate discussion of these parts of the problem, but the adjournment of the debate on the Earl of Camperdown's Bill was rejected by 137 to 132.

The first of the leading Ministerial measures of the session, the Education Bill, had been introduced into the Commons by Mr. McKenna on Monday, February 24, amid every manifestation of interest in the House. The hopes of a compromise had been increased by a declaration signed by members (mostly more or less Liberal and Evangelical) of the Houses of Laymen of Canterbury and York, of whom the best known were perhaps Sir C. T. Dyke-Acland, Sir Edward Russell, and Mr. Eugene Stock. They were ready to agree to the following provisions—All schools to be provided schools, rent being paid for those previously "non-provided," all managers and teachers to be appointed by the local authority, undenominational religious instruction to be provided in all schools, and special denominational teaching in former non-provided schools, if desired by the majority of the parents, during school hours by properly trained teachers at the cost of the denomination.

Mr. McKenna at the outset of his speech noted the increasing desire for a settlement, and explained that Mr. Birrell's Bill could not be re-introduced because of the attitude towards it of the House of Lords. Mr. Forster's Act of 1870 had established local representative authorities, but allowed the continuance of voluntary schools; these had been multiplied through the zeal of Churchmen or to save the rates, and Mr. Balfour had remedied the "intolerable strain" on the finances of his friends by imposing an intolerable strain on the convictions of his opponents. Under this Bill there would be only one type of public elementary school, provided, controlled, and managed by the public, and with the teachers appointed without religious tests. No child would be compelled to attend any school where denominational teaching was given. The religious instruction would be the same as that given in the Board and Council schools for the last thirty-eight years. With this the nation as a whole had been satisfied. Secular education might be logical, but Parliament must make sure that parents got the education they desired for their children. Many parents did desire definite denominational teaching, and to refuse to recognise the voluntary schools would be regarded as a pitiless injustice. As children were no longer to be compelled to attend them, they might be dealt with generously. They must come up to the standard of public elementary schools, the average attendance

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must be at least thirty, and they would not be recognised in single-school parishes. Where recognised, they would receive grants, but no rate aid, and they might charge fees not exceeding 9*d.* per week. Summarising the financial proposals of the Bill, he said that every educational area would receive not less than 4*s.* and not more than 6*s.* per child more than it was then receiving, but no area would receive more than 75 per cent. of the whole cost of its elementary education. These additional benefits would cost the Exchequer 1,400,000*l.* annually, and the total grants would work out at 47*s.* per child. That sum would be given to the voluntary schools, but the scheme was subject to revision before 1911, in view of the coming reform in valuation and rating. Trustees of voluntary school buildings might transfer them wholly or partly to the local authorities. As to schools under "tight trusts," the trustees might continue them, but out of their own resources. Where a school was taken over, the local authority was to execute the educational part of the trust by giving elementary education in the building on five days a week; in so far as the trust was denominational it might be carried out on the Saturday and Sunday, and also religious instruction might be given out of school hours on the other days, but not by the regular teacher. The buildings would be transferred to the local authorities, who would provide for repairs, furnishing, lighting and warming. It might be made a condition of transfer that Cowper-Temple instruction should be given. These facilities for denominational instruction would only be allowed in single-school areas. He appealed to the House not to prolong the quarrel on the religious question.

Mr. Balfour denounced the Bill as not an olive branch, but a sword. It set up a grievance parallel to that of the Nonconformists by imposing Cowper-Temple teaching in single-school areas. The Government had intended to strike at the Church, but they were striking not only at every other denomination but at the interest of education itself. The voluntary schools would be inferior to the others. In London alone 400,000*l.* had been subscribed since 1902 for Church schools, and the Bill was unfair to subscribers and parents alike. It sacrificed education to religious prejudice and to the desire to injure the Church.

Mr. Asquith replied that Mr. Balfour had been more lavish than usual in ascribing discreditable motives to his political opponents. There were three possible solutions of the education difficulty; first, rate aid all round, which was impossible because the denominations refused to accept local control; next, the secular solution, which was against popular feeling, and, thirdly, that of the Bill. Mr. Balfour's remedy of an alternative school he described as absurd, and the provision as to single-school areas as liberal and even generous. The Bill was adversely criticised by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald from the Secularist standpoint, by Mr. Masterman, who also preferred

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the secular solution, by Mr. Perks, who complained that it would substantially endow the Church and Roman Catholic schools, and by Lord Robert Cecil, who was especially severe on the proposal to teach "the Christianity of the County Council." Ultimately it was read a first time. It was noticed that none of the group specially associated with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had spoken, and that the Nationalists kept silence pending further information as to the treatment of Roman Catholic schools. Among educational experts considerable misgivings were expressed as to contracting out, and these tended to increase. Otherwise the Bill was not unfavourably received except by the extreme champions of the Church and "parental right."

The next leading measure of the session, the Licensing Bill, was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Thursday, February 27, amid similar signs of acute interest. Mr. Asquith began by declaring that effective control of the licensing laws was long overdue. It must reduce the excessive facilities for the retailing of intoxicants and gradually recover for the State its dominion of, and property in, a monopoly which had been imprudently allowed to slip from its control. He briefly reviewed the history of the subject, stating that hitherto the State had received next to nothing in return for the monopoly, and affirmed that the monopoly value was founded on a double expectation—that licences once granted would be renewed indefinitely in the absence of misconduct, and that the justices would not allow effective competition. But without violating the law this double expectation might be defeated. As to the argument that the State recognised a right of property by levying death duties, the State merely levied them on the market value, as with other speculative property, *e.g.*, a racehorse. But had the State recognised such a right, the Act of 1904 would have thrown the compensation on the State, not on the trade. The reduction of licences which began before 1904 had been accelerated by that Act, but he gave figures to show that it was inadequate. Accordingly the Bill would provide for the compulsory reduction within a specified period of the number of on-licences, upon a uniform scale operating throughout the country and based upon a ratio between licences and population. As the basis of their scale Ministers had taken as a guide the minority report of Lord Peel's Commission, and adopted density of population, or the number of persons per acre. Where there were two persons or less per acre they proposed that the on-licences should not exceed 1 to 400 persons; from 2 to 25 per acre, 1 to 500 persons; from 25 to 50 per acre, 1 to 600; from 50 to 75, 1 to 700; from 75 to 100, 1 to 800; from 100 to 200, 1 to 900; and where there were more than 200 persons per acre, 1 licence to 1,000 persons. A certain amount of latitude, however, was to be given to meet exceptional cases. The suggested scheme

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would lead to the suppression of from 30,000 to 32,000 on-licences, or rather more than one-third of the whole number. It would be the duty of every licensing authority to prepare by an early date a scheme for carrying out the statutory reduction in its own district. These schemes might be revised and would be sent to a central Licensing Commission for approval. When a scheme was approved the licensing authority would have to select licences for extinction. The optional power of reduction would continue to exist. The Bill restored to the licensing authorities the discretion which was taken from them in 1904 with regard to the renewal, repeal, and transfer of all existing on-licences, and there were special provisions for Wales and Monmouthshire, where opinion was more advanced than in England. Compensation for the extinction of licences during the statutory period would continue to come from a levy on the trade. The area of the levy would cover England and Wales, and the fund would be vested in the new Licensing Commission. The amount payable for compensation would only be such a sum, with interest at the rate of 4 per cent., as would purchase an immediate annuity for the unexpired years of the reduction period equal in amount to the annual value of the licence, and to this was to be added such a sum as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue might think just to add as compensation for the licence-holder's loss of business. In estimating the annual value of a tied-house licence the house was to be viewed simply as a place for retail trade. There would be a time-limit, after which licences would cease altogether, and the nation could resume its absolute dominion. The time-limit would be as long as, and no longer than, the time which would suffice for a prudent trader, who was carrying on his business with a due regard to its special character and peculiar risks, to make adequate provision against the disappearance at its close of that part of his profit which was attributable to the monopoly value of the licence. These conditions, the Government held, could be satisfied if the period were fixed at fourteen years, and at its expiration the community would recover unfettered freedom to deal with licences as it chose. There would be a Licensing Commission of three persons; its powers would continue during the reduction period, and its expenses would be paid out of the compensation fund. Justices would continue to be the licensing authorities, except in large boroughs, where there would be borough licensing committees and special appeal authorities, having power to confirm new licences and to refuse renewals. The parochial electors were to have power to prohibit the granting of new licences, on or off, but a prohibition might be revoked after three years. The law as to clubs would be strengthened by providing for their registration annually, so that the licensing justices might have more frequent opportunities for considering objections. To secure the enforcement of the law police officers not in uniform and of superior rank

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were to be empowered to enter and inspect the premises of any registered club. On Sundays, elsewhere than in London, no public-house would remain open for more than one hour in the middle of the day, or two hours in the evening. Justices would also be empowered to attach conditions to licences on renewal which would convert them practically into six-day licences. When that was done the licence duty would be reduced by one-seventh. A traveller to obtain refreshment would have to go six miles instead of three. Other provisions in the Bill enabled justices to exclude children from public-houses, to impose conditions as to the employment of women, and also to lay down regulations regarding the closing of premises, at a specified time or completely, on polling days. If the conditions were broken the justices were to be able to refuse renewal without compensation.

Mr. Balfour reminded the House that anything it could do to combat the vice of intemperance would be relatively ineffectual, and reliance must be placed in an improving public opinion. The bill proposed to destroy the legal or equitable property of a very large and not undeserving class without any prospect of a great moral result. They were dealing with what was universally treated as property, saleable, exchangeable, taxable, rateable, and on which the Inland Revenue exacted dues based on market value; but it was not proposed to pay the licence-holder the current market value. He spoke strongly against a time-limit of fourteen years, during which the publicans were to pay a compensation levy, and during which they were also to insure. "There is no use," he said, amid much laughter and cheers, "in quoting Bishops to me on a question of this kind." The limited effect which the Bill might have upon intemperance would be more than counteracted by the multiplication of unlicensed clubs. The result of this legislation would be to transfer the consumption of liquor from premises over which the police had control to premises over which they would have none.

Sir Thomas Whittaker (*Spen Valley, W.R. Yorks*) described the Bill as comprehensive, courageous, and on the whole satisfactory, though the time-limit might be rather too long and he wished the Government had gone further on Sunday closing. The clubs were largely financed by the brewers. In Scotland and Wales much had been done by legislation. A licence was not a property but an expectation. He replied in detail to Mr. Balfour's speech. The Bill was welcomed by Mr. A. Henderson, speaking for the Labour party, who also regretted that it did not go further; and it was strongly condemned by Mr. Bottomley (*Hackney, S.*), Mr. F. E. Smith and Sir E. Carson. After a reply by the Solicitor-General (Sir S. Evans) and other speeches, it was brought in and read a first time.

The debate fairly reflected the different views held outside the House, the temperance party holding that the Bill, though

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bold, should have been bolder, and the trade strongly condemning it as ruinous, especially in regard to the time-limit. The "social reform" section of the Unionist party, it was noted, preserved silence on the measure. It was furiously denounced by the liquor trade generally, the time-limit rousing especial indignation as a first step to Socialism; temperance advocates, on the other hand, regarded the time-limit as too long, and the proposals as to local veto and Sunday closing as inadequate. Meetings of protest were held at Burton-on-Trent on March 7, and at the Queen's Hall, London, on March 9; at the first Lord Burton (head of Bass's firm) denounced the measure as a piece of flagrant national dishonesty, and as likely to ruin the brewing trade; while fifty London stockbroking firms protested against it as confiscatory. The market in brewery securities was temporarily stopped; but the over-capitalisation of this industry about 1897, and the subsequent decline in the demand for beer, had already depressed the trade greatly. The provisions as to clubs also roused a protest from the Working Men's Club and Institute Union and were said to give great offence to working men. The Free Church Council supported the Bill (March 4); the Bishops were divided, some being decidedly adverse; the Primate and the Bishop of London were among its chief supporters, while not pledging themselves to all its details. Lord Peel, the Chairman of the Licensing Commission of 1898, gave it his approval.

The Education Bill continued to be condemned by extreme Churchmen, including the Bishop of Manchester and Viscount Halifax. Free Church educationists expressed hesitation as to its provisions for contracting out; the more moderate Churchmen seemed disposed to consider it favourably. The Primate, however, in a letter to Mr. McKenna published on March 11, declared that as it stood the objections to it were insuperable and that it would only accentuate existing difficulties.

In the intervals of Government business, the Bills and motions of private members had given fresh evidence of the zeal which characterised this Parliament for social and economic reform. A resolution inviting the Government to consider the purchase of railways by the State, as foreshadowed by the Railway Regulation Act of 1844, was moved and seconded, on February 11, by Mr. George Hardy (*Stowmarket, Suffolk*) and Mr. Chiozza Money (*Paddington, N.*) respectively, and opposed by Mr. Perks (*Louth, Lincolnshire*) and Mr. Bonar Law. Mr. Lloyd-George received the proposal favourably, declaring, however, that the railway managers had done their best for the public; the railways had been pillaged by the landowners. Nationalisation had succeeded in Germany and Russia, and the railways were more effective than the tariff as a means of pushing German industry. He thought some of the grievances complained of might be eliminated by checking wasteful competition. As the last inquiry took place in 1865, it was time

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for another; and he offered to accept the resolution in a modified form. The mover agreed, but Sir F. Banbury talked out the resolution.

The defects of the existing laws affecting the registration of voters were condemned by a resolution moved on February 12 by Mr. Rowlands (*Dartford, Kent*). It declared that their complexity and the limitations they imposed deprived many persons of their right to vote, and demanded an immediate remedy. An amendment was moved by Sir H. Kimber (*Wandsworth*) to the effect that any change should be accompanied by a redistribution of seats. The Attorney-General (Sir William Robson) replied favourably to the resolution, but remarked that its demand was associated with controversial issues, *e.g.*, plural voting, so that the Government might be unable to give effect to their views. But whereas there might be some 10,000,000 voters, only some 7,250,000 were registered. The only effective solution would be a simple, uniform, residential franchise; registration should be the affair of the State. The work would require a great Parliamentary effort, and he hinted that the Lords might interfere with it; but the Government would do all in their power at the earliest opportunity to give effect to the object of the resolution. The amendment was rejected by 129 to 31, and the resolution was agreed to.

A measure of another order was discussed on Friday, February 13. The Ecclesiastical Disorders Bill, which then came up for second reading, excited great attention and gave rise to a significant debate. It provided for the appointment of Commissioners empowered to visit any church complained of before the recent Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, or to which attention had been called by a parishioner or other person by affidavit. The mover, Mr. McArthur (*Kirkdale, Liverpool*), stated that the measure was an amended form of the Church Discipline Bill, introduced by him, and defeated in 1899. Nothing had since then been done by the Episcopate to secure the obedience of the clergy, and the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline had been under influences adverse to Protestantism. Its report showed the existence and increase of illegal practices, and there was clearly a movement to reintroduce Mass and the Confessional. There had been no improvement since the report, and Convocation was an unsuitable body to deal with Church reform, while some of the Bishops favoured ritualism. The Bill had a precedent in the second year of the reign of Elizabeth. Five Commissioners of judicial experience were to be appointed, with powers to visit any church complained of before the recent Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, or by any parishioner or private person on affidavit. A Bishop might associate himself in respect of any church complained of in his diocese. They were to address articles of inquiry to the incumbent and churchwardens, and if the answer was unsatisfactory they would hold

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a local inquiry. If illegal practices were found to exist, three months was allowed for arrangement between the Bishop and the incumbent for their discontinuance; failing this, the latter might be suspended, and, if he continued recalcitrant, deprived of his benefice.

Mr. Masterman (*West Ham, N.*) moved an amendment declaring that no Bill would effectively remedy ecclesiastical disorders which did not provide for Disestablishment and for regulation of her own affairs by the Church. Disestablishment, he urged, was far more practicable than this persecuting and inquisitorial Bill. Many of the practices attacked had been declared legal, and on others the decision of the courts might be reversed. The Bill meant tearing up the Reformation settlement, and, if extremists of all sorts were to be expelled, the Church would be left a ruin. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act and the Public Worship Act showed that force was no remedy. Those who attached great importance to trivial matters of ritual believed they were obeying Church law, and would accept the decisions of some authority representing the spiritual mind of the Church. Disestablishment, he hoped, would result in a reconciliation, and he believed toleration would ensue as well as freedom, with a great advance in religious sincerity. In view of the dangers which might shake Christian civilisation to its base, he urged the promoters to turn to a more heroic and Christian crusade. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (*Leicester*), seconding the amendment, declared that the House could not quell liberty of spirit; Sir George Kekewich (*Exeter*) denounced the amendment as an attempt to "side-track" the Bill, and later, Mr. Stuart-Wortley (*Hallam, Sheffield*) pointed out that the expense involved, some 20,000*l.* a year, would seriously reduce the fund available to augment poor livings. Eventually the Bill was talked out by Lord Robert Cecil (*Marylebone*) after several unavailing attempts at closure. A good deal of Liberal and Nonconformist support was given to the amendment.

The debate had no reference to a very important "Report on the Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers," drawn up by a sub-committee of five Bishops (Salisbury, Gloucester, Exeter, Ely and Bristol) and presented to the Convocation of Canterbury on February 5. The document, which occupied 120 closely printed pages, gave a history of liturgical costume, especially in the Western Church, tracing it to the civil and official dress of the Roman Empire, and showing that there was no imitation in it of Levitical usage, and that its symbolical interpretation was an afterthought. The Report decided that the Ornaments Rubric of the English Prayer-Book regulated the ceremonies and ornaments by the Prayer-Book of 1549. The Bishop of Salisbury, in presenting it, pleaded for variety of use, *e.g.*, between a cathedral and a parish church.

A more mundane subject claimed the attention of the House on February 18, when two Liberal members, Mr. Hedges (*Ton-*

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bridge, Kent) and Mr. Rogers (*Devizes, Wilts*), respectively moved and seconded a resolution demanding the attention of the Government for local taxation, with a view to a more equitable adjustment of local and imperial burdens. It was pointed out that education, road maintenance, and other charges on the rates, were really national services, and that the rates were of unequal incidence. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that there must first be a uniform and adequate system of rating, distinguishing site value. If localities administered a national service they must share the burden; Imperial subventions must take the form of grants for specific purposes (not of specific taxes, as before 1907) and the central authority should be able to see that the purpose was fulfilled.

A somewhat heated discussion took place next day (Feb. 19) when Mr. Belloc (*Salford, S.*) moved a resolution regretting the secrecy under which party funds were accumulated and administered, and declaring that it imperilled the privileges and character of the House. At present, he said, such secrecy was no more than a peril, but it concealed the motives for the choice of candidates and hindered the initiative of the electorate. A man who was striving to make a monopoly in some article of common consumption might subscribe to a fund and obtain advantages in return, and pressure might be put on a member whose election expenses were paid out of the fund. The motion was seconded by Mr. Edmund Lamb (*Leominster, Herefordshire*), who condemned the purchase of peerages, and was supported by Mr. H. C. Lea (*St. Pancras, E.*), who adhered to his charges of the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 189), denounced both the past and the existing Governments, and declared that the price of these honours, and the commission to the introducer, were well known in the City from 1903 to 1905. He denounced two members "posing as Radicals" who had accepted knighthoods (an attack which presently led to a scene with Sir Randal Cremer) and repeated the criticism of the *Saturday Review* on certain peerages conferred by the Unionist Government. Mr. MacNeill (*Donegal, S.*) suggested, in a characteristic speech, that honours should be multiplied, imported, and sold openly, to raise revenue; and Mr. Buckmaster (*Cambridge*) moved to amend the resolution by words condemning the expenditure in elections of large sums derived from the secret funds of the Tariff Reform League and other societies without including them in the candidates' expenses. Describing the tactics practised he said that they were variations of the spirit of the Corrupt Practices Act, and the same course would be pursued by the brewers when the Licensing Bill was introduced. There was a Free Trade Union, but its subscription list was open; the strength of the Labour party lay in the fact that the electors were losing confidence in the parties which used such means. In the unlawful and stealthy influencing of the electors by wealth lay the greatest menace to society and

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the greatest danger to civilisation. Mr. Soares (*Barnstaple, Devon*), seconding the amendment, enumerated nine leagues which had taken part in the Mid-Devon election, spending 1,500*l.* The Speaker, appealed to by Sir F. Banbury as to whether the amendment was in order, said that he had had doubts, which the mover had overcome, and "as we have started that hare, we must hunt it." Eventually, the Solicitor-General suggested the withdrawal both of the motion and the amendment, and, after Mr. Markham (*Mansfield, Notts*) had denounced the latter as designed to shelve the question of the traffic in honours, Captain Craig (*Down, E.*) moved to amend the amendment by adding after "funds" the words "at the disposal of the Liberal party." This was rejected by 153 to 53, and the amendment carried by 134 to 60, but it was then too late to divide on the resolution, and its subject was therefore practically shelved.

The Sweated Industries Bill (Feb. 21) was explained by Mr. Toulmin (*Bury, Lancs*) as designed to establish wages boards with power to fix the minimum wage for workers in certain scheduled trades, the Home Secretary having power to add to the schedule. The Boards would be composed of representatives of employers and employed in equal numbers, with a chairman chosen by the members or nominated by the Home Secretary. Payment of the minimum wage would be enforced through the factory inspectors, the payment of less being punished by imprisonment. Some pitiable instances of underpayment were given, and it was stated that a similar law worked well in Australia. The Bill was opposed by Sir F. Banbury and others as the thin end of a Socialistic wedge, but it was accepted in principle by several Unionists and Tariff Reformers, including Mr. Lyttelton, and also by the Home Secretary, who suggested that it should be referred to the Select Committee on Home Work. This course was adopted.

The humanitarian feeling to which this measure appealed had been widely stirred both in Parliament and in the country by the chronic international scandals of Macedonia and of the Congo State. To the first the Balkan Committee had again called attention in a memorandum published on February 3, declaring that the modification of the racial boundaries promised by Clause 3 of the Mürzsteg programme of 1903 had encouraged political murders and led to an extensive emigration of able-bodied men to America; that the officers of the *gendarmerie* were quite powerless to stop the outrages, and that Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany had habitually obstructed reforms. These officers should be empowered to take over the command of their troops and should be responsible only to the European Commission. The existing "anarchic degeneration" could hardly end except in a violent catastrophe. In the event of a crisis, British public opinion would not permit the renewal of the mandate of the Powers who had thus conspicuously failed.

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The subject was debated in both Houses on February 25. In the Commons Mr. George Hardy (*Stowmarket, Suffolk*) moved and Mr. Gooch (*Bath*) seconded a resolution regretting the failure of the reforms and urging the Government to press for the establishment of executive control by an authority responsible to the Powers. Fears were expressed that under the existing Government there had been a relaxation of interest in and effort for Macedonia at the Foreign Office, and stress was laid on the opportunity offered by the concession of the Novi Bazar railway and (by Mr. Gooch) by the question of the Baghdad railway, to press for fresh reforms.

Sir Edward Grey, in an impressive speech, said that the Government had continued Lord Lansdowne's policy, which, however, had just achieved its maximum effect when they entered office. Lord Lansdowne had held out the hope of British consent to the increase of the Turkish Customs duties if the Porte agreed to the appointment of a Financial Commission; he himself had thought further conditions needful, and for the first few months of office he was pressing for them. When they were arranged, Austria-Hungary and Russia were found to be willing to put forward judicial reforms, and, in accordance with Lord Lansdowne's policy, the initiative was left to them, though Great Britain did its best to make the reforms effective. In July, 1907, moreover, the British Ambassador at Constantinople had pressed the Sultan to use the *gendarmerie* to suppress the bands, and Great Britain had gone on to suggest that their numbers should be increased, flying columns formed, and the European officers given command. We had borne our full share of obligations under the Treaty of Berlin. To act within the Concert by making separate arrangements with various members of it would spoil its usefulness, and isolated action would plunge us into difficulties of which no one could see the end. Pressure on Servia and Bulgaria to discourage the bands had been and would be exercised, but without vigorous and impartial action by the Turkish authorities Macedonia would not be pacified. As far as railways would promote trade, they all had British goodwill, but he trusted there was no ground for supposing that the Novi Bazar scheme would lead to difficulties within the Concert, whose existence was some guarantee against European war. The Powers were now emphasising the seriousness of the situation. The British proposals as to the *gendarmerie* held good, till a better scheme was suggested. Sir Edward Grey went on to develop Lord Lansdowne's proposal of a Governor-General. A Turkish Governor of capacity and character known to the Powers should be appointed for a term of years, irremovable without their consent; he might be a Mussulman, and the foreign officers might be placed on the Macedonian Budget. There should be a reduction of the Turkish troops, coupled with a European guarantee against aggression on Tur-

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key. The danger was that the Concert should perish by lack of vitality. The motion was withdrawn, Mr. Balfour saying that he should have supported the Government on a division.

Earlier on the same day in the other House, Lord Newton had asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs for a statement of British policy, and had moved for papers, interpreting the railway dispute to mean that the Mürzsteg programme was practically dead, the Concert was about to collapse, and Great Britain would be left in splendid, but now unwelcome, isolation, Lord Fitzmaurice had replied by sketching the history of the question from Lord Lansdowne's reform to the Organic Statute of 1905, and from that date to the existing situation. Great Britain was then engaged in a controversy with the Porte regarding the extension of the powers of Civil agents and delegates on the financial Commission: on the reorganisation of the *gendarmerie* we were not in agreement with the other Powers; in regard to judicial reform we were in theoretical agreement, but had been unable to obtain their consent to the presentation of a Note. It was going too far to regard the Concert of Europe as at an end. The condition of the Ottoman Empire as a whole was dangerous, and it might be time to revive Lord Lansdowne's proposals as to the appointment of a Governor-General, who need not necessarily be a Christian. The Marquess of Lansdowne generally endorsed the policy of the Government, and declared that Great Britain had done more than any other Power to fulfil her obligations under the Treaty of Berlin. The Blue Book issued shortly afterwards showed that Sir Edward Grey had achieved 'considerable progress towards reform (*cf.* Foreign History, Chapter III.).

Lord Fitzmaurice had referred to the Macedonian problem as equally difficult with that of the Congo, which had been discussed on the previous day by the House of Lords and was dealt with by the Commons on the day following. A great national demonstration convened by the Congo Reform Association had been held at the Queen's Hall on Friday, February 21. The Lord Mayor of London presided, and was supported by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Earl of Mayo, and many members of Parliament and representatives of the Anglican and Free Churches. Resolutions were adopted advocating, as essential conditions of the annexation of the State by Belgium, a complete change in the spirit of the administration, the restoration of native rights and liberties, and the establishment of freedom of commercial intercourse, and urging the British Government to action. On February 24, the Earl of Mayo called attention to the question in the House of Lords. He declared the proposed terms of annexation unsatisfactory, spoke severely of the dilatory tactics of the Belgian Government and the popular indifference, and urged the appointment of more British Consuls in the Congo. The Earl of Cromer followed, declaring that he had never seen or heard of any maladministration like that of the

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Congo State. Almost the whole territory had been handed over to speculators, of whom the Crown was the chief. He referred to Ismail Pasha's appropriation of 1,000,000 acres in Egypt, and its recovery by the Powers for the State. Any sacrifice necessary should be made by the concessionaires. The British people sometimes went too far in interfering with the domestic concerns of other countries, but here it was perfectly clear that the Berlin Act was violated by the regulations about rubber. He recognised the difficult position of the Belgian Government and people, and thought separate action premature. But Great Britain should exercise its right to appoint Consular Courts, should enable the Consuls to move freely up and down the river, and should insist on the British right to trade. He still hoped that the Belgian solution might be possible; the alternative of international government was not encouraging; but if that solution was unsatisfactory it must be rejected unhesitatingly. The Archbishop of Canterbury laid stress on Sir Harry Johnston's warning that Congo misgovernment might rouse the natives against Europeans all over Africa. He asked for an explanation of the reference in the King's Speech (p. 10) and of the ground for believing in Belgian annexation as a remedy for native wrongs. If the moral law were neglected, some one must suffer. Lord Clifford of Chudleigh (an English Roman Catholic) said a few words strongly advocating annexation by Belgium, and Lord Fitzmaurice, premising that he could do little more than amplify the paragraph in the King's Speech, stated that the number of Consuls and their facilities for locomotion were being increased, and possibly an International River Commission, contemplated by the Berlin Act, would be still more effective, but it was not easy to arrange for. The appeal to humanity affected the United States' Government, to which no interested motives could be imputed. The Government looked to the Belgian people and had confidence in their Parliament. The Bishop of Southwark, in a short speech, apprehended that annexation might be no remedy, and deprecated the growing practice of opposing a "wall of international difficulty" to British moral feeling. The Marquess of Lansdowne declared that in this question both sides of the House were at one. The present situation in the Congo was intolerable. If the Government was transferred, it must be a real transfer, but he deprecated embarrassing Belgium at present; he hinted that the debate might be taken as a warning. The Earl of Crewe wound up with an expression of Ministerial confidence in the Belgian people.

In the House of Commons on February 26, Mr. Leif Jones (*Appleby, Westmoreland*) moved a resolution denouncing the system of Congo administration as destructive of native rights and freedom of commercial intercourse, asking the Government to see that any transfer of the control should effect a fundamental alteration of that system, and, failing such transfer

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within a reasonable time, assuring the Government of support in carrying out the provisions of the Berlin Act, either alone or in conjunction with other signatories. Sir John Kennaway seconded the motion, and all the speakers, including Mr. G. H. Roberts (*Norwich*) and Mr. S. Gwynn (*Galway*) for the Labour party and "Catholic Ireland" respectively, supported its demands. Sir Edward Grey, in reply, declared that the policy of the Government had been to encourage a real transfer of the Congo State to the Belgian Government. Such a transfer, with effective Parliamentary control, would involve separating the administration from the trading element. We could not now intervene with profit. If the forced labour were to be stopped, revenue would decline, and the Congo Government would have to provide funds for the administration. The Government desired that the choice of the Belgian people should be absolutely free and made with full knowledge of the existing position. The Government would gladly co-operate with other Powers, and the attitude of the United States could not fail to influence public opinion in Europe. When it became clear that the Belgian Government intended to take over the Congo on satisfactory conditions we shall discuss with it in a friendly way all questions arising under our treaty rights. We should be prepared to consider the relief of her financial difficulties by a revision of the import duties. Failing a transfer, we might raise the question whether we had not consented to those duties under false pretences. The Congo State had forfeited all claim to international recognition, and, if Belgium should not assume responsibility for it, the Government would give practical expression to the strong feeling in Great Britain. This speech was welcomed by Earl Percy, and the resolution was agreed to amid cheers. (On the Congo question, see Foreign History, Chapters IV. and VIII.)

While unity was thus exhibited on questions of foreign policy, there were continued cross-currents in the forces of progress at home. The General Committee of the National Liberal Federation, at its annual meeting at Leicester on February 21, had strongly commended the work and social programme of the Government. An official addendum to this commendatory resolution, forestalling more strongly worded amendments, called for further reduction of expenditure on armaments. Uniform adult suffrage was rejected, but a resolution favouring an extension of the franchise to women "at the earliest possible opportunity" was put and carried by a large majority, though with strong demonstrations of dissent. An attempt was also made to solve the suffrage problem by the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, which was read a second time in the House of Commons on Friday, February 28. It was in charge of Mr. Stanger (*Kensington, N.*), a Liberal, who explained that its object was to remove the disability attaching to women in Parliamentary elections, and the disqualification

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from voting attaching to marriage. Women could already sit on local government bodies as well as vote at local elections, and while home was in a sense the true sphere of women's activity, there were thousands of women who went out to work all day, and legislation was increasingly concerned with domestic affairs, the education and feeding of children, and the marriage laws. Everything had been conceded to women but the right to vote. He dealt with the stock arguments against the change, and, while condemning the methods of the militant suffragists, argued that their grievance demanded a remedy. Mr. Acland (*Richmond, N.R. Yorks*) seconded the motion, but declared himself in favour of adult suffrage. Mr. Cathcart Wason (*Orkney and Shetland*) attacked the Bill as increasing the number of property and plural voters and introducing a far greater revolution than Home Rule or Tariff Reform. He feared the entry of women into the House of Commons; let them go to the Lords. Mr. Mallet also opposed the Bill as increasing the property and plural vote and doing little for working women, and held that colonial and American experience gave the proposal no support. He thought the movement now was confined to a small minority, and asked for more proof that both men and women desired the change.

Mr. Gladstone, Home Secretary, said that the Government, as in 1907, would leave the question to the House. Personally he was entirely in favour of the principle of the Bill. Whatever its imperfections, it removed a disqualification and inequality which had long been a source of complaint. It was impossible not to sympathise with the eagerness of many women and their disappointment; but men had had to struggle for the franchise for more than two centuries and had not yet got their demands fully granted. Predominance in argument was not by itself sufficient to secure political rights. These could only be secured by establishing the *force majeure* which armed Governments for effective work. That was the task before the supporters of women's suffrage. There was, he believed, a great and growing feeling in their favour, but it still lacked adequate numbers. He hoped the debate would help the movement forward.

The Bill was supported by Unionist, Nationalist and Labour members, and opposed by several Liberals. It was almost talked out by Mr. Rees (*Montgomery Boroughs*), but the debate was closured just in time, and the rejection was negatived by 271 to 92. The Bill was, however, referred, on the motion of its chief promoter, to a Committee of the whole House, and thus shelved for the session. The Opposition leaders nearly all abstained; of the Government, six members (Messrs. Asquith, Harcourt, Sinclair and Fuller, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General) opposed and fourteen supported it. 32 Unionists, 218 Liberals and 21 Nationalists voted for the Bill, and 27 Unionists, 53 Liberals and 12 Nationalists against it.

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Two other non-Ministerial measures deserve a brief mention here. The Municipal Representation Bill, read a second time in the House of Lords on March 3, allowed municipal boroughs to introduce proportional representation into their own local elections. The quota of votes necessary to return a member would be the approximate result of a division of the total vote cast by the number of vacancies. Votes in excess of the quota would be transferable to other candidates as indicated by voters on their ballot papers. The Bill, introduced by Lord Courtney of Penwith, was the outcome of the work of a Select Committee on a similar measure introduced in 1907. The Government was neutral towards it; but in the Commons it was dropped.

The Education (Local Authorities) Bill, read a second time in the Commons by 196 to 58 on March 6, reproduced the delegation clauses of the Education Bill of 1906 as ultimately accepted by the House of Lords. County Councils in England and Wales, where the population under them was above 65,000, were to prepare schemes for the delegation to local committees, after public local inquiry, of some of their powers in respect of elementary education. It was supported by members on both sides as stimulating local interest in education, opposed as introducing administrative complications and increasing expense, and accepted in principle by the Government; and it was amended both by a Standing Committee and on Report, but was crowded out in the autumn session.

Meanwhile, the Hastings election (March 3) had shown the growing strength of the Tariff Reformers; and the need of combating them by the formulation of a "great trade policy" had been urged by Mr. Lloyd-George at the Queen's Hall on February 28. An attempt had been also made in the House of Commons to expose the arguments based on the high price of bread during the Mid-Devon and Worcester elections. On March 4 Sir Joseph Leese (*Accrington, N.E. Lancs*) moved a resolution that the recent high price of bread was due solely to natural causes, and that an import duty on wheat would further aggravate it. Recent Unionist speeches and leaflets, he showed, had laid the responsibility on the Government, in that they had not stimulated Canadian production by Colonial preference. An amendment, moved by Mr. Goulding, the newly elected member for Worcester, attributed the rise to natural causes and to the neglect of British resources, and advocated a "rearrangement of duties on food products" in accordance with the Tariff Reformers' views. The mover and Earl Winterton (*Horsham, Sussex*) (formerly Viscount Turnour) contended that in France, which was enabled by Protection to produce all its own wheat, the price was nearly the same as in the United Kingdom. This, Mr. Lloyd-George showed, was due to an exceptional harvest; normally, the French price was 6*s.* to 10*s.* above the British, and the 4 lb. loaf was at that moment 1*d.* dearer in Paris than in London. He ridiculed the

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idea that any English farmer would break up his grass land for a 2*s.* duty. The debate was animated throughout, and the amendment was rejected by 293 to 90; but Mr. Corbett (*Down, N.*), a Unionist, rose to continue the debate, and so, amid derisive Liberal cheers, prevented a division on the resolution, as the proceedings were cut short by the 11 o'clock rule. The Tariff Reformers renewed the academic contest subsequently on another issue (March 24).

The essential work of Parliament before Easter, however, is to discuss the Army and Navy Estimates. Both, with the usual official explanations—which this year were affected by the coming debate on the reduction of armaments—had been issued on February 24. The total of the Army Estimates was 27,459,000*l.*, showing a reduction of 2,354,000*l.* as compared with 1905-6. The average annual expenditure on Army loans for the three years ending with 1908-9 was not expected to exceed 430,000*l.*; for the three years ending with 1905-6 it had been 2,539,000*l.* The total saving since the Liberal Government took office was therefore not far from 4,500,000*l.* The accompanying memorandum by the War Minister, which was of unusual significance, included an elaborate explanation of the impossibility of any rapid reduction of British military expenditure. It pointed out that the peace establishment was determined by the needs of maintenance of our garrisons abroad and our power to reinforce them, and that sudden reductions in an army of which all the parts were interdependent were impracticable, or, if attempted, would be followed by violent reactions. Military expenditure depended on military policy. From 1815 till 1862 the Army had been dispersed throughout the Empire, with various unsatisfactory results. In 1862 some sort of equality was arranged between the home establishments and those abroad. Hence, ultimately, the Cardwell system, which the Government in 1906 had decided to develop. Mr. Haldane sketched the results of their reorganisation. The first line of regular troops was moulded into six large divisions and five cavalry brigades, with army troops and other services in proper proportion, backed by the framework of a new Special Reserve, intended to provide for wastage in war, to man, in part, the ammunition columns (hitherto defective), and to supplement the various ancillary Services. This Reserve had been provided by bringing the Militia into close touch with the Regular Army under the Army Order of December 23, 1907. The second line, formed by a reorganisation of the Yeomanry and the Volunteers into the Territorial Army, on the same pattern as the first line, was intended to compel an enemy to invade with so large a force as to be unable to evade the British fleets, and to relieve the Regular Army during war from home defence. Considerable reduction in expenditure was only feasible by bringing troops home, and one cavalry regiment and four infantry battalions would be brought from South Africa,

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though the decision had been taken too late to affect the Estimates. The best hope of economy lay in development on scientific lines of the new organisation, and in rigidly applying concentration, where possible. Mr. Haldane next showed, by comparing the expenditure proposed for 1908-9 with that of ten years earlier, that an early return to the pre-South African war figures was almost impossible. He then dealt with the establishments of the first line, and the progress made in organising the Territorial Force. The ninety-three County Associations had been incorporated before January 31; they were adapting a scheme drafted by the general staff; commanding officers were being appointed, provisional establishments had been laid down, and a training scheme drawn up. The terms of service and scales of pay and allowances had been settled, the artillery was being delivered, and the Auxiliary Forces Department at the War Office adapted to the change.

The following is an abstract of the Army Estimates.

Votes.		Net Estimates. 1908-9.	Votes.	Net Estimates. 1907-8.	Difference on Net Estimates. Increase.	Difference on Net Estimates. Decrease.
	I.—Numbers.	Total Numbers.		Total Numbers.	Numbers.	Numbers.
A	Number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India - -	185,000	A	190,000	—	5,000
	II.—Effective Services.	£		£	£	£
1	Pay, etc., of the Army - -	9,422,000	1	9,835,000	—	413,000
2	Medical Establishment: Pay, etc.	451,000	2	460,000	—	9,000
3	Special Reserves and Militia -	840,000	3	840,000	—	—
4	Territorial Forces - - -	2,005,000	4 5	410,000 1,152,000	443,000	—
5	Establishments for Military Education - - - - -	142,000	11	137,000	5,000	—
6	Quartering, Transport and Remounts - - - - -	1,839,000	6	1,909,000	—	70,000
7	Supplies and Clothing - -	3,912,000	7	4,060,000	—	148,000
8	Ordnance Department Establishments and General Stores -	498,000	8	620,000	—	122,000
9	Armaments and Engineer Stores	1,490,000	9	1,671,000	—	181,000
10	Works and Buildings - -	2,515,000	10	2,436,000	79,000	—
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services -	73,000	12	67,000	6,000	—
12	War Office and Army Accounts Department - - - -	580,000	13	567,000	13,000	—
	Total Effective Services - -	23,767,000		24,164,000	546,000	943,000
	III.—Non-Effective Services.					
13	Non-Effective Charges for Officers, etc. - - - - -	1,743,000	14	1,714,000	29,000	—
14	Non-Effective Charges for Men, etc. - - - - - -	1,782,000	15	1,709,000	73,000	—
15	Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - - -	167,000		173,000	—	6,000
	Total Non-Effective Services -	3,692,000		3,596,000	102,000	6,000
	Total Effective and Non-Effective Services - - -	27,459,000*		27,760,000	648,000	949,000
			Net Decrease - - - - -		- £301,000	

*A note explained that in consequence of certain transfers of items chiefly connected with the Ordnance Survey, to the Navy and Civil Service Estimates, the Army Estimates were less by 18,200*l.* than they would otherwise have been.

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	1908-9.	1907-8.
	£	£
Repayments by Government of India included as Appropriations in Aid of Army Estimates; other than Stores, etc., issued on Repayment:—		
To meet the Expenditure for Raising and Training Recruits for India	568,200	566,700
For Deferred Pay and Gratuities for Service on the Indian Establishment	87,000	92,000
For Non-Effective Services of the European Army serving in India	999,530	967,170
	1,654,730	1,625,870
Deduct—Contribution from Army Funds towards Cost of Garrison of Aden and Sea Transport	230,000	230,000
Total	1,424,730	1,395,870

The Navy Estimates for 1908-9 amounted to 32,912,000*l.*, an increase of 900,000*l.* on those of 1907-8, though it was explained in the First Lord's memorandum that the actual excess of expenditure would only be 13,984*l.* In spite of the moderate building programme, a variety of causes combined to increase expenditure. The redundancy of stores due to the reforms of 1905 was nearly ended; and there were various automatic and uncontrollable increases in pay, in prices, and otherwise. New construction would cost 7,545,202*l.* for the year as against 11,654,176*l.* in 1904-5. Of this 750,000*l.* was to be spent on beginning ships of the new programme: one improved *Dreadnought*, one large armoured cruiser, six fast protected cruisers, sixteen destroyers, and submarines estimated to cost 500,000*l.* Whether and how far this programme would be enlarged in 1909-10 must depend on the additions made to their fleets by foreign Powers. The Government had every intention of maintaining the standard hitherto deemed necessary for the safeguarding of our national and Imperial interests. Between April 1, 1907, and March 31, 1908, the ships completed and available for service comprised one battleship, three armoured cruisers, three destroyers, ten coastal-destroyer torpedo boats, eight submarines, the repair ship *Cyclops*, and the new Royal Yacht *Alexandra;* and there were under construction seven battleships, four armoured cruisers, one unarmoured cruiser, ten destroyers, twenty coastal-destroyer torpedo boats and eighteen submarines. Mention was made of the cooling apparatus, costing 500,000*l.*, fitted to cordite magazines on shipboard; the nucleus crew system was commended, and it was declared that the Admiralty had abundant war plans, and attention was called to the efficiency of the gunnery and signalling. The new training of officers was stated to be satisfactory. The supply of guns and ammunition to the fleet was now under the direct control and responsibility of the Admiralty. The Malta fever, long prevalent among the crews of the Mediterranean squadron, had been traced to goats' milk, and got rid of. No change would be made as to coastguard administration during the year. Reference was made to the establishment of the

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EIGHT YEARS' NAVAL EXPENDITURE.

Year.	Total Expenditure from Naval Votes (Net).	In Repayment of Naval Works Loans.	Total exclusive of Repayment of Works Loans.	Expenditure from Naval Works Loans.	Total of Columns (3) and (4).	Expenditure on New Construction Vote (8).
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1901-2 - -	30,981,315	122,255	30,859,060	2,745,176	33,604,236	8,865,080
1902-3 - -	31,003,977	297,895	30,706,082	3,198,017	33,904,099	8,534,917
1903-4 - -	35,709,477	502,010	35,207,467	3,261,083	38,468,550	11,115,733
1904-5 - -	36,859,681	634,238	36,225,443	3,402,575	39,628,018	11,263,019
1905-6 - -	33,151,841	1,015,812	32,136,029	3,313,604	35,449,633	9,688,044
1906-7 - -	31,472,087	1,094,309	30,377,778	2,431,201	32,808,979	8,861,897
1907-8 (est.) -	31,419,500	1,214,402	30,205,098	1,135,000	31,340,098	8,100,000
1908-9 (est.) -	32,319,500	1,264,032	31,055,468	896,925	31,952,393	7,545,202

ABRIDGED ABSTRACT OF THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

Votes.		Net Estimates.		Difference.	
	I.—Numbers.	Totals 1908-9.	Totals 1907-8.	Increase.	Decrease.
A	Total of Officers, Seamen, Boys, Coastguard and Marines -	128,000	128,000	—	—
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£	£
1	Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen and Boys, Coastguard and Royal Marines - - -	7,129,700	6,869,700	260,000	—
2	Naval Victualling and Clothing	2,286,400	1,996,400	290,000	—
3	Medical Establishments and Services - - - -	258,700	268,700	—	10,000
4	Martial Law - - - -	13,900	14,200	—	300
5	Educational Services - -	167,000	172,500	—	5,500
6	Scientific Services - - -	66,000	65,100	900	—
7	Royal Naval Reserves - -	368,300	418,300	—	50,000
8	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.: I.—*Personnel*	2,936,200	2,549,900	386,300	—
	II.—*Matériel* - - -	4,157,000	3,035,200	1,121,800	—
	III.—Contract Work -	7,220,700	7,646,000	—	425,300
9	Naval Armaments - - -	2,048,700	2,348,700	—	300,000
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs -	2,306,700	2,758,400	—	451,700
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services	409,200	401,000	8,200	—
12	Admiralty Office - - -	370,200	364,600	5,600	—
	Total Effective Services -	29,738,700	28,908,700	2,072,800	1,242,800
	III.—Non-Effective Services.				
13	Half-pay and Retired Pay -	868,800	837,900	30,900	—
14	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities and Compassionate Allowances - -	1,334,600	1,302,000	32,600	—
15	Civil Pensions and Gratuities -	377,400	370,900	6,500	—
	Total Non-Effective Services	2,580,800	2,510,800	70,000	—
	Grand Total - - -	32,319,500	31,419,500	2,142,800	1,242,800
			Net Increase - -	£900,000	

A note stated that the Estimates for 1908-9 included under Votes 8, 10 and 12, 390,661*l.* for services provided for before April 1, 1907, by funds raised under the Naval Works Acts, 1895 to 1905; and that Stores in stock would be drawn on without replacement to the estimated extent of 506,150*l.*

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Loch Long torpedo range, and some account given of the proposed works at Rosyth, which would take ten years to complete.

The memorandum was preceded by a statement showing the net expenditure from naval votes and loans, 1901-2 to 1906-7, compared with the estimates for 1907-8 and 1908-9. (See first Table on page 53.)

The debates on the Army and Navy Estimates were preceded by a resolution asking for further retrenchment, in view of the continued friendly relations with foreign Powers. This took the place of an amendment to the Address, and was moved on Monday, March 2, by Mr. Murray Macdonald (*Falkirk Burghs*). He laid stress on the rise of the Army and Navy Estimates from 32,000,000*l.* in 1893-4 to 65,750,000*l.* eleven years later, an amount subsequently reduced by only 6,000,000*l.* The rise had been justified by the possibility of war between France and Russia; Germany was now our only possible antagonist, and the danger of an Anglo-German war was artificial. The Germans feared that we meant to attack them because our navy exceeded our requirements. Meanwhile, we had neglected the great social and educational problems on which our future position must depend. Sir John Brunner (*Northwich, Cheshire*) seconded the motion. He took a similar line, and strongly condemned "nagging at Germany."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer met the motion with an amendment promising the support of the House for such economies as were consistent with the adequate defence of the King's dominions. He deprecated competition in armaments, but pointed out that the resolution might be construed as a vote of censure. Expenditure had been reduced in both services, in spite of various difficulties, which he specified; and the Navy had never been more efficient. Some combinations of Powers formerly apprehended were now highly improbable, and the German and British peoples were advancing towards a complete mutual understanding. We had no reason to view with apprehension any naval expansion in Germany or elsewhere which corresponded simply with the economic and defensive needs of a country with an increasing population and increasingly dependent on supplies of food and raw material from oversea. Our shipbuilding policy was purely defensive. We desired to prevent a new spurt in shipbuilding among the Great Powers. We did not build against mere paper programmes. Our naval position was one of unassailable supremacy, and such it must remain. The command of the sea was for us a matter of life and death: our necessary standard of naval strength must ensure it against any reasonably probable combination of Powers. Beyond that the Government had no temptation or inclination to go. Turning to the Army, Mr. Asquith remarked that the increased cost there was largely due to increased pay, which no one would desire to reduce; that the Anglo-Russian Agreement, providing only against one danger in India, would not neces-

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sarily lead to an early reduction of the troops there: but that the size and distribution of the forces in India was then under consideration by the Indian Secretary and the Indian Government. Elsewhere in the Empire our garrisons had been and would be reduced, especially in South Africa. The regular Army had also been reduced by 21,700 men under the existing Government without impairing its efficiency. The limits of Army and Navy finance depended on policy, which was a matter for the Cabinet: but within them there was room for further economies, and he welcomed a declaration by the House in favour of economy both on international and domestic grounds.

Mr. Wyndham declared that the Opposition were not satisfied with Mr. Asquith's amendment and speech. His complaint substantially was that the Government were deferring necessary and inevitable expenditure and raising expectations which they could not fulfil.

Mr. E. Robertson, Secretary to the Admiralty, in an elaborate defence of its financial policy, pointed out that naval finance was still confused by the system of works loans and abandonment votes. After carefully explaining the works loans system, and other points in naval finance, he remarked that the provision for new construction this year was the lowest for ten years, and he was authorised to say on behalf of the Admiralty that this year's programme would maintain the two-Power standard. In ships of the pre-*Dreadnought* type we were undoubtedly superior to other Powers; as regards the newer ships in 1910 we should have nine battleships and three cruisers completed; France, two battleships; Germany, four battleships, two cruisers. Given certain possible accelerations, Germany might by the end of 1910 have seven battleships and three cruisers completed, so that France and Germany might together have twelve ships against England's twelve.

After other speeches, Mr. Balfour declared that the debate was unsatisfactory, because some members were talking of economy and others of retrenchment, and Ministers wished to disguise a real disagreement between themselves and their followers. The true issue was whether recent diplomatic arrangements made it possible to modify the scale of naval and military expenditure thought necessary by the late Government. He argued at some length that such modification was improbable. Nobody could foresee the political weather two or three years hence. The Opposition were anxious for economy, but believed reduction inconsistent with national safety and honour. They could not support the misleading platitude in the Ministerial amendment, and so he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to accept the insertion of words making it clear that the two-Power standard of naval strength was to be maintained. The position would then be clear before the British people and Europe.

Mr. Haldane, whose speech excited mocking laughter from

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the Opposition, refused on the part of the Government to accept this insertion. The two-Power standard had not been controverted, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressly affirmed it. He justified army reductions consistently with the retention of the Cardwell system, because (1) reduction was consistent with increased efficiency; (2) economy facilitated the provision of a war-chest; (3) it was now possible to withdraw a considerable number of troops from South Africa. No rigid standard of strength could be laid down. The Government of the day must be the judge of our needs.

The resolution was rejected by 320 votes to 73, the minority consisting of Liberal and Labour members, and the Irish Nationalists abstaining. Mr. Balfour's amendment was then put, but it being after eleven objection was taken, and both it and that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were consequently shut out, and the debate was adjourned indefinitely.

The Unionists, however, had an opportunity of emphasising their allegation that the Government was only postponing necessary naval expenditure in the debate on the Navy Estimates which took place next day (March 3) in a thin House. The Estimates were introduced by Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*), Secretary of the Admiralty, who had, however, virtually made part of his statement on the day before, when he had elucidated the automatic increases, the redundancy of stores, the confusion in naval expenditure due to the Loan Acts, and other matters; and he now added that on the question of the Coastguard the Admiralty had disagreed with the report of the Departmental Committee [which had proposed the abolition of that service] and would consider the question afresh. He mentioned also *inter alia* that the proportion of expenditure on the new shipbuilding programme set down in the current year's estimates was greater than usual.

On the Opposition side it was maintained that in *Dreadnoughts* and *Invincibles* Great Britain would be short of the two-Power standard in 1910, that money was not adequately provided for carrying out the new programme, that there was a deficiency in modern torpedo craft and docks, and that the Home Fleet was not ready for instant action. In reply Mr. Lambert, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, urged that the *Lord Nelson* and *Agamemnon*, to be ready in April, 1909, must be taken into account, that British shipbuilding facilities could cope with any emergency, that a ship in dock was not necessarily unready, and that there was no shortage in destroyers. The Rosyth works would be available in from five to seven years. Mr. Balfour, after hinting at various weaknesses in naval preparedness, declared that the Estimates were illusory, and, if the safety of the country was to be insured, naval expenditure must go up.

A motion by Mr. Gulland (*Dumfries Burghs*) to raise the money allowance in lieu of the spirit ration, discontinuing the

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latter to new recruits, was negatived after Mr. Robertson had promised to recommend the first suggestion to the Admiralty, and the House went into Committee, resuming the discussion six days later.

The Army Estimates were taken on March 4. Mr. Haldane, in introducing them, said that his speech this year would be mainly a record of progress made. The Government adhered firmly to the Cardwell system, as the most economical, taking India into account, and as reducing the question of the size of the Army to "a function of a single variable," *viz.*, the number of troops required abroad. He then defended his proposal for an expeditionary force of 160,000 men, which, being largely composed of Reservists, would be economical. One hundred and one battalions of the Infantry Special Reserve had been organised; seventy-four were at depôts; and the recruiting was satisfactory both for this branch and for the artillery, in which eleven training brigades had been formed. The normal cost would be 1,955,000*l.* as compared with 1,986,000*l.* for the old Militia. The supply of reserve officers was deficient both in quantity and quality, and they hoped to get men who were going into the professions or would succeed to property, and would train for a year at home or in India. They looked also to the universities and public schools, where they were setting up training corps,[1] but the scheme must be regarded as experimental. Much remained to be done in the education of regular officers, especially from the time they received their commissions till the age of thirty-five. For the succeeding stage, taken only by the ablest men—that of the general staff—the system of education was admirable, but there were not enough trained men. He aimed at giving the young officer instruction by men whose minds were permeated by general staff teaching, and proposed to open at any rate intermediate staff appointments in connection with the Territorial Force to regimental officers. They must, however, proceed tentatively. The increased expenditure of nearly 2,000,000*l.* on pay and improvement of the soldiers' condition brought in a better class of recruits and diminished wastage. The present system of service would in future supply an adequate reserve; it was now enormous, 135,000; the infantry and artillery organisation were complete, but not the cavalry, for want of depôts; half a dozen would therefore be established, and the regular cavalry brought into relation with the yeomanry at centres of instruction. His original scheme in regard to yeomanry service abroad would need modification. In regard to the Territorial Force the arrangements were nearly completed. If every man came up after March 31 there

[1] These corps, according to the Army Order issued March 21, consisted of the Oxford and Cambridge University Volunteer Regiments, and other corps or companies specially connected with other universities and Eton, Winchester and Clifton Colleges. Their transfer to the Territorial Army was postponed pending a decision as to their retention as units of the officers' training corps.

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would be 315,000. The cost, at war strength, with 126,000 horses, originally estimated at 2,870,000*l.*, had gradually reached 3,579,000*l.* On a peace footing, with 70,000 fewer horses, and 80 per cent. of the men in camp for eight days or more, the cost would be 3,000,000*l.*, but this year there would be fewer, and he had asked for little more than 2,500,000*l.* Something had been done in the interchange of staff officers talked of at the Imperial Conference. He concluded by a general defence of his Army scheme.

Mr. Haldane's speech was adversely criticised by Sir Charles Dilke, who asked if, relying mainly on the Navy for defence, we were to go on spending so largely on the Army, and condemned some of the changes made as taking away the civil character of the Volunteers. He condemned also the so-called Cardwell system of linked battalions. Mr. Wyndham added that the Territorial Force would cost much more than Mr. Haldane expected, and threw doubt on the possibility of extensive economies. Next day (March 5) a more definite issue was raised by an amendment moved and seconded by two Labour members, Mr. Wardle (*Stockport*) and Mr. Roberts (*Norwich*), declaring that the powers vested in chief magistrates to call for troops during trade disputes were open to grave abuse, and demanding inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee. The mover declared that at Featherstone in 1893 and Belfast in 1907, the calling out of the military had been a blunder; the seconder laid stress on the unfairness of calling out the Territorial Force, which would contain trade unionists. Mr. Haldane declared that the military authorities disliked the employment of troops in these cases quite as much as the Labour members, but the right of the civil authorities to their assistance was a common law-right; civilians as well as soldiers might be called on to assist the authorities, and refusal was a misdemeanour; but the officers had always to exercise their discretion. The Territorial Force could only be called on if the men happened to be training and, therefore, under military law. He did not think a Committee would make the law much clearer, but its appointment was a question for the Home Secretary; and, after other members had laid stress on the very difficult position of officers in such cases, Mr. Gladstone, the Home Secretary, consented to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the power vested in magistrates to call on the War Office to provide troops during a trade dispute. This satisfied the Labour members, and the amendment was dropped. After other points had been discussed, the House went formally into Committee, and the proceedings were resumed on March 11.

Two days later the alarmists were encouraged by a startling incident. On March 6 *The Times* published a letter from its military correspondent, declaring that the German Emperor had recently addressed a letter to Lord Tweedmouth (First Lord of the Admiralty) on British and German naval policy, "amount-

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ing to an attempt to influence, in German interests, the Minister responsible for our Navy Estimates"; that a reply had been sent, and that, as a number of persons had unfortunately become acquainted with the letter, it should be laid before Parliament with the reply without delay. In a short but emphatic leader *The Times* emphasised the demand. It subsequently transpired that the letter had been occasioned by the publication in *The Times* of February 6 of a refusal from Lord Esher to join the Council of the Imperial Defence League, a more advanced Navy League (founded by the extremists noticed in the ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 205). In this refusal Lord Esher had referred to the attacks on Sir John Fisher, mentioning that the latter had unfolded his plans to him in 1903, a year before he became First Sea Lord, and adding that there was "not a man in Germany, from the Emperor downwards, who would not welcome" Sir John Fisher's fall. The *Standard's* Berlin correspondent stated that the Emperor had written that, for all he or Germany cared, Great Britain might maintain a three-Power or four-Power standard if she choose; but the Germans asked that she should adopt the same impartial attitude towards the German fleet, which was not destined to be a weapon of aggression against England, but solely to defend the coasts of Germany and her increasing maritime interests. According to another account, the Emperor had added that Lord Esher (who was Constable of Windsor Castle) had better attend to its drains and leave naval matters alone. On Friday afternoon, March 6, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated (by the indulgence of the House) that such a letter had been received by Lord Tweedmouth on February 18 and replied to; both letter and reply were purely private and informal, neither had been known or communicated to the Cabinet, which had previously decided finally on the Navy Estimates. A similar communication was made semi-officially by the German Foreign Office, which denied that any attempt had been made to interfere with British naval policy; but a rumour was also published that Lord Tweedmouth in his reply had communicated the British Naval Estimates, then unpublished; and the publication of the correspondence was pressed for by Lord Courtney of Penwith in *The Times* and, by implication, in questions put in the Commons on Monday, March 9. On that day, however, Lord Tweedmouth made a personal explanation in the House of Lords. He stated that he had received the letter on February 18 by the ordinary post; it was purely private and personal, very friendly in its tone and quite informal, and Sir Edward Grey, to whom he had shown it, had agreed that it should be treated as a private letter; his reply, therefore, had been also friendly and informal. He believed his course was calculated to foster a good understanding with the German Empire. The Marquess of Lansdowne thereupon rose, and declared that the Unionists would not press for the publication of the corre-

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spondence, but such extra-official communications should be purely exceptional, they should never be allowed to alter the officially-recorded diplomatic situation, and their privacy should be strictly respected; in this case it had been that of the "private view" at the Royal Academy. The Earl of Rosebery followed with an effective speech. From the letter and reply, which appeared to have been in a tone of banter, absolutely insane inferences had been drawn. Nobody in Germany outside a lunatic asylum would have thought that such a letter could influence British armaments. Sections of the Press took advantage of every trivial incident to foster bad blood between England and Germany, but our friendship with France need not imply hostility to Germany; we should cultivate "amity all round" and avoid a morbid suspicion which might exasperate the whole German nation. Only after such exasperation to an extreme degree would an Anglo-German war be possible. In the House of Commons Mr. Asquith also declared that private correspondence could not be published; and the incident closed with a letter from *The Times* military correspondent (published on March 12) claiming that the revelation had strengthened the hands of the Government for naval defence. Liberal papers had denounced the publication as an infamy; but the explanations given had happily dissipated the danger of a scare.

The Navy Estimates were proceeded with on March 9, when the Secretary of the Admiralty replied to various questions and criticisms. The Home fleet, he said, was a real "fleet in being," and the campaign of calumny directed against it had deeply hurt the feelings of its officers and men. In answer to Mr. Balfour, he gave figures showing the large preponderance of British over German naval strength in the respective home waters of the two countries, and declared that the reserve of torpedoes, guns, and ammunition, was being fully maintained. The provision for the new shipbuilding programme, complained of by the Unionists as too small, was, in fact, rather more than usual, and was ample for the maintenance of the two-Power standard. Dealing with the relative strength of Great Britain, France, and Germany in battleships and cruisers of the new type, he said that at worst France and Germany together might by the end of 1910 have twelve of these ships against our twelve, but in 1911 we should have fourteen against their twelve. The Opposition, however, were not satisfied, and Mr. Lee and Mr. Balfour, who were to some extent supported by a Liberal, Mr. Bellairs (*King's Lynn*), contended that Germany would pass Great Britain, Mr. Balfour saying that as the German shipbuilding programme began in June and the British in December, Germany in the autumn of 1911 would have thirteen of the new type of battleship and cruiser as against our twelve. He declined to take into account the *Lord Nelson* and *Agamemnon*. Mr. Lambert, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, pointed out that we were actually superior, and

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that if we could continue to build as fast as foreign countries our supremacy must be maintained; but Mr. Balfour's contention was not explicitly answered till next day. He then formally asked whether (certain probable assumptions being granted) Germany would not towards the close of 1911 have thirteen ships of the *Dreadnought* and *Invincible* types and Great Britain twelve. In reply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after expressing some doubt whether the German rule of construction could be maintained, stated that, should the Government find by 1909 that the situation foreshadowed in the question was reasonably probable, they would provide for a sufficient number of ships to prevent German superiority from becoming an actual fact. This statement was cheered from both sides of the House.

Mr. Murray Macdonald (*Falkirk Burghs*) had followed up his resolution of the previous evening by moving, unsuccessfully, to reduce the *personnel* of the Navy by 8,000 men. The other points discussed were mostly of minor interest, but it was officially promised that the Coastguard should be maintained where they assisted in watching for wrecks and saving life, and that the First Lord would confer with the National Lifeboat Institution before further reducing the force.

Next day the conflict between the Ministry and the House of Lords was again emphasised by the rejection of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill. The second reading, moved by the Lord Chancellor on March 10 in a speech summarising the Ministerial case for the measure, was met by the Duke of Montrose with a condemnatory resolution. Practically little was added on either side to the controversy, but the Lord Chancellor and Lord Herschell offered on the part of the Government to accept fair and reasonable amendments. The Opposition, however, objected to the main provisions of the measure—the Land Court, the substitution of hiring for purchase, the extension of crofter legislation to the Lowlands, and the division of responsibility involved by the Diseases of Animals Act; and, after the Lord Chancellor had declared that the Bill, or something like it, would be brought forward again and again, the resolution was carried on March 11 by 153 to 33, with a rider that the responsibility under the Diseases of Animals Act should remain undivided. The way was thus left open for the alternative schemes proposed, which were, however, dropped in the Commons.

The day following (March 12) the Liberal divisions exhibited in the debates on the national defences were further emphasised by the reappearance of the Liberal League, which met and was addressed by Lord Rosebery at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Thirty-eight Liberal members of Parliament were present, and Lord Rosebery's speech was described by Mr. R. W. Perks (*Louth, Lincolnshire*) as a recasting of the Chesterfield programme. Beginning by a reference to the League's

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opposition to Home Rule, Lord Rosebery insisted on the necessity of adequate armaments, urged that a sane Imperialism must be kept clear of Protection—protective tariffs being both an element of disunion in the Empire and an inducement to foreign nations to break it up. Free Trade might be endangered by the pressure of direct taxation, or by the need, owing to the increased cost of armaments, of resorting to indirect taxation. But he would prefer Protection to Socialism, for "Socialism is the end of all things—Empire, religious faith, freedom, property." The House of Lords was an indispensable barrier against Socialism, whose supporters, though in a great minority, were dangerous from their energy. He defended the action of that House on the Scottish Land Bill, which he again vigorously denounced, and said that the Ministerial proposal for settling disputes between the Houses would make it easy for a Radical Ministry to abolish the Lords. Since his proposals in 1894 and 1895 the House of Lords had prepared to reform itself; and the Liberal League must maintain the principle of a reformed and efficient Second Chamber against that of no Second Chamber at all. Meanwhile he looked to the Government to protect the country against Socialism. He differed from it in regard to the Second Chamber and the Scottish Land Bills, but it consisted of earnest, able, and courageous men, singularly successful in administration, with whom British foreign policy and the Services were safe. But they had to look to the contingency of the capture of the Liberal party by its Socialist wing, or to that of the rise of a Protectionist Government. For those contingencies they must reorganise the Liberal League. Possibly all the forces opposing Socialism and those opposing Protection might have hereafter to combine; meanwhile let them rally to the programme of sane Imperialism, Free Trade, hostility to an Irish Parliament and to Socialism, and a reformed and efficient Second Chamber.

Lord Rosebery's references to the reform of the Lords excited some dissent among his hearers, and he expressly disclaimed expressing any opinion on the Licensing Bill. From the more advanced Liberals, of course, the speech received severe criticism.

Further, the relations of the Ministry and the Labour party were strained by the debate (March 13) on the Unemployed Workmen Bill. It provided for the setting up of unemployment committees all over the country, and for the registration of unemployed workmen, who were to be provided by the Committee either with work, on conditions not lower than the standard for such work in the district, or with the necessaries of life for themselves and their dependants. If the work offered was refused, the Committee need not provide maintenance. Applicants might be classified by the Committee with a view to their ultimate improvement in cases of physical or

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industrial unfitness; those habitually disinclined to work might be subjected to six months' control; and power was given to aid migration and emigration. Mr. P. W. Wilson (*St. Pancras, S.*), a Liberal, moved the second reading, expressing his own willingness to amend or defer the clause as to provision of work; but Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (*Leicester*), who seconded the motion, declared that the Bill had behind it the combined forces of labour, and that the Labour party, which drafted the "right to work" clause, could not agree to its amendment or deferment. Every skilled sociologist laid down that surplus labour, with the corollary of periodical unemployment, was required by modern industry, and the Bill was a logical sequel of the Unemployed Act of 1905. Why not aid the poor before they entered the workhouse? The cost would not be more than one *Dreadnought* annually, and the result would be much more useful. An amendment condemnatory of the Bill was moved and seconded by two Liberal-Labour members, Mr. Maddison (*Burnley*) and Mr. Vivian (*Birkenhead*). This amendment declared that the Bill, by wasting the national resources, would throw out of work more people than it could assist, and would destroy the power of organised labour; but a hope was expressed that the Government would give immediate consideration to the recommendations as to unemployment expected from the Poor Law Commission. Mr. Maddison, incidentally, remarked that he was a compositor, and had rather go to jail than work on the land, and argued that the right to work would be followed by an intolerable State control of life and liberty. In the debate Mr. Grayson, the Socialist member for Colne Valley, declared that all that was needed was money, which should come from unearned increment, and furiously denounced the Government, whose business it was to solve social problems. Mr. Burns, President of the Local Government Board, denied that lack of money hindered the solution. In no other country was so much money and care devoted to the relief of the poor. They must not legislate in a hurry. Reviewing the work given out under the Act of 1905, he said that the Hollesley Bay estate had been administered previously by a steward and eighteen men, making a small profit or a small loss. Now that it was a public relief works, with 250 men on it, the net loss was 22,000*l.* a year. Among local authorities there was no demand for the Bill. If every local authority were compelled to find work for every unemployed man and woman at trade union rates, or maintenance, "the lanes in every country district would be black" with people on their way to towns where the minimum wage was higher than that to which they were accustomed. The Bill would be unworkable, and would be a delusion and a snare. Several Labour members indignantly interrupted this speech. Mr. Long disclaimed recognition of the right to work in his Act, and protested against it; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer held that the right would

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ultimately necessitate the assumption by the State of complete control of the whole machinery of production, and would not solve, but aggravate the problem of unemployment. He was not satisfied with the present machinery for dealing with that problem. The Government desired, after considering the Report of the Poor Law Commission, to devise some practical means of dealing with this chronic and urgent problem; but the real issue before the House was the recognition of the right to work and of the obligation to provide work, and the recognition would lead to unexpected conclusions, and would injure no class more than the working class. Mr. Henderson, the leader of the Labour party, recognised the sympathetic tone of Mr. Asquith's speech, but protested against waiting for a solution, and warned Ministers that their attitude was assisting Protectionism. The second reading was negatived by 265 to 116, the amendment carried by 241 to 95; 136 Liberals, however, abstained from voting, and 74, with 25 Labour members, 17 Nationalists and 2 Unionists, supported the Bill.

The following week the dissatisfaction felt with the alterations in the military system found expression in the Upper House. These had been subjected to further severe criticism in the resumed debate in the Commons on the Army Estimates (March 11 and 12), the points specially questioned being the adequacy of the Special Reserve and the Territorial Artillery; while, among the Ministerialists, a protest had been raised against excessive armaments by Mr. Luttrell (*Tavistock, Devon*), who moved a reduction of the Army vote by 10,000 men, though the discussion was closured by 186 to 41 and the vote of 185,000 men agreed to. Further protests, however, were made by supporters of the Government against the excess alleged to exist in the apparatus of national defence; and the claims of Wales to be a separate command were vainly urged by Sir Ivor Herbert (*Monmouthshire, S.*). Mr. Haldane, in a general reply, claimed, while reducing the Army considerably, to have provided for the wastage of war and organised an Army with all arms in due proportion, and to have earned the approval for his scheme of the War Office, "the magnificent service" of which body in connection with it received his cordial commendations. The House of Lords, however, had devoted much of its leisure, ample as usual in February, to obtaining elucidations of Mr. Haldane's reforms; and on March 12, Viscount Midleton, sometime War Secretary, made a motion designed to elicit the opinion of the Army Council and the late Inspector-General of the Forces on the reduction of the Regular artillery and the fitness of the Army for war. He complained that the interest taken in the Territorial Force had diverted attention from the Regulars; that there had been a large reduction of strength with a minimum reduction of expenditure, and that the partially trained artillery beyond the sixty-six batteries of the expeditionary force was a danger to our own side. The Earl of Ports-

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mouth, Under-Secretary for War, denied these allegations, and explained that the Government proposed to distribute the expensive, highly-trained artillerists through the force, employing special Reservists for the ammunition columns and similar work. The serious position of the infantry battalions was fully appreciated by the Government, but it was the result of their predecessors' policy [under Lord Midleton]. He dealt in considerable detail with the effects of this policy and the steps taken to remedy them, and stated that the Inspector-General's Report was confidential. Earl Roberts declared that forty efficient batteries would be preferable in the field to all the 196 Territorial batteries, which, being imperfectly trained, would be dangerous. He thought, however, that Mr. Haldane deserved gratitude for founding a Territorial Army; the country would see that the framework was filled in. Any invasion would be a surprise invasion; and if they were not to have the best artillery, mounted riflemen would be of more use. It was the custom to neglect the advice of soldiers in Army matters, but he had no axe to grind, and desired to save the country from a disaster inevitable if the warnings of history were neglected.

Viscount Midleton's contentions were strongly emphasised by the Duke of Bedford, who described the Special Contingent and the Territorial Army as mere phantoms, and, after other speeches, the debate was adjourned till Monday, March 16, when Lord Lucas of Crudwell elaborately defended the Government's scheme as removing, for the first time in the history of the country, the necessity for improvising in the face of the enemy. He interpreted Earl Roberts' speech as a sweeping condemnation of the whole Territorial Army, but Earl Roberts explained that he approved of the framework, but not of filling it up with untrained artillery. This and other criticisms were emphasised in subsequent speeches, and the Marquess of Lansdowne expressed a hope that before entering on the colossal experiment of raising 196 batteries of Territorial artillery, a trial would be made in a few selected districts, and that some indication would be given of the grounds for this new departure in artillery policy. The Earl of Elgin, replying for the Government, argued that Earl Roberts' hypothesis contemplated the conjunction of (1) the despatch of the whole expeditionary force, (2) a disaster putting the Fleet *hors de combat*, and (3) an invasion. If there was an invasion and the Fleet held the seas, how would the invaders get supplies? If the Expeditionary Force was despatched, before the last man sailed the Home Force would have had seven months' training and would be in position. The criticisms passed on the new scheme increased the difficulty of getting it to work.

Again, the anxiety felt with regard to the Navy was expressed in a debate initiated by Earl Cawdor in the Upper House on March 18. In a speech that traversed the field covered by the First Lord's recent statement, he asked Minis-

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terial intentions respecting the Coastguard and Rosyth, and protested against the practice of counting ships with nucleus crews, but under repair, as part of the Home Fleet. But the main importance of his speech lay in its reference to the two-Power standard. The Prime Minister, he pointed out, had seemed to indicate (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 195) that the two-Power standard need not always be maintained; so had Mr. Haldane in respect of a different contingency (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 257), though Sir Edward Grey (*ibid.*, p. 258) and Lord Tweedmouth had strongly supported it. Mr. Asquith, too, had recently refused to let the House of Commons expressly affirm the principle (March 2; p. 56), though he had given a pledge that Germany should not be allowed to pass us. Earl Cawdor went on to complain that shipbuilding expenditure was being largely deferred to 1910-12, laid great stress on the British deficiency in destroyers, and urged that the policy of the Government was false economy.

After several speeches, Lord Tweedmouth replied. He said that the Government had taken the two-Power standard as meaning a combination of the two strongest foreign naval Powers *plus* 10 per cent.; he himself preferred to make it mean any reasonable and probable combination of foreign Powers. As to shipbuilding, foreign nations had programmes for a number of years in advance; we observed a different principle; it would be undesirable to build fast, because each successive type represented great improvements; but no Power, perhaps no possible combination of Powers, would have such a fleet of first-class battleships as we should have in the spring of 1911. As to new cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, he gave reassuring particulars, and also as to the different fleets, more especially the Channel and Home Fleets. In regard to works (as to which he gave many details) Rosyth would be completed in seven years, but so many mistakes had been made about earlier harbours that it was well to go slow. It would be no saving to reduce the *personnel* of the Navy. As to the Coastguard, the Navy ought not to do the work of the Excise, but the idea was to reduce the Coastguard and bring in more of the Customs men, who might be ex-sailors.

Earl Cawdor replied, and the debate ended; but on March 20 a letter to him from Lord Tweedmouth was published, declaring that the definition of the two-Power standard as "any reasonably probable combination of foreign Powers" was intended as an extension, not a restriction, of the two-Power standard.

To some extent the criticisms made in the Lords and elsewhere, especially the speech of Earl Roberts, were dealt with on the Reports of the Army and Navy Estimates on March 19. But before Mr. Haldane answered Earl Roberts, the Navy Estimates were taken, and misgivings were expressed by Mr. Bellairs (*King's Lynn*) and by other Liberals, as to the proposed

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expenditure on Rosyth, and generally as to a "brick and mortar policy" which, it was alleged, must weaken the Navy. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, however, dissented from this view, and Mr. Lambert, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, criticised the alternatives to Rosyth and dismissed them as insufficient, and intimated that steps would be taken to expedite the work.

On the Report of the Army Estimates Mr. Luttrell renewed the demand for a diminution of the Regular Army, moving a reduction of 10,000 men; but Mr. Lee (*Fareham, Hants*) repeated the protests against reduction and the treatment of the artillery. Mr. Haldane said that certain recent speeches had made it more difficult to raise Territorial artillery. The Territorial Army was designed to be a second line of defence, and need not be ready on the outbreak of war. To prevent invasion he relied first on the Fleet, and secondarily on the Regular troops at home; it would be unwise to send more than four divisions abroad until the Territorial Force was considerably hardened. The Territorial Force on the outbreak of hostilities was mobilised, but mobilised by war training. Earl Roberts now spoke as if the Territorial Army were to be our sole defence against a large Continental force; the expeditionary force would be at home in case of such a bolt from the blue. In 1905 the Defence Committee, of which Earl Roberts was a member, had said that only a raid, or two raids, of 5,000 men need be provided against. The regular artillery had not been reduced, and he pledged himself not to reduce it until four or five men were provided to take the place of every man removed. In regard to Earl Roberts' contention he read out communications from General Sir John French, Inspector-General of the Forces, from the Army Council, and the Director of Military Training (General Haig) which showed that his own scheme was supported by expert military opinion. The utterances of the three Unionist ex-War Ministers could also be cited in favour of the experiment of maintaining Volunteer artillery. Turning to the demands for reduction of the Army, Mr. Haldane said that in India the experts fixed the force required by our obligations, and in Egypt there could be no reduction; but he had reduced the Army by 21,700 men, to a point near its strength before the South African War. To press for further reductions might lead to reaction.

Mr. Balfour suggested that the training of the Territorial Army on the outbreak of war might be disturbed by invasion by some new and unexhausted Power when we had been at war for some time with another Power and when the whole expeditionary force was away. He made other criticisms, chiefly as to the reliance on volunteer artillery, which were supported to some extent by Sir Charles Dilke; but the reduction of the army in India was still urged by some Liberal members. The motion for reduction was negatived and the Reports agreed to.

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On Irish administration, as on national defence, Liberal Governments have always to face attacks from two sides at once; but the position of the Government had not been appreciably affected either by the attacks on its attitude towards cattle-driving, which had been renewed in Committee of Supply on February 11 and March 17, or on its behaviour in connection with the Glenahiry outrage (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 265). Into this an inquiry was demanded by the Nationalists, while Mr. Birrell defended Lord Ashtown from the insinuations made against him of complicity in a conspiracy to manufacture a bogus crime. The law of contempt of court in Ireland had been discussed on March 10, in connection with the imprisonment of Mr. Ginnell, M.P. (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 254), at the instance of Mr. N. Murphy (*Kilkenny, S.*) and Mr. McHugh (*Sligo, N.*), who respectively moved and seconded a resolution to the effect that the jurisdiction of judges in this matter required Parliamentary definition and limitation. The motion was accepted by the Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. R. R. Cherry, K.C.) and Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Campbell (*Dublin University*), a Unionist, agreed that the law required amendment. As a protest against the censure supposed to be implied on the Land Judge, Mr. Craig (*Antrim, N.*) moved to omit the reference to Ireland, but this was rejected by 184 to 59, and the resolution was carried by 181 to 66. The stoppage of the work of the Congested Districts Board, owing to deficiency of funds, was brought under the notice of the House by Mr. Dillon on March 18, but Mr. Birrell was unable to hold out hopes of a further grant, though a general desire was expressed that the activity of the Board should not be interrupted. On the other hand, a Housing of the Working Classes (Ireland) Bill, favoured by all the Irish members, was accepted by the Government and read a second time on March 20. Its aim was to encourage local authorities to take advantage of the existing Acts by offering them various financial facilities, including advances at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the security of the houses built, from the Irish Post Office Savings Bank deposits, and by grants in aid out of Irish funds. The Bill was regarded as a means of relieving the excessive overcrowding in Irish towns. It was sent to a Standing Committee, passed its second reading in the House of Lords on July 21, and became law in the autumn session.

From two other debates earlier in the same week on English subjects the Government had come out unscathed. A question raised in Committee of Supply on March 16 as to the existence of Socialist and other political associations in the Post Office was met by the explanation that such bodies were permitted as educative if not affiliated to an outside organisation; and a resolution in favour of an eight hours' day in all trades, moved by a Labour member, Mr. Clynes (*Manchester, N.E.*), was talked out on March 18, after Mr. H. Samuel, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, had stated that the

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Government regarded it as too sweeping, but would push on the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.

Inside the House of Commons the position of the Ministry had not on the whole been weakened during the first six weeks of the session. Outside, however, difficulties were multiplying. The Prime Minister had been taken ill with influenza on February 15; his illness continued, and early in March was generally understood to be increasingly serious; and this naturally added an element of uncertainty to the prospects of the Government. The attacks on the Licensing Bill were multiplying, at public meetings, in the daily papers, and in mural literature; and much stress was laid, not only on the insecurity of property generally which was alleged to be likely to result from its "confiscatory" provisions, but on the financial effect on insurance companies and banks, who were known to have invested largely in the better classes of brewery stocks. Great stress was laid on this point at a meeting of brewery debenture holders at Cannon Street on March 19, which was addressed by Lord Rothschild, Lord Avebury, the Earl of Halsbury, and other eminent persons. Other attacks, however, were sometimes so extravagant as to defeat their own object, especially the threats of retaliation on the Church for the action of some of the Clergy and Bishops. In Surrey and elsewhere there were threats that subscriptions would be withdrawn from Church charities; a brewing firm found itself unable to subscribe as usual to a school treat; a private gentleman publicly announced his refusal to contribute to the endowment of a missionary bishopric. The Central Council of the Church of England Temperance Society on March 17 had supported the measure, reserving the possibility of the extension of a time-limit, and demanding stricter regulation of clubs; but from the Episcopate downwards, clerical opinion was divided, the Bishops of Manchester, Chichester, and Lichfield and Canon Knox-Little declaring against the Bill. A serious labour dispute, or group of disputes, in the shipbuilding trade on the North-East coast, though not involving political considerations, was a potential element of difficulty, and had not been settled by the conciliatory suggestions of the Board of Trade. The Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, introduced on February 20, had alarmed the railway and manufacturing interests, whose fears were expressed by an influential deputation to the Home Secretary on March 26, representing the consumers of 70,000,000 tons yearly; and were propagated in the constituencies by a Coal Consumers' League.

Inside the House another ground of attack was found by Mr. Lyttelton, when the Consolidated Fund Bill came up for third reading on March 23, in the sanction on December 31, 1907, of the renewal of the Chinese Labour Ordinance in the previous August. He referred to the speeches of Mr. Churchhill and Mr. Asquith on the Address in 1906 (ANNUAL REGIS-

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TER, 1906, pp. 24, 25, 200) and of various supporters of the Government; and charged the latter with having gone behind Parliament, broken their pledges, and sanctioned the revival of the conditions they had denounced. Mr. Churchill, in reply, admitted that there had been some exaggeration in the language used about Chinese labour, but declared that the Transvaal Government had made noble efforts to get rid of it; by the end of the year not more than 10,000 Chinese would be in the country, and by the end of 1907 none. The ordinance sanctioned was to aid in the ending of Chinese labour. He carefully contrasted the position of the African and the Chinaman in the mines; and declared that the death rate among the former, 18 per 1,000 in 1903, was but 32 per 1,000 in 1908. Mr. Bonar Law contended that Mr. Churchill had evaded the charge made. Mr. Asquith had promised that the Government would prevent any attempt by the Transvaal Government to keep the Chinese under conditions like those of the Unionist Government's ordinance, and had not done so. The Chancellor of the Exchequer warmly repudiated this charge, and declared that the system could not be ended at once; slavery in the West Indies had been "liquidated" by a system of apprenticeship; his pledge was that the Government would veto any attempt to retain Chinese labour under servile conditions as part of the institutions of the Transvaal, and so they would. Mr. Balfour contended that there had been fresh labour legislation on the old lines, and urged the Government to produce the correspondence; but the attack was repudiated by those advanced Liberals who had said most against Chinese labour, and no division was taken.

Mr. Bonar Law had made much of this charge in a speech delivered during the election contest at Peckham; and the victory of the Unionist, Mr. H. C. Gooch, on March 24, seemed at first to be a serious blow to the Government. A Liberal majority of 2,339 at the general election had now become a Unionist majority of 2,494. A number of independent organisations, among them the Sporting League, the Coal Consumers' League, and the Tariff Reform League, gave their assistance to the Unionist candidate, who was, oddly enough, both a total abstainer himself and the brother of a Liberal member of the House; the licensed victuallers were equally active in his support; and these outside helpers were not technically his agents, so that corrupt practices were facilitated. Money was poured into the constituency, there were almost as many canvassers as electors, and posters and pictorial appeals had never been so numerous. On their own account, the militant women suffragists had actively opposed the Liberal candidate. The borough, just before the declaration of the poll, was like a huge fair; crowds had poured in from all parts of London and the scenes which followed recalled those of "Mafeking night" in 1900. Calmly considered, the victory was not so significant as it

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seemed, for the late member had been the first Liberal representative of the borough, which had preferred him to Sir Frederick Banbury partly because the latter had opposed the tramway over Westminster Bridge. The excesses of the liquor interests, which the *Morning Post* reprobated, stiffened the Liberal and temperance interests in their support of the Bill against the power of the trade. This position was emphasised by Mr. Lloyd-George at a crowded meeting held by the United Kingdom Alliance at Queen's Hall on March 26. The drink traffic, he said, was a national evil, and the election showed the progress of the demoralisation. He ridiculed the appeals to public compassion for widows and orphans who were said to hold brewery stock, pointing out that 50,000,000*l.* of its inflated value was gone before the Bill was introduced; eulogised the attitude of the Primate, and made it clear that the Government had staked their existence on the Bill. There was much interruption from women suffragists as well as from sympathisers with the trade.

Though Peckham was claimed as a Tariff Reform victory, the early success of that cause continued to be jeopardised by the excessive zeal of the "Confederates" (p. 3), who were stated by Lord Hugh Cecil in *The Times* of March 19 to be opposing the re-election of twenty-five sitting Unionist members whose fiscal views did not satisfy them. This statement was borne out by reports from Norwood, Hitchin, Nottingham and East Marylebone. In the division last-named Lord Robert Cecil protected himself by a pledge that, if elected, he would resign and take the opinion of his constituents on any Ministerial measure of Tariff Reform. The Associated Chambers of Commerce at its annual meeting on March 17 carried a resolution favouring Tariff Reform and Colonial Preference by forty chambers to thirty, with thirty-one neutral. The Free-Traders, meanwhile, were active; and Lord Cromer, speaking at Manchester on March 24, illustrated the dangers of retaliation and tariff war, and argued that a protective policy would increase rather than diminish unemployment. This last position was combated on the same evening in the House of Commons, where Mr. Goulding (*Worcester*) moved a resolution recommending Tariff Reform as a remedy for unemployment. He laid stress on the greater prevalence of the latter evil in England than in Germany, and cited cases in which it was due to foreign competition. Mr. Fletcher (*Hampstead*) seconded the resolution. Mr. Lloyd-George had only a few minutes to reply; he was able to mention that 45,000 men were out of work in Berlin and 34 per cent. of the workmen of New York, but his speech was interrupted by a tumultuous demonstration on the news of the Peckham election, and the debate stood adjourned. On March 31, however, the controversy was renewed on a resolution moved by Mr. Mond (*Chester*) condemning the proposal to "broaden the basis of taxation" by imposing small duties on a variety of

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articles. The mover declared that indirect taxation was unsound and its results were illusory; and dwelt on the inconveniences and cost of the proposed system. Mr. Hills (*Durham*) put the Tariff Reformers' case ably, declaring that "broadening" meant taxation according to ability to pay; Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*) insisted that this result could only be secured by the income tax, which it would be a great moral gain to extend downwards. The debate, however, derived its chief interest from a speech by Mr. Balfour, who, after making various dialectical points, and scouting the idea of an extended income tax, urged that India and Egypt got their revenue from small duties on imports, and declared that we could not meet our engagements out of existing taxation. The only possible sources of increase were Customs duties, which he advocated on financial grounds alone, but which he should doubly welcome if they led to those arrangements with the Colonies to which he personally looked forward as a source of strength to the Empire. Mr. Runciman, Secretary to the Board of Trade, who had only six minutes to wind up the debate, pointed out that Mr. Balfour was now committed to a general tariff (which the Opposition leader, however, disputed), to Colonial preference, and to taxes on food. The Liberal party viewed his plunge with the utmost satisfaction. After repeating the objections to a general tariff, Mr. Runciman contrasted the financial position of England and Germany; and the resolution was carried by 280 to 91.

The controversy between the Liberals and the Lords had meanwhile been somewhat mitigated by the second reading of the Land Values (Scotland) Bill on Thursday, March 27, after two days' debate. Lord Herschell, who was in charge of the Bill, described it as simply a necessary preliminary to rating reform. He gave figures indicating that the expense would be slight, and that the Exchequer might contribute. Viscount Ridley moved the rejection of the Bill, and Viscount St. Aldwyn, after an exhaustive examination, condemned it, as did other Peers, as coming from sources tainted by the doctrines of land nationalisation. The Lord Chancellor, however, repudiated such imputations, declaring that under the present system overcrowding was inevitable, and that the Bill was preliminary to possible palliatives. Lord Balfour of Burleigh desired to get the Bill into Committee for closer examination, and that course was adopted on the advice of the Marquess of Lansdowne, who said that the measure had been introduced in a spirit different from and more conciliatory than that of the previous year.

The death of the Duke of Devonshire on March 24 from pneumonia at Cannes, after some months' illness, was a serious loss to the Free-Trade Unionists, and to English public life generally. In the House of Lords, which adjourned as a mark of respect, eloquent tributes were paid by the Marquess of Ripon, the Marquess of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Rosebery to his

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integrity, his patriotism, his fearlessness, sincerity and cool judgment. The Earl of Rosebery characterised him as "one of the great reserve forces of the country," a man who spoke with exceptional "previous anguish and misery at the time," but whose speeches were read as those of no other private person, for their close argument and reasoning power.

In the Commons Mr. Asquith described the Duke as having won the highest confidence of all sections of public opinion by a life of single-minded devotion to duty, and referred to his inflexible courage and his tranquil indifference to praise or blame. Mr. Balfour spoke of him as the most persuasive speaker he had known, because he never attempted to conceal the strength of the case against him, and in speaking revealed the mental processes which had led him to his conclusion.

The Army (Annual) Bill passed its final stages in the Commons on March 25, without any such conflicts as had sometimes arisen on it in former years; and, as a prelude to the coming Home Rule debate, a resolution condemning the cost of administration of Ireland was moved next day by Mr. Kettle (*Tyrone, S.*). After emphasizing the old grievance of the over-taxation of Ireland, he complained that repressive agencies were overstaffed and overpaid, while developing agencies were starved. The remedy, of course, he found in Home Rule. His views were endorsed by Mr. T. W. Russell, Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture and Technical Education, and on the whole by Mr. Birrell, who said that Ireland, like a poor man with rich relatives, suffered from association with wealthy England. He defended the Administration, however, from the charges of extravagance, and declared that it was free from any trace of corruption. Cattle-driving had necessitated the increase of the police force. Mr. Wyndham argued that Unionist policy would save money on the police which would be available for development; and, in view of the coming resolution on Home Rule, no division was taken.

This resolution, which had relieved the debate on the address of an amendment, had been postponed when Mr. Birrell was seized with influenza; and it subsequently became known that, but for the postponement, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman would have risen from his sick-bed to support it, at the risk of his life. It was moved by Mr. John Redmond on Monday, March 30, in a crowded House. It denounced the existing system of Irish government as inefficient, costly, and universally unpopular in Ireland; demanded reform as vital to Ireland and beneficial to Great Britain, and asserted that the solution lay in giving to the Irish people the full executive and legislative control of all purely Irish affairs. The situation, Mr. Redmond said, required clearing up; there was a large majority of Liberals and Home Rulers, but many of them, and the present Ministry collectively (though not the Prime Minister), were pledged not to deal with the question during the existing

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Parliament; and the failure of the Irish Councils Bill had shown that no half-way measure was possible. The old theory that Irishmen were unfit to rule themselves had been disposed of by the Unionists' Local Government Act of 1898; it was untrue that the County Councils were working badly, and the Land Act had disposed of the argument that under Home Rule the land would be confiscated. As to the bogey of religious bigotry, 27 out of 103 Irish members were Protestant, and the proportion of Protestant officials in the South was higher than that of Catholic officials in the North. In Ulster, a new democratic force was making for self-government. In twenty years of Unionist Government Ireland had not been converted from Home Rule, but almost every official sent there had been converted to it. The only argument left was that of fear—that Home Rule Ireland with 4,000,000 people might injure Great Britain with 40,000,000. Ireland was disloyal, but so were Canada and the Transvaal till they got self-government. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Rainy (*Kilmarnock Burghs*) and met by Earl Percy, on behalf of the Opposition, by an amendment declaring that, as the abandonment by the Imperial Parliament of its undivided responsibility would injure Ireland and endanger Great Britain, the House was unalterably opposed to the creation of an Irish Parliament with a responsible executive. In a spirited speech he declared that the resolution was an attempt to elicit from the Government a statement as to whether they had given up devolution for Home Rule, and, examining it in detail, he maintained that the arguments for a national Parliament in Dublin would apply equally to the establishment of a Unionist Parliament in Belfast. Nationality alone had never been a reason for the grant of self-government. Separation would be a mere prelude to divorce. The geographical position of Ireland must finally dominate the question. Home Rule was a losing cause in the face of the Imperial movement for closer union.

Mr. Birrell said that Earl Percy regarded the Union as a fact in nature, though it was engendered in corruption in 1801. Perhaps there might be a Unionist deal with the Colonial Premiers, all Home Rulers, coupling Home Rule with Tariff Reform. Seriously, our relations with Ireland would have to be modified by one or other party. He laid great stress on the existing lack of time to pass the legislation Ireland urgently needed. The Local Government Act—a stupendous experiment—had worked well, except perhaps in one county. The Liberals had undertaken not to raise the Home Rule question during the existing Parliament because it would exclude all other questions. It was not possible to say what question would be predominant at a general election, but, if the Irish wished Home Rule to be so, let them state their views and the security offered for the protection of the minority.

Mr. Butcher (*Cambridge University*) laid stress on the in-

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tolerance of the Irish County Council electorate, and on the fact that the Nationalist leaders had never uttered a word in defence of individual liberty against the oppression of a minority. Home Rule would lead to the withdrawal of capital, which would be used as an argument for separation, now supported by the Sinn Fein party. Home Rule he described as a desperate gamble with Imperial interests.

After other speeches and a scene, Mr. Balfour made what was described as an effective debating speech. Land purchase and local government in Ireland, he said, had always been part of Unionist policy; Irishmen had great political ability, and the County Councils had been an administrative success; but the appointments they made were political, and the minority would fare badly under Home Rule. Such difficulties as the position of the Irish representatives and the relations of the two Exchequers were insoluble. The whole tendency of modern times was towards integration. The Government had not declared their policy, and he challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do so.

Mr. Asquith assured Mr. Balfour that he had never felt less embarrassed. He still believed in self-government for Ireland in regard to purely local affairs. He could not vote for Mr. Redmond's resolution as it stood because it did not explicitly recognise Imperial supremacy, nor could he if it required the present Parliament to undertake Home Rule Legislation. The pledges given in 1906 had been given in order to concentrate the forces of Free-Trade. The utmost they could do was the Irish Councils Bill. Earl Percy's amendment implied, wrongly, that Home Rule involved the establishment of co-ordinate Parliaments, and was otherwise a mere barren negation. Disintegration at present existed between Ireland and the United Kingdom, and the gravest constitutional problem of the day was to set the Imperial Parliament free for Imperial affairs. He did not know by what precise stages the goal would be reached, but he thought it inevitable; but he admitted that the British people had to be convinced.

Mr. T. M. Healy expressed his bitter disappointment at the Prime Minister's speech, and Earl Percy's amendment was rejected by 334 to 142. An amendment asserting the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, which Mr. Redmond had accepted, though describing it as meaningless, and Mr. Asquith had declared necessary, was then moved and seconded respectively by Mr. Simon (*Walthamstow, Essex*) and Mr. Trevelyan (*Elland, W.R. Yorks*) and agreed to, and the amended resolution was carried by 313 to 157. Seven Liberals voted with the Opposition for Earl Percy's amendment, and 22 against the resolution as amended.

The third great measure of the session, the Irish University Bill, was awaited with much interest, and was introduced by Mr. Birrell on March 31 in a House crowded with members and strangers. He began by defending Mr. Bryce's action

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(ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 5) and declaring that he himself had only accepted the Irish Secretaryship in the hope of being able to deal with the problem. The provision of cheap, popular, and good higher education in Ireland was a vital necessity; Ireland needed good teaching and mental discipline. It had two Universities—Trinity College, a wealthy and splendid body, free from tests, but little resorted to by Roman Catholics and still less by Presbyterians, and the Royal University, a purely examining body, whose degrees were prepared for by the three Queen's Colleges and the Catholic college at Stephen's Green, and to a greater extent by private establishments. The Queen's Colleges in Cork and Galway had been failures; and some federation was necessary, but Mr. Bryce's big federal scheme had been rejected. It was unpopular locally and would interfere with local patriotism and the autonomy of the outlying college. The alternative two-college scheme was refused by Trinity College, so he had been driven to another solution. There would be two new universities founded by Royal Charter, one in Dublin, consisting of the Cork and Galway Colleges and a new college in Dublin, and one in Belfast, consisting of Queen's College, both having also limited powers of affiliation. The Royal University would be dissolved. There would be no religious tests and no declaration from professors. The governing authorities would be Senates, eventually academically elected, the Crown reserving the right to make certain nominations. For five years they would be nominated, and on each there would be two ladies, with one Roman Catholic in Belfast (thirty-six members) and seven Protestants in Dublin (thirty-five members). He described the composition of the Senates and the reconstituted governing bodies of the Cork and Galway Colleges, and stated that professors would be appointed and dismissed by the Senates, with a right of appeal to the Crown through a board of visitors. The professors at the new Dublin College would be appointed by a statutory commission. Its first president should be a young Catholic layman. Maynooth College and Magee College would probably be affiliated. Every precaution would be taken to maintain a high standard of education, and no public money would be spent on religious worship or teaching. The Exchequer charge for Irish University education, now 36,500*l.* a year, would be 80,000*l.*, and the 20,000*l.* a year from the Irish Church Fund now paid to the Royal University would be divided between the new universities. Of this 80,000*l.* Belfast would get 18,000*l.*, the new Dublin college 32,000*l.*, and the Cork and Galway colleges 18,000*l.* and 12,000*l.* respectively. Building grants would be given of 60,000*l.* to Belfast, 150,000*l.* to Dublin, and also to Cork and Galway. Both universities would be undenominational and free from tests, though one was on Protestant and one on Catholic soil.

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The scheme was heartily welcomed by Mr. Balfour, who thought, however, that the Crown ought to have a permanent share in appointing the professors; by Mr. Dillon, who said that the proposed university would be acceptable to the Roman Catholics, and would be no more clerical in character than any other institution for higher education; and by Mr. Butcher (*Cambridge University*), who, however, had misgivings as to the provisions regarding affiliation, especially as affecting Maynooth. It was also commended by Mr. Massie (*Cricklade, Wilts*), a Liberal Nonconformist, who was, however, less warm in his approval; and by Mr. W. O'Brien (*Cork*), Mr. Wyndham, and Sir Edward Carson; but Mr. Moore (*Armagh, N.*) condemned it as denominational, and as degrading Trinity College into a mere theological training college, and Mr. C. Craig (*Antrim, S.*) took the same line. Leave was given to bring in the Bill by 307 to 24, a few English Liberals and Unionists joining the Ulster members in the minority.

A group of minor Irish debates may be mentioned parenthetically here. The theft of the Dublin Crown jewels (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 268) and the consequent removal of Sir Arthur Vicars from his post (Jan. 31) had been the subject of several questions, and on April 1 Mr. Birrell took occasion to contradict indignantly a widespread rumour, which had appeared in print, connecting Lord Haddo, son of the Viceroy, with the theft. The robbery, he pointed out, occurred between June 11 and July 6, 1907, and Lord Haddo had lived in Scotland and London without intermission from March 7 until December 7. The Glenahiry explosion (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 265) had also given rise to questions from both sides of the House. The report of Deputy-Inspector Preston, published on March 16, had proved to have been more adverse to Lord Ashtown than had been expected, and not to have been added to by his superiors, as some Unionists had believed. Both Lord Ashtown and the Nationalists renewed their demands for an inquiry, and a motion embodying the demand, and proposing that the inquiry should also cover the alleged attempt to incite to outrage on August 31, 1907, was moved and seconded respectively by Mr. Haviland Burke (*Tullamore, King's County*) and Mr. Power (*Waterford, E.*). Two Ulster members, Mr. Moore and Captain Craig, moved an amendment extending the scope of the inquiry to the action of the police and the preparation of their reports. The debate was stormy, and it was explained by the Attorney-General for Ireland, who effectively defended the police, that no inquiry of any real use could be held without legislation, for which there was no time. The Government could only appoint a Viceregal Commission without power to call for papers or to administer an oath. The amendment was withdrawn, and the resolution rejected by 137 to 110.

The Kingstown harbour dispute between the City of Dublin Steam-Packet Company—an Irish undertaking—and the London

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and North-Western Railway united both Irish parties against the Government. The railway company, after a dispute with the Dublin Harbour Board, had transferred their steamers from Dublin to Carlisle Pier, Kingstown, which the Government had given them leave to use; the steam-packet company, claiming the exclusive use of it, had attempted to substantiate their claim by a Petition of Right. The action of the Government in ordering the removal of the steamers was debated as of "urgent public importance" at the instance of Mr. Clancy in the Commons on April 2; but it was explained as taken merely to preserve order, and the question was ultimately decided by the law courts in favour of the railway company.

The fate of the Education Bill was still in suspense; but the Bishop of St. Asaph had come forward with a measure of compromise. In moving the second reading on March 30, he described it as an expansion of his Transferred Schools Bill (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1904, p. 121). It would make all public elementary schools "provided schools"; their teachers would not be subjected to religious tests or required to give religious teaching, but they might offer to give either simple Christian or denominational instruction. Cowper-Temple teaching would be given in all public elementary schools; denominational teaching might be given on three days a week to children whose parents desired it, but not at the cost of the local authority. Schools held by trustees might be transferred to the local educational authority, the use being reserved for the trustees on Saturdays and Sundays, and not less than two other days weekly out of school hours, with an appeal for both sides to the Board of Education respecting terms. The Bill was favourably received by the Primate, whose speech Lord Rosebery described as "brave and noble," but who pointed out that it did not cover all cases; the Bishop of Birmingham and Viscount Halifax did not accept it; and, on the motion of the Marquess of Lansdowne, the debate was adjourned in order to take up the measure, if desired, in connection with the proposals of the Government.

A stage in the transformation of the Army was completed by the cessation of the old Volunteer force on March 31. It was celebrated by concerts, dinners and speeches; and several regiments held farewell parades and mustered out with due ceremonial. At Wolverton, two days later, Mr. Haldane made a hopeful speech on the prospects of the scheme. Its critics, however, were unconverted; and a somewhat angry correspondence was published between the War Minister and Mr. Arnold-Forster, on the refusal of the former to publish reports which were alleged to be unfavourable to the scheme.

To return to the Ministerial programme, another very important measure, the Port of London Bill, was introduced by Mr. Lloyd-George, President of the Board of Trade, on Thursday, April 2. The problem, he said, was urgent, since London

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had to compete both with other British ports and with formidable and subsidised rivals on the Continent. The Bill proposed to set up a Port Authority chosen mainly by those trading in the port, but with municipal and public elements; this body would take over the functions of the Thames Conservancy below Teddington Lock and would immediately take steps to improve the condition of the river, and, if necessary, construct new docks. Additional revenue would be obtained from duties on goods, and barges would have a registration fee. Unlike previous Bills, this would not provide a municipal subsidy, and the controlling body under it would be smaller. The Port Authority would be able to acquire land by a summary and cheap process. Provision would be made for housing dockers, and for the registration of casual labour. That afternoon the last of the dock companies, the Surrey Commercial, had come to terms.

An official memorandum subsequently published showed that the governing body would consist of twenty-five members, with a chairman and vice-chairman who might be appointed from outside; five members would be appointed by the London County Council, three from among its own members and two from outside; two by the Board of Trade, and one apiece by the Admiralty, the City Corporation, and Trinity House (two of these ten being experienced in dock management), and fourteen would be elected by the payers of dues, owners of river craft, and wharfingers voting together. The first Port Authority, however, would be appointed. The docks would be paid for in redeemable Port Stock. The port would extend from Teddington to a point fifty-one miles below London Bridge. Above Teddington the Thames Conservancy was reconstituted.

The Government had thus made considerable headway with its programme, and proposed to take the second reading of the Licensing Bill on April 6; and it was reviving from the shock of Peckham. The Budget prospects, moreover, were hopeful; the financial year had ended with an increase of 1,501,000*l.* as compared with its predecessor, and of 3,703,000*l.* above the estimates. The political situation was reviewed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at a dinner given by City Liberals to Lord Swaythling (Sir Samuel Montagu) at the Hotel Cecil on April 1. After deploring the illness of the Prime Minister, he declared that the Liberal party had never been in better fighting trim. They would rather lose fifty seats than win such a victory as Peckham. They were sensibly abating the inflated expenditure of their predecessors, and endeavouring to reduce the national liabilities. As to the Licensing Bill, they were ready to discuss details; but the liquor interest claimed to defy the interest of the community at large. He referred to the attacks made on him in the City (p. 69), and remarked that Consols and all gilt-edged securities had risen since the introduction of the Bill. Doubtless this was due to other

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causes also, but it was nonsense to denounce the Bill as a first step in a campaign of plunder. No greater disservice could be done to the cause of property than to associate it with the perpetuation of the liquor monopoly. The Government was quite unmoved by the clamour, and meant to persevere.

However, an event foreseen for some weeks now occurred at an unexpected moment, postponed the second reading of the Licensing Bill, and set up a new stage in the career of Ministers. Early on Sunday morning, April 5, a courier arrived at Biarritz, where the King had been for a month, bearing the Prime Minister's resignation, tendered "on the urgent representations of his medical advisers." It had been understood for some time that Mr. Asquith would succeed Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and that several changes would be made in the Government, among them the promotion of Mr. Lloyd-George to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and of Mr. Winston Churchill to Cabinet office. Departing from the constitutional tradition, the King did not return; but, having accepted Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's resignation with expressions of regret and esteem, he summoned Mr. Asquith to Biarritz. Parliament was adjourned on April 7 for a week; and the second reading of the Licensing Bill was postponed perforce.

The resignation had been announced in both Houses on Monday, April 6. The Marquess of Ripon alluded to the late Prime Minister's singular influence over the Commons, based on perfect temper, earnest sympathy with the feelings and principles of his party, and unfailing courtesy to opponents. The Marquess of Lansdowne added a few words of sympathy. In the Commons Mr. Asquith declared that no Prime Minister resigning had ever been more universally or deservedly beloved; and that every member had come that day under the shadow of a personal loss. Mr. Balfour fully endorsed all that the Prime Minister had said; and Mr. John Redmond, speaking for the Nationalists, declared that in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's retirement the Nationalists had suffered a loss second only to that of Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Asquith was not popular among the extreme Labour party and the Irish Nationalists, but it was thought that he would, as *The Times* said, "pull the party into line." His acceptance of the Premiership was announced on April 8. The fact that the King received him on foreign soil was commented on by *The Times* as "an inconvenient and dangerous departure from precedent," and its comments were fully endorsed by the leading Liberal weekly, *The Nation*.

The Opposition view of the change was expressed by the Marquess of Lansdowne, at a complimentary dinner given him by the Conservative Club on April 8. The Radical party, he said, was taking a fresh departure under less favourable conditions than when they started in 1905. Free discussion had

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been curtailed in Parliament, the Army and Navy were made subjects of experiment, Ireland was disturbed, and he predicted that they would come to grief on finance. There had been a taint of vindictiveness in their policy on education, licensing, the land question and the House of Lords; and the attack on that House was a failure. He hoped the new Government would deal with these problems in a spirit of moderation. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, speaking at Basingstoke at a political meeting for the first time for ten years, on April 9, thought that the Government was decaying, and that all sections of Unionists could unite on Mr. Balfour's fiscal platform. This announcement caused some sensation in view of the attitude of the Indian Government on the fiscal question in 1904.

Mr. Asquith arrived in London on April 10. The list of the reconstructed Cabinet was published on April 13, and the Ministers kissed hands on appointment on the return of the King from Biarritz three days later. The changes are most conveniently given in tabular form.

	1905.	1908.
Prime Minister - - -	Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.	Mr. Asquith.
Chan. of the Exchequer -	Mr. Asquith.	Mr. Lloyd-George.
First Lord of the Admiralty -	Lord Tweedmouth.	Mr. McKenna.
Sec. for the Colonies -	The Earl of Elgin.	The Earl of Crewe.
Pres. of the Council - - -	The Earl of Crewe.	Lord Tweedmouth.
Pres. of the Board of Trade -	Mr. Lloyd-George.	Mr. Winston Churchill.
Pres. of the Board of Education -	Mr. R. McKenna.	Mr. Walter Runciman.

It was stated that Mr. John Morley had declined the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and that he and Sir Henry Fowler would keep their posts as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Secretary for India, but would receive peerages. The Earl of Crewe replaced the Marquess of Ripon as leader of the Upper House, and the Earl of Elgin retired altogether, refusing a marquessate.

Outside the Cabinet the changes were:—

	1905.	1908.
Under-Sec. for Colonies - -	Mr. Winston Churchill.	Col. Seely.
,, ,, War - - -	Earl of Portsmouth.	Lord Lucas of Crudwell.
,, ,, India - - -	Mr. C. E. Hobhouse.	Mr. T. R. Buchanan.
Financial Sec. War Office - -	Mr. T. R. Buchanan.	Mr. F. Dyke Acland.
,, ,, Treasury - -	Mr. Walter Runciman (1907).	Mr. C. E. Hobhouse.
Sec. to Admiralty - - -	Mr. Edmund Robertson, K.C.	Dr. T. J. Macnamara.
,, ,, Local Government Bd. -	Dr. T. J. Macnamara.	Mr. C. F. Masterman.
,, ,, Board of Education -	Mr. Thomas Lough.	Mr. T. McKinnon-Wood.

The Earl of Portsmouth, Mr. Lough, and Mr. Edmund Robertson retired from the Government, the second becoming a Privy Councillor and the last-named being raised to the Peerage as Lord Lochee of Gowrie.

The new appointments met with general approval. It was thought that Mr. Asquith was more in sympathy than his predecessor with Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy, that a settlement might be reached on the education question, and that there would be a slackening in the campaign against the Lords.

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Both Houses of Parliament reassembled on April 15, after the adjournment, to hear the Royal Assent given to the Army Bill, and to adjourn over the Easter recess. New writs were issued in the Commons for the seats vacated, and, on the motion for adjournment until April 27, there was a debate on the alleged dumping of American hops, initiated by Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*), whose information, however, proved to be greatly exaggerated. Demonstrations had been held in the hop-growing districts in favour of the imposition of a duty of 40*s.* per cwt. on imported hops; but the matter was under consideration of a Select Committee, which reported later in the year adversely to this proposal.

CHAPTER III.

FROM EASTER TO WHITSUNTIDE.

THE abridged Easter recess was a period of unusual interest, due to the change of Government and the miniature general election. The Ministerial changes, or the elevation of Ministers to peerages, would necessitate fresh elections in North-West Manchester, Dewsbury, West Wolverhampton, Dundee and Montrose; while West Derbyshire, Central Sheffield and Kincardineshire were vacant respectively through the succession of Mr. Victor Cavendish to the Dukedom of Devonshire and the deaths of Sir Howard Vincent (April 7) and of Mr. J. W. Crombie (March 22). Of these West Derbyshire and Central Sheffield were uncontested, the Liberal candidates applied to preferring to wait till the general election. Of the seats contested, it was only in North-West Manchester and West Wolverhampton a fortnight later that the Ministry ran any great electoral risk. Mr. Churchill's success in a normally Unionist constituency had been one of the earlier surprises of the general election of 1906, and the education controversy in all Lancashire had been specially acute; but the result of the election was believed to depend largely on the vote of a body of Free-Trade Unionists. Mr. Churchill had thrown himself at once into the fray, and his spirited address, published April 13, was an appeal to the special interests of the City, admirably calculated to rally the forces of Liberalism and Free Trade. The two years since the general election (he said) had been the best years Manchester had ever known. To him they had been years of exacting labour. South Africa was now moving towards a strong Afrikander federation under the Union Jack; Nigeria and Uganda were being developed as cotton-growing regions; and his new office at the Board of Trade was of special importance to Manchester, more especially by its connection with the solution of trade disputes, with patents, and with the question of unemployment. He defended the Licen-

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sing Bill in its integrity, and appealed for a compromise on the education question. Finally, he condemned the practice of opposing the re-election of Ministers, and laid stress on the successes achieved by the Government. However, he was strongly opposed by the women suffragists, who declared, in an "open letter" to the women of Great Britain, that Mr. Asquith would only yield to political force as exercised at the ballot box; and a Socialist, Mr. Dan Irving, came forward to divide the Free-Trade vote. The Unionist candidate was Mr. Joynson Hicks, Mr. Churchill's opponent at the general election—a prominent London solicitor, a fervent temperance advocate, and an ardent motorist.

On both sides the election produced curious cross-currents and interesting tactical developments. Sir Alfred Jones, a Tariff Reformer, urged Mr. Churchill's claims to support at Manchester on the ground of his services to cotton-growing in Africa; but the leading elements of uncertainty were the attitude of the Free-Trade Unionists and of the Irish. Mr. Churchill wished to make the fiscal issue prominent; Mr. Joynson Hicks, while accepting Mr. Balfour's fiscal platform, preferred at first to keep Tariff Reform in the background and to attract the support of the Free-Trade Unionists by giving prominence to licensing, education, and the general policy of the Government. On the licensing question, however, it was remembered that he had given evidence in 1898 before Lord Peel's Licensing Commission advocating a five years' time-limit. He defended his consistency by saying that the time-limit advocated in 1898 differed from that proposed in 1906; and, on April 16, he gave way to the Tariff Reformers by declaring himself independent of the support of the Unionist Free-Trade League.

On the Irish attitude, Mr. John Redmond, addressing the United Irish League at Dublin on April 15, had deprecated the disappointment felt in Ireland at the result of the Home Rule debate (p. 75). The Liberal party (he said) had supported Home Rule by an enormous majority, which included Mr. Asquith, Mr. Birrell, and Sir Edward Grey. It was known before that the existing Parliament was pledged not to deal with the subject. But whereas the late Premier had been not only a convinced, but an enthusiastic, Home Ruler, Mr. Asquith, though intellectually a Home Ruler, was not enthusiastic. Again, whilst Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's policy involved a direct challenge to the Lords, Mr. Asquith would probably be conciliatory and try to remain in office for some years. That meant an unfortunate change in Liberal policy. The Irish members would not defeat their own Bills, but it was their interest to force a dissolution, and he did not think they could ask the Irish electors at Manchester to support Mr. Churchill. In conclusion, he urged more vigorous action amongst the Irish party.

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The withholding of the Irish vote from Mr. Churchill was also urged by the Catholic clergy of Manchester, from the Bishop of Salford downwards, but the mass of the Irish electors was indisposed to follow their advice. Speaking on Easter Monday at the St. John's Schools, Garside Street, Mr. Churchill, after a fresh profession of his own Home Rule faith, declared that he had the concurrence of the Prime Minister for saying that after the close of the existing Parliament the Liberal party should claim full authority and a free hand to deal with the problem of Irish self-government without being restricted to measures like the Irish Councils Bill. The Irish leaders in Manchester hereupon advised the electors to support him.

Much was made on the Unionist side of the rise in bread and of that in coal (past and prospective); but the Free-Trade cause was advocated in three vigorous and brilliant speeches by Mr. Lloyd-George on Tuesday, April 21. He remarked on the conflict between the Government and vested interests, and forcibly emphasised the interest of Lancashire in a Free-Trade policy. Trade was to be helped by the Patents Act, by the development of inland transport and by land reform. He promised also, that old-age pensions would be in existence within the next twelve months. However, on April 24, Mr. Joynson Hicks was returned. He received 5,517 votes, against 4,988 given to Mr. Churchill and only 276 to Mr. Dan Irving, the Socialist candidate. The result was claimed as a victory for Tariff Reform, though Mr. Joynson Hicks ascribed it to the influence of the Education and Licensing Bills, the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and the Home Rule question, and stated that many avowed Free Traders had supported him in order to "put a nail in the coffin of this miserable Government." Mr. Winston Churchill, however, described it as a heavy blow to the cause of Liberalism and Free Trade; but stated that the election had been fought with perfect order and propriety, except for the influence of the "Harmsworth Press." He was at once invited to stand for Dundee, and plunged with characteristic energy into the fresh contest.

At Dewsbury on the previous day (April 23) Mr. Runciman had held the seat in spite of the diversion of 2,446 votes to a Labour candidate. The Liberal and Labour votes together, both candidates being Free Traders, outnumbered the Unionist vote by two to one; the latter was less than that of 1902, though above that cast at the general election. In Kincardineshire, where the women suffragists had been very active and the Tariff Reformers hopeful, the Liberal victory was a bitter disappointment for the latter.

Parliament reassembled after Easter on April 27, but only to adjourn till the next day as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Prime Minister. His death, which had for some time been expected, had come—somewhat suddenly at the last—on April 22, and drew forth from all parties at home, as well as

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from statesmen and leading newspapers on the Continent, displays of respect and affection which stood out in striking contrast to the savage attacks of some Unionists a few years before. It was generally admitted that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had not reached the first rank of statesmen: but he had shown himself an excellent administrator in several departments; he had been chosen to lead his party in circumstances of great difficulty (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 13), and he had acquired a singular ascendancy both in it and in the House. He had reconciled its conflicting sections, had conciliated the Irish, and had gratified his advanced followers by linking the Free-Trade campaign with Social Reform. The King's personal regard for him was exhibited in the farewell visit paid on March 5 before his Majesty left for Biarritz. His funeral service in Westminster Abbey (April 27) was attended by the Prince of Wales—the King and Queen being absent at Copenhagen—by the French Prime Minister, M. Clemenceau, who came specially from Paris, by representatives of the various departments of State, the Diplomatic Corps, the Universities, and leading Liberal organisations and public bodies. By his own wish he was buried at Meigle, Perthshire, near his home and beside his wife. The House of Commons adjourned out of respect for his memory, after impressive tributes by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Akers-Douglas (in the absence through illness of Mr. Balfour, who expressed his own feelings in a letter to Mr. Asquith), Mr. T. P. O'Connor (in the absence of Mr. Redmond) and Sir A. Thomas and Mr. Henderson, for the Welsh and Labour members respectively. Mr. Asquith laid stress on the acuteness of the late Premier's sympathies, his sensitiveness to suffering, his reliance on moral force, his passionate love of peace, his calm, persistent, and indomitable courage, and his idealism and optimism. After alluding to his own last interview with his chief, he described him, in the words of Sir Henry Wotton, as an example of the happy man

> "Whose armour is his honest thought,
> And simple truth his utmost skill".

Similar tributes were paid in the House of Lords on its reassembling a week later.

The debate on the second reading of the Licensing Bill began next day, April 28, in a crowded House. The measure had been endorsed by the Primate on that day at the annual meeting of the Church of England Temperance Society. The more he looked at it, he said, the more convinced he felt that its principles were right and just. The time-limit was right in principle, and he was investigating the financial side with expert aid. Clubs had been dealt with more drastically in Scotland and Ireland by Acts of 1903 and 1904, and, if the club and time-limit problems were fairly solved, the battle was half won.

Mr. Asquith, who was loudly cheered on his rising as Prime

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Minister to move the second reading, restated the fundamental aims of the Government as the improvement of the conditions of the liquor traffic and the recovery, with due but not undue regard for existing interests, of the State control of the monopoly. Ministers, he said, assumed, as did Mr. Balfour's Act of 1904, a relation between intemperance and the facilities for getting drink. But under that Act the reduction would become slower, and was uneven, sporadic, and very costly. This Bill would make it cheaper for the trade, and more effective. The Government would consider any proposals for checking the growth of bogus clubs, and welcome proposals for the omission of anything which could offend respectable clubs. As to their second purpose, a licence was granted for a year only, and need not be renewed; the holder had defeasible expectations of renewal, too fragile to be property, but deserving attention, which they were receiving in a most equitable form. In the case of a "free" public-house, where the publican could buy and sell his liquors as he pleased, the monopoly value was "the capitalised value of the difference between the licensed and the unlicensed rental of the premises." In a tied house it was something quite different; *viz.*, the monopoly for the sale of the commodities produced by a particular brewer free from the competition of his trade rivals. A large proportion of the admittedly inflated prices paid in the later years of the last century for licensed premises was paid, not for the State monopoly, but for this special privilege with which the State had nothing to do. The reckless competition between brewery companies for tied houses, fratricidal in intention, had been suicidal in effect. In this class of property there had been a great depreciation in the last few years, due partly to the diminishing consumption of liquor, but mainly to the losses incurred in the brewers' gamble to obtain exclusive markets. In Committee it might be well to define monopoly value and secure that it should go not to localities, but to the State. As to a time-limit, there would be no legal wrong in proposing that every licence should end after a term of years; but policy and equity demanded the recognition of the expectations on which the industry had been conducted. Did the Opposition agree with the organs of the trade and the magnates of the City that law, custom, and the Act of 1904 had given the speculator in tied houses a permanent interest, limited by proof of misconduct or payment of compensation? Was the House to be asked to "transfer a speculative counter into coin of the realm"? The Government were not intimidated by the outcry against the Bill. They thought there had been miscalculation of the character and potency of the forces behind it. In any case, they would persevere with their task.

The Opposition amendment called on the House to refuse to proceed with a measure failing to promote the cause of temperance, and violating the principles of equity. This was

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moved by Mr. Cave (*Kingston, Surrey*) in a temperate and effective speech. He believed, he said, in reduction of the number of public-houses, but not in reduction according to a fixed ratio to population. He contended, on an examination of evidence from Lancashire, the United States, and the Colonies, that there was no relation between the amount of drunkenness and the number of licences. He argued, giving a number of examples, that the compensation given under the Bill would be a mere fraction of the capital invested. Nor would the publican be better off than at present; he would run a greater risk of having his licence withheld, and in fourteen years he would lose it without compensation. The local justices would merely be free to select victims for execution. This was not a temperance measure, but a Bill to transfer to the public the profits and goodwill of the trade. The Government were proceeding on the Socialist principle that, with notice, any interest might be confiscated. He attacked the provisions as to local veto, clubs and barmaids. Even if the Bill could be proved effective in lessening intemperance, a great good should not be based on a great wrong.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Evelyn Cecil (*Aston Manor*), who laid stress on the probable injury to investors and employment. On the other hand, Mr. Leif Jones (*Appleby, Westmoreland*), President of the United Kingdom Alliance, congratulated the Government on their courage, and held that they had been almost too generous to the trade. The brewery companies had brought their troubles on themselves. The struggle was between the forces of good and evil. But Mr. Barnard (*Kidderminster*), a Liberal, thought the consideration showed to trade interests insufficient, and Sir J. Dickson-Poynder urged a considerable extension of the time-limit. After other speeches, Mr. H. Samuel (Under-Secretary for the Home Department) argued that public-houses, like advertisements, hypnotised people into buying what they did not need; evidence, statistical and historical, showed that drunkenness increased with the spread of facilities for drinking, and the Act of 1904 admitted it; but by that Act each district could only depend for reduction on its own funds, and on the voluntary action of the local justices. After touching on the question of clubs, he declared that the monopoly value did not include the ordinary trade profit, the goodwill, or the value of the buildings, but only the value of the advantage conferred by the exclusion of free competition. He dealt very fully with the finance of the Bill, and said that, in regard to the time-limit, the Peel Commission had recommended seven years, and the Prime Minister would be prepared to consider any well-authenticated facts showing that fourteen years was too much or too little.

The debate was resumed next day by Mr. Long, who emphasised the Opposition arguments against the Bill, and declared that a time-limit was incompatible with a concurrent compulsory

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levy for compensation. The recovery of the monopoly value by the State was a fiscal, not a temperance question. He condemned the treatment of local authorities and of mortgagees, and remarked that the Government departments owning licensed houses had made no provision against this legislation, though they had sometimes sold the public-houses to the highest bidder. [This referred to the recent sale of the War Department of the Coach and Horses public-house at Portsmouth. Later, the debate was embittered by a charge made against Mr. Whiteley, the Liberal whip (*Pudsey, Yorks*), by Mr. Faber (*York*), and subsequently persisted in, of selling a brewery at Blackburn, which was part of a trust estate, at an inflated price.]

Of the speeches delivered on the succeeding days only a few can be mentioned here. Sir S. T. Evans (*Mid-Glamorgan*), the Solicitor-General, effectively defended the Bill; Mr. F. E. Smith delivered a spirited attack on it in the interest of investors, pointing out that death duties were charged on licensed property on the assumption that licences would be renewed indefinitely, and stating that in Meux's brewery more than two-fifths of the debenture stock was held by trustees and women. Liberal members, he added, feared to touch clubs, though these gave variety entertainments on Sundays and Good Friday. Mr. A. E. W. Mason (*Coventry*) and Mr. Whitbread (*Huntingdon, Hunts*), both Liberals, attacked the Bill, the speech of the latter being especially effective from its moderation. Mr. Gladstone (April 30) argued elaborately that there would be no spoliation after the expiry of the time-limit, defended the plan of establishing a Commission to administer the Compensation Fund and co-ordinate the work of the licensing authorities, and dealt at some length with the question of clubs, declaring that the Government were prepared to strengthen the proposals in the Bill. Mr. Austen Chamberlain denounced the Bill, and incidentally declared that temperance would be better promoted by the opening of beer halls, to which working-men could take their families. But the most important of these speeches was delivered by Sir Thomas Whittaker (*Spen Valley, W.R. Yorks*), who was sometimes described by Unionists as the real author of the Bill. Sunday closing, he said, had produced good results, and falsified the predictions as to the effect of this Bill; and the reduction of public-houses had not promoted the multiplication of clubs. As to the time-limit, the fourteen years' notice was equivalent to ten and a half years' purchase, which had actually been awarded by a Judge. At the end of it, they would make a fresh start. The fall in brewery stocks had mainly taken place under the Unionist Government, and had been practically nothing since the introduction of the Bill. He had had the balance-sheets of 142 brewery companies with a capital of 110,000,000*l.* specially investigated by experts. The first group—thirty companies, with a capital of 22,000,000*l.*, and ample reserves—could replace the whole monopoly value of

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their premises in fifteen years, going on meanwhile with their 1907 dividend, averaging 12½ per cent. The second—thirty companies, with a capital of 13,000,000*l.*—could do the same and continue paying 6 to 7 per cent. Then came eighty-two inferior companies, which had small reserves and large debenture debts, and of which many had lost half their capital before this Government took office. He concluded that sound companies would be uninjured by the Bill; many others could continue to pay 6 or 7 per cent.; but the third lot could not, because they were over-capitalised; they should be reconstructed and their capital "written down." The total capital value of all the brewery companies and licensed houses in England and Wales was about 190,000,000*l.* About half that sum represented the monopoly value, and, allowing for the licences wiped out and paid for during the fourteen years allowed, the provision for it represented 3,500,000*l.* or 3,250,000*l.* annually on a sale, on the on-licences, of 1,000,000*l.* After the fourteen years, the State would take only the monopoly profit. The trouble had arisen because the brewers had taken up tied houses, which had been condemned as long ago as 1818. As a precedent for the time-limit, he pointed out that the expectation of renewal of leases of Church property was extinguished after four years' notice in 1864.

On the fourth and concluding day of the debate (May 4) the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd-George) ridiculed the introduction of the claims of the widows and orphans, who seemed to have invested in ground values, slum houses, the South African mines that could not pay without Chinese labour, and brewery stocks. The Bill was said to tend to increase the consumption of drink, and yet it was to ruin the brewers. All the speeches against the Bill had treated it purely as a property question. But he challenged members to show that a licence was an indefeasible form of property. Before 1904, the licensee had only an expectation of renewal, defeasible on misconduct or on account of redundancy. A licence was taxed on its market value, but so were new licences under the Act of 1904 and licences in Canada, where they might be terminated after a year without compensation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, licences were swept away by thousands without compensation. Now, instead of a shadowy expectation of renewal, the Government were offering the trade a time-limit and compensation for fourteen years. After that, the locality, instead of the magistrates, would decide on its own needs. It would be local option through the ballot-box instead of the witness-box. In the poorest districts there was a congestion of public-houses, and the Act was not getting rid of them fast enough, for their accounts were "fattened for the slaughter." The Bill would put licensees on their good behaviour and secure a free hand for the State to experiment at the end of the time-limit. He preferred the Canadian to

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the German model. The drink bill of this country was 22*l.* per family; let them study its effect on child-life and crime. The Government would fail in their duty if they were to shrink from doing all in their power to deal with intemperance.

Mr. Lyttelton said that the cause of temperance was more likely to be served by less imprudent measures. He thought the magistrates' power to refuse any licence had been confused by Ministerial speakers with the power to refuse all licences, the exercise of which would be assuming the functions of Parliament. The Government had combined incompatible schemes; a mutual insurance fund and a time-limit. The *status quo ante* 1904 would not be restored at the end of the time-limit; a return to it would merely expose licences to the risk of reduction, while this Bill would expose them to the certainty of destruction. The reserve funds of brewery companies were accumulated for trade contingencies, and it was unfair that they should be absorbed in the contingency created by the Bill. As to clubs, they could not be interfered with, and they would multiply as public-houses decreased.

After other speeches, the debate was wound up for the Opposition by Sir Edward Carson (*Dublin University*), who necessarily traversed familiar ground, urging that the course taken involved a danger to property. Mr. Asquith replied briefly, going over the main points of his arguments on previous occasions, and claiming that the Opposition had completely failed to dispose of his case. He contended that a reduction of licences in a prescribed time and on a uniform scale was a necessary preliminary to temperance reform; that the scale of compensation was justified, and the time-limit likewise. If an annually ascending scale of licence duties were proposed, it would not be confiscation; but to take nothing and give fifteen years' notice was denounced as confiscation. The issue was whether public or private interest should predominate.

The amendment was rejected by 397 to 147, and the second reading carried by 394 to 148. Five Liberals voted for the amendment, and several Ulster Unionists either abstained or voted for the Bill.

The Government had thus secured the continued support promised it at the Liberal party meeting held at the Reform Club on April 30. At this meeting Sir John Brunner, an advanced Liberal, took the chair, and expressed his belief that Mr. Asquith would work in the spirit of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's great speech at the Albert Hall (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1905, p. 239), and appeal, equally with his predecessor, to the moral sympathy and earnestness of the people of the three kingdoms. Incidentally, Sir John Brunner alarmed the old-fashioned individualist Liberals by urging the new Government to give up the *laisser-faire* element in the policy of the Manchester school, and thus forestall the Unionist party. A resolution deploring the loss of the late Premier was paid by Mr. J.

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E. Ellis and Mr. Charles Fenwick, and one of welcome to Mr. Asquith was moved by Sir Brampton Gurdon, seconded by Mr. Bart, and supported by Mr. Eugene Wason and Sir Alfred Thomas on behalf respectively of the Scottish and Welsh members. Mr. Asquith, after cordially acknowledging his welcome, remarked that the seats lost—except Mid-Devon, where local and personal influences had been at work—were normally Tory seats submerged by the high tide of 1906. It was the Parliamentary, not the electoral, situation that was critical. There was a change of leadership, but no change in policy or purpose. They still had to defend the citadel of Free Trade. They must work and hope for an educational settlement, but they could not abandon their principles or their friends, nor leave things in their present intolerable condition. The Licensing Bill had been met with a storm of misrepresentation, but no act of the Liberal party for years had done more to give it a real foothold among the intelligent electorate. They were determined rather to sink in solving this great social problem than not to solve it at all. They would have to grapple with the social questions connected with poverty and unemployment, and, in particular, with the organised treatment of the problems connected with childhood and old age. Within the next week they would have taken the first step towards dealing with one of those problems.

The two days intervening between the second reading of the Licensing Bill and the introduction of the Budget were spent mainly on the corresponding stages of the Education (Scotland) Bill and the Port of London Bill. The former measure, introduced by the Secretary for Scotland on March 26, was designed not to recast, but to supplement, the system of education in that kingdom. It proposed to establish an Education Fund into which would be paid all the local taxation moneys applicable to the purposes of education, amounting to 350,000*l.* per annum. Grants to universities and technical schools would be a first charge on this, and the remainder would be paid to the secondary education authorities on a revised principle of distribution. After they had met the demands of higher education, the balance would be distributed on the same principle among elementary schools. It would provide for the restoration of the School Boards' discretion in making allowances to teachers in cases of disablement and retirement, and would regularise the procedure in case of appeal against the dismissal of teachers. Provision would also be made for education in continuation schools up to the age of seventeen and for medical inspection. Neglect to clothe, feed, or keep clean a child, was made an offence under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. The duty of making provision in case of the parents' default was laid upon the School Board. The cumulative vote at School Board elections would be abolished, and the franchise assimilated to the Parliamentary franchise.

In the debate on the second reading (May 4), regrets were

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expressed that no change had been made in the areas—which it was explained had been left alone as a controversial question that might endanger the Bill—and some members feared Government interference with the universities. However, the Secretary for Scotland stated that this would only take place on the initiative of those bodies. Exception was also taken to the bureaucratic character of the measure, and Sir Henry Craik regretted that no provision had been made for the compulsory physical training and drill of the members of continuation classes. The possibility of compulsory education up to seventeen was also noted favourably. The Bill was read a second time without a division and referred to a Standing Committee.

The charge of the Port of London Bill (May 5, p. 78) devolved on Mr. Kearley, Under-Secretary to the Board of Trade, pending Mr. Winston Churchill's re-election. In a business-like speech, he recapitulated its chief features, mentioning that the estimated revenue of the Port was 808,000*l.* and that a free hand would be given to the Port Authority to purchase the wharfs if deemed expedient. The wharfingers would in any case be dealt with sympathetically. The Bill would be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses. Negotiation for the purchase of the wharfs was advocated by Mr. Bonar Law, that the wharfingers might not find themselves exposed to unfair competition, but Mr. Lloyd-George, in summing up, declared that the time for this step had not yet come. The Bill was favourably received, the criticisms dealing mainly with detail, and eventually the debate was closured by 183 to 18 and the second reading carried without a division.

On the same day the East Wolverhampton election resulted in a Liberal victory by a majority of only eight for Mr. G. R. Thorne, the Liberal, over Mr. Louis Amery, an ardent Tariff Reformer and a member of *The Times* staff. The Liberal explanation was that Sir Henry Fowler, now Lord Wolverhampton, had latterly neglected the local organisation and that his resignation had taken the party by surprise, that a great effort had been made to capture the lockmakers' vote, this trade having suffered from American competition, and that the liquor interests had worked vigorously for the Unionist. A scrutiny was contemplated, but the idea was given up.

Meanwhile, interesting debates had taken place on private members' motions and Bills. On April 29 Mr. Laidlaw (*Renfrewshire, E.*) had moved for an inquiry into education in India, which, it was complained, was too literary, too little technical, and too much dominated by examinations; but Mr. Hobhouse, after an interesting sketch of the progress made, expressed the belief of the Government—in which Earl Percy concurred—that the inquiry would not tend to expedite it, and the motion was withdrawn. Sir Charles Dilke's Shop Hours Bill was accepted in principle by the Home Secretary on Friday, May 2, and passed its second reading by 190 to 45, but was then shelved

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on the promise of a Government measure for 1909. It proposed to amend the Shop Hours Act (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1904, p. 136) by compelling local authorities to make orders subject to ratification by a vote of the ratepayers fixing the hours for shops to close, the latest hours allowed being specified in the Bill. The employment of children under fourteen was to be prohibited, and other provisions would have extended to shop assistants some of the protection given to factory workers. Mr. Gladstone objected to the machinery of the Bill, and it was opposed in the interest of the small shopkeeper by Mr. Harold Cox and various Unionist members. On Wednesday, May 6, a resolution moved and seconded by Mr. W. Johnson (*Nuneaton, Warwickshire*) and Mr. T. C. Taylor (*Radcliffe, Lancs*) calling on the Government to cease licensing opium dens in Hong-Kong and other Crown Colonies in the East, was accepted by Colonel Seely, the new Colonial Under-Secretary, on behalf of the Government, though he pointed out that revenue difficulties, especially in the Straits Settlements, stood in the way of an immediate compliance. In Hong-Kong, however, all opium dens would be closed at once, and in Ceylon a drastic report had been made and would be acted on, except that the use of the drug would not be absolutely prohibited otherwise than for medical purposes. This declaration was approved by Mr. Lyttelton and other members, though Lord Ronaldshay (*Hornsey, Middlesex*) deprecated "forcing the pace" by abolishing the export of Indian opium, since he believed that this would merely increase the production in China. Sir Edward Grey wound up the debate. He stated that the Government welcomed the proposal of the United States for an international commission of inquiry, and laid stress on the amount accomplished by China, in the face of great difficulties, towards suppressing the traffic. He quoted a Chinese decree of March 24 showing the desire of China to co-operate in reform, and assured the House that it was fully reciprocated by the British Government.

It may here be noted that during April the public had been startled by a series of grave and disquieting naval disasters. The destroyer *Tiger* was run down by the *Berwick* in the North Sea on April 2, and thirty-four lives were lost; the cruiser *Gladiator* was run down in the Solent by the American liner *St. Paul* during a remarkable snowstorm on April 25, and rolled over before she could be beached, so that twenty-seven of her crew were drowned; the destroyer *Gala* was cut in two by the scout *Attentive* in the North Sea on April 27, though here only one life was sacrificed; and on the same date five men were injured by a boiler explosion on H.M. battleship *Britannia*. The two accidents to the destroyers were during manœuvres without lights, and were described by the *Spectator* as "part of the price that had to be paid for efficiency," and the discipline, and indeed the heroism, invariably shown were admirable, but it was questioned whether the risks both to the

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navy and to the mercantile marine of manœuvres without lights should not preclude them in time of peace.

Before proceeding to the Budget we must, in accordance with custom, supplement the account already given of the charges for the Army and Navy for 1908-9 by a brief view of the Estimates for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments, with the accompanying memorandum by the Financial Secretary of the Treasury.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Net Total, 1908-9.	Original Estimates, 1907-8.	Increase.
30,496,947*l.*	30,107,034*l.*	389,913*l.*

This increase was confined to the first three classes, and was offset by considerable decreases on the rest. In the Abstract and throughout the detailed Estimates comparison was made, according to the usual practice, with the total grants, including Supplementary Estimates, made for the service of the year 1908-9 in the session of 1908. After allowing for the transfer, for purposes of comparison, of 6,500*l.* to the Post Office Vote, the result was a net total for 1907-8 of 30,816,563*l.*, on which basis of comparison the Estimates for 1908-9 showed a decrease of 319,616*l.*, arising mainly under the heads of Board of Education, Colonial Services and Miscellaneous.

CLASS I.—WORKS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Increase.
3,029,468*l.*	2,868,832*l.*	160,636*l.*

There was an increase of 7,600*l.* for Art and Science Buildings, due chiefly to the heating, lighting, and fittings of the new Victoria and Albert Museum, and of 86,000*l.* for Revenue Buildings, about half of which was for important Post Office Works, while about 7,000*l.* was for increased cost of fuel. The Public Buildings Vote was increased by 59,900*l.*, provision being made *inter alia* for new official residences for the First Lord and Senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty, and extensions of the National Gallery, the Royal Courts of Justice, and the London and Edinburgh Law Courts. The charge for rates on Government property showed a continued tendency to rise.

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Increase.
2,969,166*l.*	2,884,032*l.*	85,134*l.*

The total for 1907-8 included a supplementary grant of 2,200*l.* for the Expenses of the Colonial Conference; 2,370*l.* was provided for Histories of the South African and Russo-Japanese Wars under the direction of the Imperial Defence Committee—the first provision of the kind. An increase of 16,232*l.* in the Home Office Estimate was due mainly to a large increase of factory and mining inspectors, and one of 36,685*l.* in the Board of Trade Estimate to increase of staff necessitated by the Census of Production, in the remuneration of Commercial Correspondents in the British dominions, to the cost of the reorganisation of the Patent Office entailed by the Patents Act, 1907, and to the formation of a temporary London Traffic Branch. The increase of 10,284*l.* in the Estimate for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries was due mainly to additional staff under the new Small Holdings Act and other legislation of 1907; 40,000*l.* was provided to meet the loss on light gold coin withdrawn from circulation.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Increase.
4,031,785*l.*	3,922,426*l.*	109,359*l.*

Twenty thousand pounds were allowed for probable expenses under the Criminal Appeal Act, 1907, and 5,000*l.* for expenses of the Director of Public Prosecutions under that Act. The office of Public Trustee established under the Act of 1907 was estimated to cost 6,500*l.*, against which there would be fees amounting to

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4,000*l*. The Prisons Estimate was less by 7,260*l*., fewer prisoners having to be provided for. A net increase of 31,928*l*. in the Estimate for the Irish Land Commission was largely due to the cost of additional staff under the Evicted Tenants Act of 1907.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND ART.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Decrease.
17,578,230*l*.	17,706,237*l*.	128,007*l*.

The decrease arose mainly on the grants for Public Elementary Schools, and was due to the decrease of the average attendance, owing to the tendency of local authorities to exclude children under five. It co-existed with special grants amounting to 200,000*l*. to necessitous local education authorities. The National Gallery Estimate included 12,500*l*. for the purchase of Van Dyck's portrait of the Marchesa Cattaneo. Of a net increase of 22,458*l*. in the Estimate for Education in Ireland, 9,400*l*. was for instruction in Irish.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Decrease.
1,832,612*l*.	2,081,405*l*.	248,793*l*.

The total of 1907-8 included supplementary grants of 282,690*l*. In 1908-9 the grant in aid of Uganda was increased by 10,000*l*., and 28,005*l*. was provided for expenses under the New Hebrides Convention, as against 7,000*l*. in 1907-8. Fifty thousand pounds was again provided as a grant in aid for Cyprus.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Decrease.
803,333*l*.	837,997*l*.	34,664*l*.

A vote of 109,713*l*. was included to cover deficiencies on the income accounts of the sums for savings banks and friendly societies.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Decrease.
252,353*l*.	515,634*l*.	263,281*l*.

The total for 1907-8 had been swelled by 200,000*l*. voted in July, 1907, to meet expenses under the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, and by the cost of several Commissions which had come to an end in 1908-9.

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

1908-9.	Total, 1907-8.	Increase.
21,645,631*l*.	20,632,251*l*.	1,013,380*l*.

Of this increase 947,280*l*. was in the Post Office Estimate, about half of which was due to normal growth of pay and numbers of staff, and half to improved salaries, wages, and conditions of service, under the revision sanctioned by the Parliamentary Committee taking effect on January 1, 1908. The ultimate cost of this revision on the existing numbers of the staff would approach 700,000*l*. annually.

The Budget, which had been awaited with extreme interest, was introduced, for convenience' sake, by Mr. Asquith on Thursday, May 7, in a House crowded in every part. Beginning with the usual review of trade, he pointed out that in the calendar year 1907 the foreign trade of the kingdom showed an increase over 1900, measured by the prices of that year, of 43 per cent.; there was a slight slackening in 1908, but the figures so far were an advance on the record year of 1906. There had been an ebb before the end of 1907, but the indications pointed only to a slackening of the rate of expansion. Reviewing the financial position of 1906-7, he pointed out that the system by

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which part of the revenue had been paid to the Local Taxation Account had now been abolished (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 87), so that the accounts now fully recorded both receipts and expenditure. The total revenue had been estimated at 152,835,000*l.*, the total expenditure at 152,502,000*l.* The actual revenue had been 156,538,000*l.*, the actual expenditure 151,812,000*l.* The realised surplus, therefore, was 4,393,000*l.* The only items showing a decrease were excise and stamps. The total revenue from beer, wine and spirits combined showed a decrease of 151,000*l.*, which was wholly on wine and spirits. The estate duties had once more vindicated their claim to trustworthiness. The Income Tax had been expected to show a loss from the differentiation of 1907 and delays in collection due to the change; but the payments into the Exchequer had amounted to 32,380,000*l.*, being 1,880,000*l.* in excess of the estimate, and 780,000*l.* in excess of the sum paid in the preceding year before the alteration in the tax. No doubt the more stringent regulations for the disclosure of employees' salaries accounted for this in part, but the mere offer of the lower rate had increased the amount of income submitted. The income tax was commonly said to be 1*s.* in the £; but last year its average rate had been 9·6*d.* as compared with 10*d.* in the two previous years. Differentiation, always deemed to be just and fair, had been for sixty years regarded by great authorities as unworkable, but it had been proved to be smooth and easy in its operation, and had removed the most obvious grievances of the income tax. The total revenue from taxation was 130,320,000*l.*, the non-tax revenue was 26,218,000*l.*, the postal and telegraph revenue had increased, and there were Mint profits of 721,000*l.*, owing chiefly to West African and Australasian demands for silver coin. After some remarks on the expenditure, he stated that the realised surplus for the year of 4,726,000*l.* would be applied, subject to a deduction [of 600,000*l.* for new public offices], to the reduction of debt. The National or "dead-weight" Debt had been reduced during the year by the unprecedented sum of 18,030,000*l.*; the actual reduction in the gross liabilities of the State, including sums borrowed for works under various Acts of Parliament as well as the "dead-weight" debt, was 16,839,000*l.* By March 31, 1909, the latter debt would be reduced to 696,500,000*l.*, or below its amount in 1889. After further figures, he summarised the results as follows: In the three years ending March 31, 1909, we should have (1) paid off 47,000,000*l.* of debt; (2) reduced the capital liabilities of the nation by 41,000,000*l.*, and (3) saved on annual interest 1,250,000*l.*, all out of taxation; whereas other countries reputed to have a better fiscal system had to borrow annually to make both ends meet. We were now justified in setting free some substantial part of the revenue hitherto applied to reduction. For the current year the estimated revenue on the existing basis of taxation was 157,770,000*l.*,

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the expenditure 152,869,000*l.* Part of the surplus of 4,901,000*l.* was to be devoted from January 1, 1909, to reducing the stamp duty on marine insurance "voyage policies" from 3*d.* to 1*d.* per cent. This year the loss would be about 20,000*l.* Power would be taken to transfer the Excise Department from the Inland Revenue to the Customs, with a view to administrative economy and efficiency. He now came to the promise (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 87) of Old Age Pensions. That question had been before the country in one shape or another for thirty years. After reviewing the proposals put forward and the results of the inquiries held, together with the experiments made in Germany, Denmark, and Australasia, he said that it was not until after substantial reduction of the national liabilities that he had found himself able to announce last year an intention to make a beginning this year—and he had never promised more than a beginning. It was a preliminary to that reclassification which would presumably result from the Poor Law Commission then sitting. Contributory schemes must be ruled out, as too limited, difficult to work, and remote in operation. Universal schemes, like Mr. Charles Booth's, were also prohibited by their cost. The obligation to pay must rest on the Treasury, not on local authorities, and the scheme must be based on some kind of discrimination having regard to age, means, status, and character. After reviewing the conditions of application of these tests, he stated the outcome to be that all persons, aged seventy and upwards, not being aliens or lunatics, and not actually in receipt of Poor Law Relief or disqualified by recent conviction for serious crime or by the possession of 10*s.* a week or upwards, should from January 1, 1909, be entitled to pensions of 5*s.* per week; married couples living together, however, where both were entitled to a pension, would receive 7*s.* 6*d.* per week. Forms would be supplied at the post offices for application to the local pension authority, whose district would be an administrative county, a municipal borough, or an urban district of over 20,000, with sub-committees in very large boroughs. A pension officer, an exciseman, would act with the Committee; should they differ, there would be an appeal to the Local Government Board. The pensioner would receive a book with weekly or monthly coupons, payable at the Post Office. The number of pensioners was estimated not to exceed 572,000 and the maximum cost at 6,000,000*l.* a year; the scheme could not begin before January 1, 1909, so that the actual charge on the current financial year would not be over 1,200,000*l.* Having anticipated and answered objections to the proposal, he added that he was still left with a balance of 3,700,000*l.*, which he proposed to use in reducing the sugar duty of 4*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. to 1*s.* 10*d.* This reduced the duty by a farthing per lb., retaining four-fifths of a farthing per lb. for the Exchequer. This would take effect on raw and refined sugar and on drawbacks from May 18, and on

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manufactured articles from July 1. This would take 3,400,000*l.*, and the remission of taxation on marine insurance policies, 20,000*l.* The old age pensions' scheme would take 1,200,000*l.*, and 40,000*l.* would be granted to local authorities, for collecting certain licence duties. This reduced the surplus by 4,660,000*l.*, leaving a final balance of 241,000*l.* His critics might say he was leaving the future to take care of itself. But they were providing for the further reduction of debt by 15,000,000*l.*, so that his successor would in any case have a large disposable revenue. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that a Free-Trade Finance Minister had reached or was near the end of his resources in new taxation.

Appended is a table showing the estimated expenditure for 1908-9 (on the basis of existing taxation), compared with the actual expenditure of 1907-8.

Service.	Estimate, 1908-9.	Exchequer Issues, 1907-8.
	£	£
National Debt Services	28,000,000	29,500,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,685,000	1,972,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts	11,250,000	* 11,155,000
Army (including Ordnance Factories)	27,459,000	27,115,000
Navy	32,319,000	31,141,000
Civil Services	30,510,000	30,180,000
Customs and Inland Revenue	3,324,000	3,222,000
Post Office Services	18,322,000	17,527,000
Total	152,869,000	151,812,000

The estimated revenue for 1908-9 (on the basis of existing taxation), compared with the receipts of 1907-8, as follows:—

	Estimate for 1908-9.	Exchequer Receipts, 1907-8.
	£	£
Customs	32,600,000	32,490,000
Excise	35,500,000	35,720,000
Estate, etc., Duties	19,500,000	19,070,000
Stamps	8,100,000	7,970,000
Land Tax	700,000	730,000
House Duty	1,900,000	1,960,000
Property and Income Tax	33,000,000	32,380,000
Post Office	18,250,000	17,880,000
Telegraph Service	4,520,000	4,420,000
Crown Lands	530,000	520,000
Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans	1,170,000	1,190,000
Miscellaneous	2,000,000	2,208,000
Total	157,770,000	156,538,000

* Includes the estimated equivalent of the proceeds of the duties assigned for local purposes which, under the Finance Act, 1907, was made a charge on the Consolidated Fund. The duties which were formerly paid direct into the Local Taxation Accounts, etc., by the Revenue Departments, were paid into the Exchequer.

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The final balance-sheet, 1908-9, was as follows, after allowing for the following: Loss of revenue from reduction of sugar duty, 3,400,000*l.*, and from reduction on marine insurance policies from January 1, 1909, 20,000*l.*; and increased expenditure for payment of cost of collection of transferred licences, 40,000*l.*, and for old age pensions from January 1, 1909, 1,200,000*l.*

Revenue.	£	Expenditure.	£
Customs	29,200,000	National Debt Services	28,000,000
Excise	35,500,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,685,000
Estate, etc., Duties	19,500,000	Payments to Local Taxation Accounts	11,290,000
Stamps	8,080,000	Army (including Ordnance Factories)	27,459,000
Land Tax	700,000	Navy	32,319,000
House Duty	1,900,000	Civil Services	31,710,000
Property and Income Tax	33,000,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	3,324,000
Post Office	18,250,000	Post Office Services	18,322,000
Telegraph Service	3,000,000	Balance	241,000
Telephone Service	1,520,000		
Crown Lands	530,000		
Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans	1,170,000		
Miscellaneous	2,000,000		
Total	154,350,000	Total	154,350,000

Mr. Austen Chamberlain commented on the exceptional importance of the Budget, and promised that the old age pension scheme would be criticised in no unfriendly spirit, for the question had to be dealt with in some form. He believed a compulsory and contributory scheme might have been framed successfully; and he feared that the Government scheme might benefit the undeserving. He doubted whether the year had been really one of general prosperity, apart from mining and the textile trades, laid stress on the decline of Excise receipts, which were then stationary, and, after some further comments, questioned the advisability of leaving nothing of the revenue for next year's increased expenditure on the Navy and in other departments.

Subsequently Mr. Chaplin declared that since Mr. Gladstone's great Budgets he had heard no more able exposition than Mr. Asquith's speech. Several Liberal members eulogised the Budget and Old Age Pensions, but Mr. A. Henderson (*Barnard Castle, Durham*), leader of the Independent Labour party, was dissatisfied with the proposed age-limit, and there was some criticism of the details, while Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*) took a gloomy view of the condition of the national finances.

Eventually the Income Tax resolution was reserved, and the other resolutions incidental to the Budget were passed. It had been stated that Old Age Pensions would be the subject of a separate Bill.

The Budget was received by the Liberal Press with enthusiasm, as a triumph of Free-Trade finance. Tariff Reform

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organs had predicted that Mr. Asquith must either forego Old Age Pensions or maintain the sugar duties, and had been mistaken. The Opposition Press argued that large expenditure would be necessary next year to keep pace with the growth of the German navy, and possibly to extend the old age pension scheme, and expressed confidence that this could only be provided through Tariff Reform. This view was shared by the Free-Trade and Unionist *Spectator*, which endorsed the *Daily Mail's* neat phrase, "a Budget of *post obits*." The Budget, however, was favourably regarded in the City and by the leading financial organs. The *Statist* and *Economist* held that the increased expenditure would be made up largely out of increased revenue, and the latter looked also for a revision of license duties and a reduction of national expenditure in 1909.

It was possibly owing to Mr. Balfour's absence through illness that no criticism of Ministerial finance was offered at the annual meeting of the Primrose League at the Albert Hall (May 8). Earl Percy and Mr. Joynson Hicks, who were the principal speakers, dwelt mainly on the education question, the Licensing Bill, and the Ministerial concessions to the Nationalists, and held that the bye-elections afforded grounds of hope for a speedy Unionist triumph.

The supporters of the Government, however, were encouraged by the return of Mr. Churchill at Dundee (May 9) by an unexpectedly large majority, in spite of the active opposition of a Labour candidate (Mr. G. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Postmen's Federation) and of a Prohibitionist, as well as of the women suffragists. One of these, however, Miss Malony, of the Women's Freedom League, repelled sympathy by ringing a bell in order to drown Mr. Churchill's voice and extort an apology from him for a statement he had made respecting the suffragists' conduct at Peckham. The difficulties caused to the jute industry of Dundee by foreign duties and the competition of unregulated labour in the Calcutta factories were made the most of by the Unionist and Labour candidates respectively, and the shipbuilding lock-out (*post*, p. 111) was expected to tell in favour of the Labour candidate. But Mr. Churchill's majority over the Unionist was 2,709, and the Labour vote was only 4,014, more than 3,000 below the Liberal total (see Part II., Chronicle, p. 13). At Montrose, three days later, Mr. Robert Harcourt, brother of the First Commissioner of Works, was returned by 3,083 votes against 1,937 given to the Labour and 1,576 to the Unionist candidate, whose poll was less than in 1906.

Mr. Churchill's declaration on Home Rule at Manchester (p. 84) had caused much comment; but Mr. Asquith, in reply to a question from Mr. Long on April 30, had declared that there had been no change of policy, and that the President of the Board of Trade had made no statement inconsistent with

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the previous declarations of Ministers. Four days later, in reply to Mr. Campbell (*Dublin University*), the Prime Minister said that what the President of the Board of Trade had said, with his approval, was that though it was impossible now to determine what issue would be before the country at the next general election, the disabling pledge given by himself and others only applied to the existing Parliament; at its expiration the Liberal party would claim a perfectly free hand to deal with the whole problem of Irish Government. He added, in reply to Mr. Byles, that the opinion of the party and the Government had been expressed in the amended resolution of March 30.

It was, therefore, only natural that the Government should accept the Bill for the repeal of the Crimes Act, 1887, popularly known as the Coercion Act, when its second reading was moved by Mr. Haviland Burke (*Tullamore, King's County*) on May 8. Mr. Burke contrasted the Act with the promise of equal treatment for Ireland and England, made at the time of the Conservative and Irish coalition of 1885 against the renewal of parts of the Peace Preservation Act. In England, he added, such an Act might render a strike impossible. The landgrabber was worse than the blackleg. The Act was defended, amid some interruption, by Mr. Butcher and other Irish Unionist members as a non-political means of expressing exceptional lawlessness. Mr. Birrell declared that the Liberal party had always regarded the Act as intolerable. It created new offences; there was no real analogy between its procedure and that of Scotland, as was often contended; it gave a special weapon to the Executive, as in unconstitutional countries like Russia. It had been dormant since 1903; the cruel cases of boycotting now numbered 12 or 13, the minor cases 125 or 130, and the Act would not put them down. Cattle-driving was a stupid thing, but the Government relied on the ordinary law for its suppression. Taking a bird's-eye view of the whole of Ireland, it was a peaceful and law-abiding country.

These arguments were combated by Mr. Long (*Dublin S.*), and, after other speeches, the debate, at times warm, was closured by 209 to 96, and the second reading carried by 201 to 77. The Bill was, however, dropped in the autumn session.

More substantial satisfaction was offered to Irish demands by the second reading of the Irish Universities Bill on May 11. An adverse resolution, moved and seconded by two English Liberals, Mr. A. Hutton (*Morley, W.R. Yorks*) and Dr. Hazel (*West Bromwich,*) condemned it by implication as strengthening denominational interests, and expressed a belief that the interests of truth and the welfare of the nation demanded an entirely free atmosphere. The mover declared that the new universities would be theological pens, and that the Government were reverting to concurrent endowment. Mr. Redmond stated that Irish Catholics were willing to sink their

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differences and accept the Government scheme. He hoped, however, that a residential college would be provided for by an increase of the building grants. He did not see how the new universities could be described as denominational. The atmosphere might be, but it was so in all universities, even at Khartoum. The Catholics hoped to enlarge the scheme in Committee, but would do their best to get it passed. Mr. Haldane, speaking for the Government, doubted parenthetically whether a residential college was needed, and described the Bill as a response, not to a Catholic demand, but to a pressing educational claim. The Scottish universities had a Presbyterian atmosphere, and in London University there was King's College. He contrasted the lamentable state of things in Ireland with the recent progress in England, and declared that the only touch of denominationalism in the Bill was that the governing bodies, while laymen, would be persons who might be trusted to secure that their students should not be exposed to teaching directly hostile to their religious faith. The affiliated colleges in the Bill were on a par with the schools of the University of London. The federal system had been condemned by the Duke of Devonshire's Committee, and the teaching university remained the accepted type. Ireland was deprived at present of the highest education; the opponents of the Bill should put forward an alternative.

Later, Mr. Campbell (*Dublin University*), while condoling with Mr. Birrell for his compulsory acceptance of denominationalism, accepted the Bill, but with reserve. It was opposed by Mr. Sloan (*Belfast, S.*) and Mr. C. J. O'Donnell (*Walworth*), the latter, a Roman Catholic, urging that his co-religionists should study with Protestants, as in Germany; and it received the support of various Irish members and of Lord Edmund Talbot, an English Roman Catholic. Mr. Gordon (*Londonderry, S.*) opposed it; Sir Edward Carson (*Dublin University*) cordially welcomed it, reminding the Opposition that it had the support of Mr. Balfour (who was ill), and hoping that the new universities would one day combine with Trinity College into one great national university.

Mr. Birrell said that this last speech had made him a happy man. The measure was now certain to pass. Some of the Ulster members had denied that Belfast wanted a university, but Dr. Dill, the President of Queen's College, had made out a case for it in *The Times* (May 11). He had taken every step to keep out denominationalism; if, after all, the new universities became sectarian, they must have denominational universities or none at all. He attached much importance to the ultimately elective character of the governing bodies, and commended the generosity of the Roman Catholic Bishops in consenting to rely for their representation on these upon the votes of the graduates. Affiliation was a necessary power, and there was every indication that the new bodies would be chary in using it.

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After a bitter attack on Liberal inconsistency from Mr. Moore (*Antrim, N.*) the amendment was rejected by 352 to 38. The debate was then closured on a division and the Bill read a second time by 344 to 31, the minority comprising English Liberals of various shades and English and Ulster Unionists. A number of Unionists were in the majority. A motion by Sir E. Carson to refer it to a Committee of the whole House was opposed by the Government and defeated by 311 to 50.

Next day the Commons were occupied with an English measure of reform. The Housing and Town Planning Bill, introduced without explanation on March 26, was debated and read a second time. Mr. Burns moved the second reading in a speech full of information on the conditions of urban and rural life. The Bill, he said, aimed at abolishing slums, monotonous roads, and model barrack dwellings, and would help local authorities by inspection, advice, and guidance from the central authority. The population, he showed, was rapidly becoming more urban, and overcrowding was bad in the towns—especially in mining centres—and relatively worse in the counties. In London 14 per cent., in Glasgow 26 per cent. of the population lived in one room; in Berlin, however, the figure was 50 per cent., and in all diseases due to congestion of population London was better off than foreign towns. There had been great progress in housing of late years at Bournville, Port Sunlight and elsewhere; the Bill would enable other people and associations to do likewise. Towns could no longer be allowed to grow up unmethodically, and the Bill provided, failing agreement, for conference, and ultimately for compulsion by the central body. After commenting on the results of unmethodical building in the past—among them the 50,000 basement houses then empty in London—he cited foreign examples of town planning, and effectively contrasted Voltaire's description of the centre of Paris with its actual state. The Bill proposed to make Part III. of the Housing Act of 1890 universally applicable without adoption, so that local authorities might build new houses without getting leave from the County Council; and to allow land to be acquired compulsorily on the terms of the Small Holdings Act of 1907. The Public Works Loan Commissioners would be empowered to grant loans to rural authorities for the purposes of the Bill for eighty years, the rate of interest not varying with the duration of the loan. Every County Council would be compelled to appoint a medical officer of health with full power over housing and inspections. The Bill would enable the Local Government Board to authorise a borough or urban district council to prepare a town planning scheme in or about the neighbourhood of their area; notice would be served on the landowners; they would come together, exchanges of land might be arranged, and recalcitrant owners might be bought out compulsorily. He was not dis-

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posed to appoint town planning commissioners, believing inspectors preferable. The Housing and Public Health department of the Local Government Board would be reorganised, and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would allow the Board to publish a monthly journal dealing with housing, public health, and kindred subjects.

The Bill had a favourable reception from both sides, though complaints were made, especially by Mr. Long (*Dublin, S.*) that one sitting was insufficient to debate it, that it did not do much for the improvement of rural housing, and that it was obscure and ill-digested, a bad specimen of "legislation by reference." Sir W. Foster (*Ilkeston*) and Mr. Jowett (*Bradford, W.*) regarded it as disappointing, and Sir J. Dickson-Poynder made various practical suggestions, and regarded the measure as in its housing part too bureaucratic. Mr. Lyttelton welcomed the town planning provisions, but deprecated aggression on the landowners, and thought the housing part ought to be recast. Mr. Masterman (*West Ham, N.*), speaking for the first time as Secretary of the Local Government Board, declared that the debate was very encouraging. Mr. Hart-Davies (*Hackney, N.*) moved an amendment, declaring that no housing measure could be carried out satisfactorily unless it provided for the valuation of land apart from buildings, and unless power were given to the local authority to purchase land compulsorily at the ascertained value; but he withdrew it on an assurance from Mr. Asquith that the Government would introduce a Valuation Bill on the lines described for England and Wales at an early date.

The hopes that such a Valuation Bill would become law, however, received a severe check next day in the House of Lords. On going into Committee on the Land Values (Scotland) Bill, Viscount St. Aldwyn asked the Government for a clear statement of the grievance it was proposed to remedy and of the reasons for remedying it by so great a change in the system of valuation; and his demand was endorsed by Lord Balfour of Burleigh and the Marquess of Lansdowne. The Earl of Crewe explained that the change actually desired was that from rating on rental and present value to rating on real and future value—a change which the Marquess of Lansdowne declared to be highly dangerous. Eventually, amendments were carried (1) by 119 to 32, leaving the adoption of the system of rating on capital land value at the discretion of the local authorities, and (2) by 84 to 22, substituting yearly value for capital value as a standard of valuation. The definition of "yearly value" was extended next day by an amendment moved by Lord Balfour and modified at the instance of the Earl of Camperdown, defining it as such part of the rental of any land as was fairly attributable to the ground. This was carried by 87 to 42. Thus the Bill was transformed. Other amendments were also passed, and it was further modified on Report (p. 159) and returned to the Commons for the autumn session, though

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without prospect of acceptance. The Peers scented in it the doctrines of Henry George, and, as one of them was reported by *The Times* to have said in conversation, refused to swallow them "either in bulk or in tabloids."

To this check was added a Liberal defeat in North Shropshire, announced on May 15. The Unionists had held the seat since 1886; but their majority had increased considerably since the general election.

Next day, however, the hands of the Government were strengthened by a monster demonstration at the Albert Hall in favour of the Licensing Bill. More than 40,000 tickets had been applied for; and, except that the Earl of Crewe, as a Minister, found his speech interrupted by women suffragists, the proceedings were enthusiastic throughout. The Bishop of London declared that nearly all the temperance reforms he and others had advocated for twenty years were contained in the Bill; and among the other speakers were the Bishop of Kensington, several prominent Free Church ministers and Sir Thomas Whittaker, "the Nestor of the Cause." A fortnight before, it may be mentioned, Mr. Lloyd-George had been similarly interrupted at a similar demonstration at Edinburgh, in accordance with the settled policy of the militant women suffragists.

On the same day, a demonstration which, though described as "absolutely non-political," was indirectly adverse to the fiscal policy of the Government, was made in Trafalgar Square in favour of the imposition of a duty of 40*s.* per cwt. on foreign hops. Seventeen special trains brought labourers from Kent, Sussex, Worcestershire and Herefordshire, and the crowd more than filled the square. Hops, however, are a raw material, so that the demand was hardly consistent with the aims of Tariff Reformers.

The interval between the second reading stages of the Housing and of the Education Bills was filled by several debates of some interest. The movement towards federation in South Africa, with its bearing on the native problem—some aspects of which in Natal had long disquieted many Liberals—was discussed independently of party on May 13, where Mr. Alden (*Tottenham, Middlesex*) moved a resolution noting the growing opinion in South Africa in favour of safeguarding native rights in any scheme of closer union, and expressing confidence that such union would be favoured by the British Government. The resolution was seconded by Sir Charles Dilke and supported by Sir Gilbert Parker, and it was suggested that the natives should have the same franchise under federation as they had in Cape Colony. Sir Charles Dilke said that as British consent would be necessary for federation, we should lay down the conditions of our agreement in advance. Reference was made to the long imprisonment of Dinizulu while awaiting trial, and to the acts done under martial law in Natal. Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, explained that martial law

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could only cease when an Act of Indemnity was passed, and that Dinizulu was detained under an ordinance of the Home Government passed in 1845. He hinted that the Cape franchise might not suit the colour problems of other Colonies, and amused the House with an account of recent and very intelligent debates in the Basuto Native Council on an Aliens Bill, an Education Bill and a Licensing Bill. The Government preferred to leave the Colonies to work out their own union, for England had tried to lead in 1875-7 and had failed. Mr. Lyttelton also agreed with the resolution, but rather deprecated such discussions, and urged that the opinion of the Natal Ministry should decide as to martial law in that Colony. In closing the debate, Mr. Winston Churchill declared that the federal movement was daily becoming stronger in South Africa, but that the Government desired rather to assist than to guide it. In that House there was no division on the question of unity for South Africa.

The reporting of Parliamentary proceedings was the subject of an interesting debate for which an opportunity was created in Committee of Supply on May 14. A Select Committee appointed in 1907 had recommended that the House should have an official staff of reporters under the control of the Sessional Committee, and that a full report of all speeches should be delivered to members at 4 P.M. on the day following delivery. Mr. Hobhouse, Secretary of the Treasury, now explained that a change was necessary owing to the tendency of the newspapers to substitute descriptive sketches for reports, and, under existing circumstances, the reporters for Hansard drew largely on the reports of *The Times*. Their hours were excessive, and their position should be improved. Members would have full reports of all speeches at 4 P.M. on the day after delivery, but the unlimited right of correction would be restricted; the corrections amounted to a third, and sometimes to three-fourths, of the total cost. The decision of the Government was approved of generally, and attempts were made to get official reporting extended to Grand Committees, but in vain, Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Asquith holding that it was unnecessary and would make the proceedings too formal.

Mention must also be made of the Public Offices Sites Extension Bill, which involved improvements on both sides of the lower part of Whitehall and the removal of the recruiting station from behind the National Gallery. The second reading, opposed from the back Opposition benches on financial grounds, was carried on a division by 263 to 38. An Access to Mountains Bill, in charge of Mr. Trevelyan (*Elland, W.R. Yorks*), was accepted by the Government in principle and passed its second reading on May 15 by 177 to 65, after an interesting debate, but was afterwards dropped for the session. Lord Avebury's Importation of Plumage Bill, which was read a second time in the House of Lords on the previous day, struck

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at the traffic in "osprey" and other feathers—which had nearly caused the extermination of egrets, lyre-birds and many other beautiful species—by prohibiting the importation of the feathers into the United Kingdom. It was referred to a Select Committee and, though vigorously opposed by the trade, it reached the House of Commons, but only to be crowded out. A measure of a different character had been less fortunate on May 12. The School Attendance Bill, making attendance compulsory without exemption or reduction of hours up to the age of thirteen, was refused a second reading by 41 to 7. It was introduced by Lord Stanley of Alderley, and cordially supported by the Primate, but Lord Tweedmouth and the Earl of Crewe deprecated action without further inquiry.

The following week the Education Bill was read a second time on a division after three days' debate. Nevertheless, there was a sense of unreality attaching to the contest, for it was generally felt and repeatedly said that a settlement was within reach. This opinion had been growing since the introduction, just two months earlier, of the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill (p. 78); a compromise had been advocated by the representatives of the teachers at the annual congress of their union; a meeting of Liberal Churchmen, held at the House of Commons on April 30, had arranged for an informal conference with the Nonconformist members of Parliament; and, in the Representative Church Council on May 8, the majority of the Bishops present had favoured concession. A resolution introduced by Mr. C. A. Cripps, a former member of Parliament, had been met by an amendment, moved by the Bishop of Wakefield, which was described by Viscount Halifax as equivalent to the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill with such modifications—suggested in the House of Lords—as would make it tolerable. This amendment, however, though supported by eighteen Bishops out of the twenty-four present, was rejected by the votes of the clergy and laity, a result which drew severe comments in the Press from more moderate Churchmen, among them the Bishop of Rochester and Professor Inge of Cambridge. The Council preferred Mr. Cripps' resolution as amended at the instigation of Bishop Gore of Birmingham and others, and demanding, in its final form, equality for undenominational and denominational teaching, as regarded payment to teachers and liberty to teach.

In view of the proceedings in the autumn session, only a few particulars need be given of the three days' debate (May 18-20). For convenience' sake Mr. McKenna still took charge of the measure, and, after enumerating the points of difference between it and that of the Bishop of St. Asaph, he stated that the Bishop had declared himself ready to have facilities for denominational instruction made universal, and to admit some provision for contracting out, so that the issue was the extent of facilities and conditions of contracting out, and the difference was only a difference of degree. The Government, Mr.

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McKenna added, had no partiality for contracting out, but would prefer to deal with the claims of the denominations by giving facilities for denominational teaching, provided the facilities were practicable, that they could not involve tests for teachers, and that the denominations accepted this arrangement. But some denominations did not, and for them contracting out must be maintained. The Government would ask the House to give the Bill a second reading, and would amend it in accordance with any settlement subsequently reached; failing a settlement, they would proceed with it as it stood. Lord Balcarres denounced the Bill as a madcap scheme which no one defended, not even Mr. McKenna, and moved its rejection, to get a clear issue; and Mr. Redmond declared that the Nationalists had all along desired a settlement, provided the Catholic schools could live under it. They objected on principle to contracting out, but, if they were driven to accept it, the proposed grant of 47*s.* per child was utterly inadequate; the deficit involved could not be made up by voluntary contributions and nothing could be raised from fees. In eleven Roman Catholic dioceses the loss would be 154,244*l.* The settlement seemed likely to leave the Catholic schools outside. The Roman Catholic position was emphasised later by Lord Edmund Talbot (*Chichester, Sussex*) and by Mr. Dillon, who incidentally asked what had become of the quarrel with the House of Lords; but a compromise was advocated by several representative Nonconformists and Evangelical Churchmen, irrespective of politics. Contracting out was very generally condemned, though Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*), who continued some of the traditions of the older Liberalism, advocated it with spirit. A feature of the debate was a successful maiden speech from Mr. Joynson Hicks (*Manchester, N.W.*), who declared that Lancashire would have nothing to do with the Bill, asked why the Church of England alone should be penalised, and preferred to leave a settlement to be effected by a Unionist Government. Mr. Runciman (*Dewsbury*), the new President of the Board of Education, defended the Bill on the second day of the debate in a speech that was regarded as unfavourable to the chances of a compromise, and next day the concluding speeches were delivered by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Asquith. The former declared that the Bill and the speeches of Ministers were not conciliatory, that contracting out was irreconcilable with popular control and freedom of teachers from tests, and that the Bill robbed the trustees and owners of voluntary schools. In single-school areas there was a grievance, but it dated from the Act of 1870, and the Bill would give Churchmen a grievance there. Popular control was inconsistent with compulsory Cowper-Templeism, and "no tests for teachers" was impracticable. These immutable and inexplicable Liberal dogmas stood in the way of a settlement. If the settlement of 1902 was to be upset, the only solution was to give more power to parental opinions.

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Mr. Asquith's speech was more conciliatory than those of his colleagues. He offered to consider any extensions in the facilities for denominational teaching accompanying the transfer of Anglican schools if they were not inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Bill. Contracting out was the only way of escape for the Roman Catholic Schools, and he inferred from the speeches of Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon that their objection concerned not principles, but terms and conditions. That was a matter for negotiation and consideration, and the Government would listen to any suggestion, from any quarter, that gave hopes of a settlement. He said emphatically that the maintenance of an irreducible and always rising standard of educational efficiency could not be sacrificed to any religious differences; and he earnestly appealed to the House to facilitate agreement. Grave indeed would be the responsibility of any man who for purely political reasons should stand in the way of an agreement.

This speech was received with marked favour by the Ministerialists, and the motion for rejection of the Bill was negatived by 370 votes to 205. Sixty-four Nationalists, three Liberals, and a few Labour members voted with the Opposition.

This debate had been delayed for a short time by the resolution praying the King to direct the erection in Westminster Abbey, at the public expense, of a monument in memory of the late Premier. When the order was called, every one uncovered. Mr. Asquith, in a brief and very impressive speech, reminded the House that there were many precedents for the proposal, which had been adopted in the cases of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, the Earl of Beaconsfield, and the Marquess of Salisbury. They proposed to-day, he believed with the heartfelt concurrence of the whole people, to add Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's name to that illustrious roll. These names might cause us to reflect from what an amplitude of resources and with what an infinite diversity of gifts our country was served. Each of them had done what in them lay to make their country greater and happier; that was their title to perpetual commemoration in the Abbey consecrated to our immortal dead, a title worthily won by the leader whom the House had lost.

Mr. Balfour heartily assented to the recommendations of the Government, though he said parenthetically that he hoped this would be the last time the country would be asked to vote public money for a monument in Westminster Abbey. It was well that the late Prime Minister should have among his predecessors an honoured place. In him the House had lost a man of high character and great talents, for forty years a member, who had led both the Opposition and the House and had practically died in office. Of no other British Prime Minister could those four statements be made. He rejoiced that there was to be a permanent memorial in that great com-

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pany to remind us how transitory are the controversies that divide politicians and how permanent the gratitude owed to those who have done their country service.

Mr. John Redmond added that the Nationalist members had generally held aloof from ceremonial proceedings in the House. They were not there willingly; they had come to protest against a system of which it was the symbol and instrument. But they had made an exception when Mr. Gladstone died, and they made an exception now. The late Prime Minister did his best for Ireland, and was a friend of her material advancement and her national freedom. Ireland was the poorest and most oppressively taxed of the three kingdoms, but no Irishman would begrudge his mite in this cause. It would always be for him a precious memory that he had that day been able to lay "this little wreath of shamrocks" on his grave. Sir A. Thomas (*Glamorganshire, E.*) expressed the feelings of the Welsh members, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The same day saw another important development in the Ministerial programme. Though the militant women suffragists had repelled many observers by their tactics, they had not alienated the most convinced believers in the justice of their demands; and on Wednesday, May 20, a deputation of sixty Liberal members waited on the Prime Minister to ask for further facilities for the discussion of Mr. Stanger's Bill, or a promise that the Government would, before the end of the current Parliament, deal with the question themselves or let others do so. In reply Mr. Asquith pleaded want of time; but he announced that before the dissolution of the current Parliament the Government intended to introduce a comprehensive Reform Bill dealing with the grosser anomalies of the existing franchise, including the length of the residence necessary for qualification as an elector, and plural voting. The change desired by the deputation could be introduced as an amendment and the Government would leave the decision to the House, provided always that the change was on democratic lines, and was supported by the overwhelming majority of women as well as men.

On the evening of this declaration Mr. Asquith was the guest of the Reform Club. Taking as his text the time-honoured Liberal motto, he said that the peace assured by the Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian understandings would lead to retrenchment; reform now meant more than improvement of the political machinery, but this must be kept up-to-date and, unless the current Parliament were cut short by some unforeseen catastrophe, he believed that they would remove the abuses which now made it an inadequate and unworthy exponent of popular opinion. The third year was said to be the most critical in the life of a Parliament; that depended on how it was used. He thought there was a reaction in favour of the Licensing Bill, and the most notable feature of the Education Bill

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debate that day had been the general disposition to arrive at a compromise. In the bye-elections there had been some Liberal wastage, but in none of them had Tariff Reform been the dominant issue. After illustrating the effect of Free-Trade finance on the National Debt, he remarked that the proposed "broadening of the basis of taxation" was illustrated by the demand for a 40*s.* duty on hops—a duty amounting to 90 per cent. of the value of the raw material of a particularly clamorous industry. Free-Trade finance, moreover, had enabled them to take off more than half the oppressive sugar duty, and to start a system of old age pensions, though only on a modest and experimental scale.

The women suffragists treated Mr. Asquith's reply to the deputation as merely another manifestation of the Liberal policy of delay; and a body of them called on him next day at Downing Street to extract a more definite statement. Six, refusing to go away, were arrested, and sentenced at Westminster Police Court to terms of imprisonment varying from seven to twenty-one days, in default of giving security for their future good behaviour. Some Liberals thought that the enfranchisement of women ought, before enactment, to have been made the issue at a general election; but, replying to a question from Mr. Arnold Herbert (*Wycombe, Bucks*) on May 26, Mr. Asquith denied that any declaration to that effect had been made (as the question implied) by or on behalf of the Government. It may be added that the Premier's promise of a Franchise Bill was not surprising, in view of the attempt to deal with one electoral anomaly in the Plural Voting Bill of 1906, and of the attitude of the Government towards proposals to remove others earlier in the session (pp. 22, 40).

In commenting on the wastage of the Liberals at recent bye-elections, Mr. Asquith had noted that Scotland was an exception; and the Stirling election (May 22) showed a larger Liberal majority than had ever been obtained by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had held the seat since 1885. Some encouragement was also derived from the successful settlement of the long labour dispute in the shipbuilding trade on the North-East coast. Here, at the beginning of January, the depression (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 264, 273) had caused the employers to attempt to reduce wages. The shipwrights, numbering 5,000, had declined to agree to the reduction, and struck (Jan. 21); 14,000 engineers had done likewise in February, as the result of a separate dispute; and subsequently there was a third strike at the graving docks. After prolonged and intricate negotiations, during February and March, in which Mr. Lloyd-George, then President of the Board of Trade, had taken an active part, the shipbuilding employers had proclaimed a general lock-out, which began on May 2, and extended to the Mersey, Barrow-in-Furness, and the Clyde. Mr. Winston Churchill had hastened to signalise his promotion by attempting

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conciliation; and he had left Dundee for London at the height of the contest in order to initiate negotiations (May 6). They were resumed on May 11, two days after the election, at the Board of Trade with representatives of employers and of the men separately, and it was agreed that the terms offered by the former should be submitted to a ballot as soon as possible. The result was announced on May 26. Fifty per cent. of the men voted, and the terms were accepted by 24,145 votes to 22,110. Arrangements were made to resume work on May 29; and, though some of the men, especially on the Clyde, made difficulties, the shipbuilding dispute came to an end. The difficulty in the engineering trades on the North-East coast, however, was not finally settled until September.

On the last day of the Education debate the House of Lords had begun the discussion of Colonial Preference, and proved once more, in the words of the *Spectator*, that "in matters of high debate it could hold its own with any assembly in the world." The Duke of Marlborough called attention to recent changes in the tariffs of the self-governing Colonies and to the desirability of reciprocal preference as increasing the productive power of Great Britain and the Empire. He mentioned that the increase of British trade due to colonial preference alone would employ a community as large as Dundee; but he laid stress on foreign competition in colonial markets and especially of the new Franco-Canadian Convention; and condemned the Government's refusal to recognise the movement towards inter-Imperial trade. The Earl of Cromer, who spoke next, admitted the value of the preference given by Canada, but questioned the use of that given by New Zealand and Australia. He gave amusing examples of the absurdities and petty annoyances involved in the new Australian tariff, and said that the system seemed admirably adapted to encourage corruption among the minor officials and to tempt members of Parliament to sacrifice national to individual interests. The attainment of the closer political union with the Colonies, which every one desired, by colonial preference was purely hypothetical. For many years we had had colonial preference; it had been abandoned in 1845; its deplorable economic results had been set forth in the Report of the Lords' Committee on Import Duties in 1840; as for its political results, the period of its existence constituted the most palmy days of the Little Englander. The Colonies desired Protection, not Preference. After laying stress on the danger of raising the question in India, he quoted some Colonial *dicta*, among them Sir William Lyne's description of importers as "parasites on the trade" of Australia, and ended by declaring that the Budget was not likely to postpone the era of Tariff Reform. As to our union with the Colonies, let us leave well alone.

After speeches from Viscount Ridley and Viscount Wolverhampton (Sir Henry Fowler), the latter of whom addressed the

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House for the first time and dwelt on the danger of imperilling India's export trade or financial position, Viscount Milner ably advocated Tariff Reform. Every year, he said, made him more favourable to Preference; as to India, Sir Edward Law, the financial adviser of her Government when the famous despatch on the subject was written (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1904, p. 33), now advocated preference, and he himself could not see that it would harm India. The Protectionism of the colonies would not destroy its advantages; the colonies must buy largely from outside; would they buy from us? We could not keep our already considerable advantage without reciprocity, but it would be destroyed by the most-favoured-nation clause under the Franco-Canadian Treaty and similar agreements. Parenthetically, he doubted the value of Imperial Free Trade. A 2*s.* duty on corn and low duties on foreign food imports would be a small price to pay for closer commercial union; and, if all parts of the Empire were left free to develop their own tariffs, there would be no quarrelling about the terms.

Next day Lord Avebury defended the Free-Trade standpoint in a long and closely reasoned speech. Recent colonial legislation, he said, had tended to check trade with other countries; effective colonial preference was impracticable, and colonial Protection diverted capital and labour from healthy to less healthy occupations. If all the world became Protectionists we should still be wise to remain Free Traders. Viscount St. Aldwyn, who followed, confessed himself unable to agree with the thoroughgoing partisans on either side. He did not fear the effect of the Franco-Canadian Convention; in the articles we were best able to produce, we could beat any other country on equal terms in any foreign or colonial market; but the desire for mutual trade preference had so increased in the colonies between 1902 and 1906 that the Government ought to have tried to meet it, possibly by establishing steamship subsidies in return for lowered colonial duties. The desire could not be met by a purely negative policy. Preference on the basis of existing taxation would have been of little use to the colonies; but the crux of the whole question was whether Great Britain was prepared to impose small duties on corn, meat and dairy produce, and these he favoured, condemning the tendency of the Government to put increased burdens on the direct taxpayers as unsound finance. Still, he saw great difficulties in the working of colonial preference on this basis, since one could not bargain with foreign countries and at the same time engage to treat the colonies better than those countries. Preference on the basis of small duties might be useless, and an increase might create friction. The Mid-Devon electors had voted against the Government because food had cost more. Had a 2*s.* duty on corn existed, the rise, which was due to scarcity, would have been popularly attributed to colonial preference, with detrimental results to English feeling towards the colonies. But he

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thought there might be a Tariff Reform Government after the next election, and, if so, he hoped the question would be discussed as a matter of business. No preference to us would be of value unless colonial tariffs were lowered, and the change, if made, should be so made that it should last.

After a Free-Trade speech from Lord Glantawe, Lord Curzon of Kedleston said that he had been impelled to speak by the references made to the question of India. Sir Edward Law was still in complete agreement with the despatch of October 22, 1903. The Indian Government had not been averse from fiscal retaliation in defence of Indian interests; its real apprehensions had been political—would India have free speech or a free judgment on the question of introducing a new system? Mr. Chamberlain had contemplated letting her speak through the mouth of her representatives, but the Indian Government had to take its fiscal views from the Secretary of State, whose views would be shaped by English rather than by Indian considerations. If the interests of India were fairly considered and no system forced on her that was unsuited to her own interests, she would welcome any practical system of inter-Imperial preference.

The Marquess of Lansdowne, after condemning the refusal to discuss Colonial Preference at the Conference, expressed some alarm at the Franco-Canadian Convention as a new departure, perhaps the first of a series which would leave Great Britain out. He dealt with various points previously brought out, especially the position of India.

The Earl of Crewe, winding up for the Government, said that the debate was really set up by the Franco-Canadian Convention. It was not negotiated by Canada alone, but the British Ambassador at Paris had been associated with her representatives. It affected little of Canadian or Anglo-Canadian trade, and there were some British gains under it. There were precedents in Canadian history and in the preference given by Newfoundland to the United States in 1902. He admitted the great value of the trade preferences given by the Colonies to Great Britain, but the Colonial Ministers had expected us to adopt preference as part of a policy of Protection; it was impossible otherwise. Were it adopted, the resulting system would be very intricate, and might involve favouring one Colony against another, or India against Great Britain. The issue at the Conference between a Free-Trade and a Protectionist policy was so clear that it was wiser not to complicate it with proposals such as those Lord St. Aldwyn had mentioned. And Protection might be irreversible.

While the Lords were concluding their fiscal debate the Commons were discussing the delays in Irish land purchase and the position of the evicted tenants, on the vote for the Irish Land Commission. The Evicted Tenants Act of 1907 had been modified by the House of Lords in the interest of the

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"planters" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 213); and the Irish Court of Appeal had interpreted one of the amendments to mean that land occupied by new *bonâ-fide* cultivators could not be compulsorily acquired for the benefit of evicted tenants. This decision, it was urged, defeated the aim of the Act, and the Government should introduce an amending Bill. This Mr. Birrell promised (p. 130), saying that he had had misgivings as to the effect of the Lords' action. He stated that in twelve months 562 evicted tenants had been reinstated, 429 by the landlords and 133 by the Commissioners on lands purchased for them. The tenants themselves sometimes refused reinstatement except on their former holdings, and their new neighbours did not always welcome them. Complaints were also made of the understaffing of the Land Commission, and (by Mr. J. H. Campbell) of its unnecessary inquiries, but eventually the discussion was terminated with a view to its revival later in the session with a wider scope. Subsequently a successful issue of Irish Land Stock (July 4) gave some hope of the acceleration of land purchase. (A comprehensive Land Bill was introduced, but not passed, in the autumn session. See *post*, Chapter V.) Later in the evening the reafforestation of Ireland was pressed on the Government, and Mr. T. W. Russell mentioned that certain preliminary steps had been taken.

A Scottish Local Option Bill was accepted in principle by the House of Commons and the Government on Friday, May 22. It was introduced by Mr. Cameron Corbett (*Tradeston, Glasgow*), who explained that it would allow the people of a locality to decide, on a requisition signed by one-tenth of its electors, whether licences should be granted in that area or not, or should be reduced in number by one-fourth. He mentioned that 64 out of 72 Scottish constituencies supported local option. The rejection of the Bill was moved and seconded by two English members, Sir F. Banbury and Mr. J. F. Mason, and it was accepted by the Scottish Secretary, Mr. Sinclair, in principle; but, to the disappointment of the Scottish Liberal members, he could not definitely promise legislation for 1909, and proposed to shelve the Bill by reference to a Committee of the whole House. The second reading was carried by 189 to 72, the reference to Committee by 163 to 85. In the latter division the minority consisted of Liberal and Labour members, and the majority in part of Unionists.

It may here be mentioned in anticipation that the readiness of the Government to accept social reforms in principle was manifested several times before the Whitsuntide adjournment. A Thrift and Credit Banks Bill brought into the Upper House by Lord Wenlock, and described by the Marquess of Londonderry as the natural complement of small holdings, thus passed its second reading on May 25. A resolution, moved and seconded by two Labour members, demanding legislative provision for the proper housing of temporary workers, such

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as navvies and fruit-pickers—clearly an urgent need, from the cases adduced in the debate—was favourably received by Mr. John Burns, who explained that steps were under consideration for dealing with the subject either by general legislation or special provisions in each private Bill authorising public works. A Public Rights of Way Bill, removing an uncertainty in the law as to the extent to which such rights implied "dedication to public use" when the land was held by life tenants or others who were not full owners, was approved on both sides of the House and passed its second reading on May 29, by 160 to 13; and a Commons Bill only failed because, coming on unexpectedly, it was talked out. Unfortunately, the achievement of these reforms was of necessity postponed indefinitely.

The Budget resolution reimposing the income tax was passed on Monday, May 25, after a spirited debate. Mr. Austen Chamberlain began it by regretting the inception of old age pensions, pending vast and as yet unknown changes in the poor law. Expenditure had not been and could not be reduced, and he anticipated that in 1909 there would be an increase of at least 10,300,000*l.* for which the Government had made no provision. Instead of reducing taxation they should have found new sources of revenue. Debt reduction had been aided by cheap Consols; borrowing was still going on for public works (telegraphs and public buildings), and, by using the surplus naval stores, the Government were living on capital. It was a reckless Budget, for a high sinking fund and a low income tax implied the existence of unused emergency reserves. He dealt at some length with the old age pension proposals. The pensions should not be provided out of direct taxation, and contributory schemes should not have been excluded. The scheme proposed discouraged the thrifty and deserving. The age limit was too high, the 10*s.* limit too low. There ought to be a sliding scale, and old married couples should not be penalised. Apart from old age pensions, he condemned the Budget.

Among subsequent speakers Mr. Ashton (*Luton, Beds*), a Liberal, urged larger purchases of Consols at the existing low prices, and laid stress on the desirability of reducing debt; Mr. Harold Cox argued that the only sound system for a democratic country was direct taxation of every one according to his means; Mr. Leverton Harris (*Stepney*) said that the policy of the Budget must lead to Tariff Reform; Mr. Ellis (*Rushcliffe, Notts*) advocated continued retrenchment and unabated repayment of debt, and Mr. Snowden (*Blackburn*) declared that the "active Socialist section" of the Labour party regarded the Budget partly as a means of redressing social inequalities. The wage-earners were relatively poorer than six or seven years before, the income-tax payers richer, and he advocated a graduated tax on incomes over 5,000*l.* a year. He estimated that there were 16,000 possessors of such incomes, which on the aggregate amounted to 200,000,000*l.* The death duties, too, might be

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largely increased. Mr. Harwood (*Bolton*), as a Liberal and Free Trader, urged the restoration of the export duty on coal. Mr. Bonar Law (*Dulwich, Camberwell*) subjected the Budget to detailed and severe criticism. He thought it was framed in order to "stop the rot" in the constituencies. The Government had not reduced expenditure, and had only reduced the debt by keeping up taxation. Had not the Irish Councils Bill and the Education Bill of 1906 been rejected, they would have had to spend some millions more. The sugar duty had been reduced though there was a prospect of largely increased expenditure, and at a time when it was not severely felt. He questioned the advisability of lessening the reduction of debt. The "dead-weight" debt would at the end of the year be 60,000,000*l.* more than in 1889, and England was not now so wealthy, relatively to other nations, as formerly. The taxable resources of Germany were greater than those of Great Britain. Direct taxation, State as well as Imperial, was 8*s.* per head in Germany and 18*s.* in Great Britain; indirect taxation 26*s.* as against 46*s.*; and local taxation was notoriously much heavier in England. Germany borrowed to meet current expenditure because she was incompletely unified, but that difficulty would disappear under the stress of war. He condemned the idea of raising increased revenue from the death duties and the income tax. The Unionists desired social reform, but all classes should contribute to it in proportion to their means.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd-George), after questioning Mr. Bonar Law's account of the financial position of Germany, challenged him to test the unpopularity of the Budget by a division. In two years the Government had arranged to reduce the national liabilities by 41,000,000*l.*; their predecessors in ten years had reduced them by only 22,000,000*l.*, and in 1899 had raided the Sinking Fund to avoid increasing taxation. "Accidental" reductions of debt somehow only happened under Liberal Governments. The liabilities of next year would be provided for next year. The resources of Free-Trade finance were not exhausted. The Liberals were pledged to reduce expenditure only on armaments; they had contemplated social reform, which involved increased expenditure. But they had reduced Army and Navy expenditure by 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.*, and he hoped to see further reductions. Borrowing for the telegraph and telephone system, which was productive, was a different thing from borrowing for the purposes of the Army and Navy. The Old Age Pensions Bill would be published shortly, and criticism had better be deferred. A thrift test would be impracticable without a contributory scheme, and the British labouring classes moved about so much that this was impracticable. Those who pleaded for greater consideration for old couples, and for extensions, must remember that the scheme was only an experiment, and that an extension of it would far exceed the available revenue. He hoped provision

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for the infirm would some day be made also. Mr. Snowden's criticisms had been too acrid; his suggestions might be valuable to future Chancellors. The advocates of a reimposition of the coal tax were thinking of the best coal, but the tax pressed on the inferior coal, which had to compete with Westphalian and French. He agreed with Mr. Ellis that expenditure on armaments was deplorable, and we were as responsible as other countries. Indeed we had possibly forced the pace in the matter of shipbuilding. If increased taxation had to be provided, the resources of Free-Trade finance were not at an end. The wealth of the country was great, and was growing at a gigantic pace, and the very rich might fairly be asked to make a substantial contribution to improve the lot of the poor. It was their interest that there should not be so much poverty side by side with gigantic wealth.

After a speech from Mr. Chaplin, complaining that the Chancellor had failed to answer the charge of reckless finance, the resolution was passed by 230 to 31.

The rest of the Budget resolutions were discussed on Report and agreed to on the following day, May 26. Unsuccessful efforts were made by Mr. McArthur (*Kirkdale, Liverpool*), Mr. Bonar Law (*Dulwich, Camberwell*), Mr. Austin Taylor (*Toxteth, Liverpool*) and other members, to obtain for the importers of foreign refined sugar a rebate of duty on stocks in hand when the remission of duty was announced. Mr. Lloyd-George stated that the rebate desired would cost the Exchequer 300,000*l.* On the resolution relating to the Excise duties on Irish-grown tobacco, Mr. Stephen Gwynn (*Galway*) asked that Irish tobacco-growing might be financially encouraged, and moved an amendment reducing the duty on Irish manufactured tobacco from 3*s.* 10*d.* to 2*s.* 10*d.* per lb. The Chancellor of the Exchequer resisted the demand as frankly Protectionist, and opening the way for Protection for hops and beet sugar; but eventually he promised it his further consideration in consultation with the Irish Department, and the amendment was withdrawn.

Before this latter debate an episode occurred illustrating the readiness of the House to consider extensive reforms. Mr. Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*) asked leave to introduce a Scottish Home Rule Bill under the ten minutes' rule. He explained that it gave effect to a resolution passed by the House in 1894 and supported by several of the existing Ministry, devolving on Scottish legislative bodies the power to legislate on matters exclusively affecting Scotland together with power to impose taxes other than Customs and Excise. The Scottish Privy Council would be revived, its Executive Committee would advise the Government, and arrangements were provided for adjusting the financial relations between Scotland and the Imperial Parliament, whose control was fully maintained. Mr. Balfour, who had objected on a point of order to the enumera-

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tion of Scottish grievances by Mr. Pirie in his opening speech, condemned with unwonted warmth the introduction of the Bill under the ten minutes' rule and with so insufficient an explanation, and insisted on dividing the House against it. But leave to introduce the measure was given by 257 to 102.

But this multitude of domestic questions had occupied the House of Commons rather than the general public. Since Empire Day fell on Sunday, May 24, its celebration was carried out, with no diminution of enthusiasm, on Friday and Saturday, May 22 and 23. It was estimated that 2,250,000 children saluted the British flag, twice as many as in 1907. Earlier (May 4) the tendency to union visible in the Empire had been effectively expressed by the Prince of Wales and the Earl of Crewe at the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute, where Dr. G. R. Parkin had laid stress on the necessity of education in Imperial affairs as a basis for the movement. At the annual meeting of the Victoria League on May 21 Sir Edward Grey had dwelt on the value of a healthy Imperial sentiment, free from the mere pride of dominion, and of the value in the world of the free British Empire. At the Empire Day banquet at the Hotel Cecil on May 25 Lord Curzon of Kedleston emphasised the growing consciousness of the Empire, insisting that India's place in it must not be ignored; he pointed to the influences stimulating the growth of Imperial feeling, referred to the possibility at some future date of creating an Imperial Senate by a reform of the House of Lords, and declared that nothing could exceed the importance of the last two Imperial Conferences; he also expressed a hope that the next would have a different result.

A few days earlier, however, at the dinner of the Central Asian Society, on May 20, Lord Curzon had expressed a very unfavourable view of the effect on Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet, of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and in regard to South Africa a pessimistic speech was delivered by Viscount Milner at a dinner given to him by the Duke of Westminster as President of the Imperial South African Association at the Hotel Cecil on May 21. He described the existing state of things as "government by commandoes," and as tending to make the South Africa of the future resemble in most respects its condition before the war; scoffed at the claim that the change was a great triumph of statesmanship, condemned the sacrifice of British Civil servants, and pleaded that the contemplated union of South Africa should be conducted as a national settlement and with due respect to native rights. Eight days later, however, the Ministerial view was given by Mr. Churchill at the fifteenth banquet of the South African Dinner Committee. He thought South African affairs were on the mend; they were passing out of British party politics; there was less political division in the Transvaal than in Great Britain or Continental countries; its Government had specially regarded

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Imperial interests on the Indian question; had shown a lively conception of South African traditions by preserving the Imperial Light Horse; and in presenting the Cullinan diamond to the King had given a pledge of reconciliation and peace. It was unfair and silly to describe such a Government as "governing by commandoes." He dwelt (amid some dissent) on the mining revival, and said they were now at the end of the racial struggle and at the beginning of the federation of the States.

In regard to the foreign policy of Great Britain, however, there was practically no difference of view between Unionists and the Government. During all this time fresh proofs had been given of its success and of the active promotion of peace and goodwill in Europe by the King. His visit, in company with the Queen and Princess Victoria, to the three Scandinavian capitals (April 21-May 6, Foreign History, Chapter IV.) had given opportunities for calling to mind the sympathy between Great Britain and these northern nations, and for dwelling on the additional guarantee of European peace furnished by the Baltic and North Sea agreements. A still better illustration of the strengthening ties between Great Britain and her neighbours was afforded by the state visit of the President of the French Republic (May 25-28). Its immediate occasion was afforded by the establishment of the Franco-British Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush, beyond Hammersmith. This had already drawn the French Minister of Commerce, M. Cruppi, to London (May 7), and had been opened, though still very incomplete, by the Prince of Wales on May 14. It was, however, crowded throughout the summer, attracting many French tourists of all grades of society, and its success was brilliant. The President, who was accompanied by the Foreign Minister, M. Pichon, crossed on May 25 in the French cruiser *Léon Gambetta* from Calais to Dover, and was saluted at the latter port by the Channel Fleet and received at Victoria Station by the King and the Prince of Wales. The enthusiastic popular welcome accorded him as he drove thence to St. James's Palace was repeated next day on the route to and from the Exhibition, which he inspected in the afternoon in company with the King, and on the day following as he went to and returned from the Guildhall, where he was entertained by the Corporation of London. The King's Speech at the State banquet at Buckingham Palace dwelt on the strength and value of the Anglo-French *entente*, and expressed the hope that it might be permanent, as being necessary for the welfare and prosperity of the two nations and the maintenance of the peace of Europe. These sentiments were cordially reciprocated by the President, and emphasised in the speeches at the Guildhall, where reference was made to the visit of President Loubet in 1903. It was stated by M. Pichon that the President had been profoundly impressed by his magnificent reception, which proved that the *entente* had become the

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fundamental basis of the policy of both countries; that this *entente* was supported by all but an insignificant minority in France, and that it was one of the surest means of counteracting any combinations hostile to European peace.

Meanwhile, the supposed antagonism between Great Britain and Germany was being counterworked by private enterprise. A body of German burgomasters and municipal councillors had visited England (May 17-23) under the auspices of the British Society for the Study of Colonial and Foreign Municipal Institutions, and had been entertained by the Lord Mayor, and received at the Houses of Parliament by representatives of the Government, and at Buckingham Palace (May 23) by the King. The following week saw the visit of a deputation of German ministers of religion, Protestant and Roman Catholic, who were also entertained by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, where the Primate and the Archbishop of Westminster were among the speakers, and by members of the House of Commons, where they were welcomed by Mr. Runciman; and Mr. Lloyd-George subsequently promised that a grant of money for such international hospitalities would be made by the Government in the interest of peace and goodwill in Europe.

A party of 120 German workmen from Duisburg and Düsseldorf, the guests of a Travel Club connected with the Browning Settlement in Walworth, followed on June 6. They were entertained by various London workmen's organisations, at the House of Commons, and by some of the Mayors of London boroughs, and were received by the Chairman of the London County Council.

Another interchange of compliments with the head of a foreign State provoked strong dissent among supporters of the Government. The King's visit to the Tsar was first announced (unofficially) in *The Times* of May 20, and officially next day, and was cordially welcomed in the Russian Press. It was unfavourably regarded by the Labour party and some advanced Liberals, and on May 27 questions were put to the Prime Minister by Mr. O'Grady (*Leeds, E.*) implying disapproval of the visit as a State visit in view of the internal situation in Russia. Mr. Asquith replied in effect that the visit was overdue, that it could have no bearing on internal politics, and could do nothing but good to Anglo-Russian relations; and an attempt to move the adjournment in order to raise a debate was stopped by the suggestion of the Speaker that the subject might be discussed on the motion for the Whitsuntide adjournment. The discussion seemed likely to be barred by a blocking notice put down by Lord Robert Cecil in order to call attention to the continued neglect of the Government to deal with the abuse of such notices (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1904, p. 141), but this obstacle was removed and the debate took place on June 4.

To the Opposition, however, the foreign policy of the Government offered no ground for attack; and it was the domestic

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situation alone which was reviewed by Mr. Balfour, as the guest of the Liberal Union Club, at the Hotel Cecil on May 29. The Marquess of Lansdowne, who presided, emphasised the strength of the alliance between the two wings of the Unionist party, remarked on the revival of the Home Rule movement—even for Scotland—and cited, as instances of the same disintegrating tendency, the rejection of the Colonial overtures for preference and the establishment of self-government in South Africa. He also condemned the domestic policy of the Government on temperance, education, finance, and the campaign against the House of Lords. He closed with a eulogy of Mr. Balfour's ability and equanimity, declaring that he dominated the House of Commons by sheer intellectual superiority. Mr. Balfour, in reply, declared that the attack on the House of Lords had failed utterly, and denounced the Ministry in this its culminating session (p. 110) as weak and uncertain, alike in education, financial policy, franchise reform and Home Rule. On the Licensing Bill they appeared to show some decision, but he regarded it as a blow struck at public morality, and he commented severely on Mr. Lloyd-George's appeal at Edinburgh for Scottish votes for it as contrasted with the Ministerial acceptance of Scottish Home Rule. All this, he said, showed that the Government had not thought out their general policy, and that the Unionist party must draw even closer together. He believed that the financial necessities imposed by the Government would alone make fiscal reform an absolute certainty.

The hopes of the tariff reformers had been again expressed by Viscount Milner, who dealt mainly with the Imperial aspect of the question, at the annual general meeting of the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association on May 28. The strictly fiscal side was brought forward on the second reading of the Finance Bill (Monday, June 1) in an Opposition amendment calling for a broadening of the basis of taxation to provide for naval defence, old age pensions, education, and the relief of the rates from charges for national services. It was believed that the terms of the amendment had been modified at Mr. Balfour's instance; and it was entrusted to a non-official member, Mr. Laurence Hardy (*Ashford, Kent*). It was seconded by Captain Morrison Bell, the new member for Mid-Devon, who, in a maiden speech, mentioned that between 1889-90 and 1904-5 the amount raised locally for poor-law relief had increased by 70 per cent., that for police by 50 per cent., that for education by 206 per cent., and that for main roads by 134 per cent. Mr. Buxton, Postmaster-General, who described the amendment as a "platformula," said that local taxation could only be relieved after a reform of assessment and valuation; but the rates would be relieved by old age pensions, and by the Education Bill. "Broadening the basis of taxation" would be irritating and ineffective; the Opposition should state their proposals specifically. To this Mr. Austen Chamberlain replied that at

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least 10,000,000*l.* more would be needed next year, yet the Government refused to say how they would raise it. The contribution to national revenue of those working-men who were abstainers and non-smokers was 4*s.* 7*d.* per head. If by a reformed tariff employment were increased, there would be more expenditure on taxed articles, but Germany and the United States under Protection had increased their imports, their exports and their revenue. As to local taxation, the Government were carrying on their predecessors' doles, and the relief they had given was trifling.

Mr. Bottomley (*Hackney, S.*), who was listened to with attention, suggested untapped sources of revenue, including a graduated income tax and a tax on motor-cars. He thought 10,000,000*l.* could be saved on the work done by the Civil Service, and recommended a tax on employers of 1*d.* in the £ on wages paid, to go towards old age pensions; a heavy surtax on foreign investments, taxation of advertisements and entertainments, as in France, of betting and racing, and of share certificates, and the interception of at least the interest of the balances lying dormant in banks. In London alone he had data for estimating these at 30,000,000*l.* [Afterwards, however, Mr. Tomlinson (*Crewe*), a bank director, declared that such estimates were imaginary. A Bill to facilitate the recovery of these balances was introduced by Mr. Bottomley on June 17, leave being given by 193 to 54, but it got no further.]

In the subsequent debate Mr. Bowles (*Norwood*), a Unionist Free-Fooder, accepted the amendment as not entailing further taxation of commodities, and urged resort to direct taxation; Mr. Walsh (*Ince, Lancs, S.W.*), for the Labour party, pointed out that at foreign Trade-Union conferences the workers all agreed in condemning the "broadening" policy, and that in Germany and America wages had declined relatively to the cost of living; Mr. Hemmerde (*Denbighshire*) deplored the omission to tax land values; Mr. Beale (*Ayrshire, S.*), a Liberal, would not rule out duties on commodities for social reforms if properly balanced by an excise; and Mr. Chiozza Money (*Paddington, N.*), while protesting against the idea of changing social conditions by taxation, suggested a further graduation of income tax and a nationalisation of railways and mines.

Mr. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that there had been no criticism of the two main features of the Budget, and no explanation of the details of "broadening the basis of taxation." Nobody doubted that that issue had been shirked at Mr. Balfour's instance. In the House every argument could be answered; it was safer for Tariff Reformers to trust to the gramophone. After emphasising the arguments of the Postmaster-General respecting local taxation, and remarking that the revenue demanded by the amendment would be insufficient to cover the purposes mentioned, he cited a resolution passed by the Radical supporters in the Reichstag of the

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German Government, ascribing the state of the finances of the Empire to Protection, and demanding increased direct taxation and decreased expenditure. Moreover, he added, the Sinking Fund had been raided in Germany to meet current expenditure. So much for Protectionist finance. Did the Opposition mean to tax meat, wheat and dairy produce? In Germany the cost of living, formerly 40 per cent. less than in Great Britain, was now 40 per cent. more, so that official salaries had to be increased. The Opposition policy seemed to be to tax food, that of the Government was to tax people according to their means.

The debate was resumed next day by Mr. Bonar Law, who ascribed the character of the Budget to the bye-elections, and deprecated the hopes held out of reduced naval expenditure, the reduction of the sugar tax, and the rejection of contributory schemes of old age pensions. Social reforms should be fairly paid for by all classes; to charge them on one class for the benefit of another was Socialism. Such a course would fail, for it would dry up the source of income tax. "Broadening the basis of taxation" [a phrase received with Ministerial laughter] had been adopted in the Port of London Bill. Manufactured goods were not a more uncertain source of revenue than the death duties. Nobody proposed to put prohibitive duties on them. The Patents Act was really a crude form of Protection, for it compelled things to be made here for which this country was not best adapted. The real point of the amendment was its financial side. If indirect taxation was not felt as a burden it was practically not one. (Mr. Lloyd-George interjected "What about wheat?" but the Opposition murmured, and the Speaker interfered.) Mr. Bonar Law went on to argue that Germany was in a stronger position than Great Britain financially, her State debts being comparable to the debts of British local authorities, and part being represented by railways. The burden of taxation was less, and the total debt was only half ours. Germany was borrowing to spend on her Navy, and a German authority had shown that such expenditure might be remunerative. He questioned the allegations as to the cost of living in Germany, and ridiculed the resolution quoted by Mr. Lloyd-George, saying that it came from the smallest and most divided of the German Parliamentary groups.

Mr. Winston Churchill defended the Patents Act as reverting to Free Trade by withdrawing a privilege when it ceased to conduce to the public interest, and, with regard to the profitableness of expenditure on armaments, said that the idea that having murdered a man, you might steal his money, was a very primitive one. Napoleon I. had followed the policy unprofitably, and there was no dividend yet out of the South African War. We could borrow at something under 3 per cent., Germany had to pay 4 per cent. The Government had reduced the unproduc-

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tive expenditure of the State; after the achievements of the Opposition, their best policy would have been silence. What was their fiscal policy? "A duty" on manufactured articles would mean hundreds of duties, and the taxation of such articles was inseparably interwoven with that of food. He asked Mr. Bonar Law specifically, did he include within the amendment the taxation of bread and meat? [Mr. Bonar Law replied, "Make me Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I will answer you." The Ministerialists laughed loudly.] An answer would, no doubt, interrupt the sweet concord between the Unionist leaders. Our present fiscal system produced a maximum amount of revenue with the least possible waste; the great principle to be guarded was that the whole of the money should go for the purposes for which it is intended, and that no private interests should "thrust in their dirty fingers" and take the profit. Increasing the ratio of indirect taxation simply meant making the poor pay more. Its steady decrease since 1842 marked the progress of democratic finance. That movement was opposed by the amendment, whose supporters wished to alter the social balance to the detriment of those who lived by wages and to the advantage of those who lived on interest.

Mr. Balfour, following later, expressed his disappointment at the attitude of Ministers towards the financial situation. Apart from the questions of Colonial preference and retaliation, dealt with—inappropriately—by the Postmaster-General, he held that a widening of the basis of our taxation was necessary to meet our enormous liabilities. After commenting on the speeches of Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Churchill, he insisted that we were face to face with immediate necessities for a vast expenditure for which no provision was made or foreshadowed. As the Government would not say what their own proposals would be next year, they could hardly complain of the Opposition for not telling theirs three or four years beforehand. He would tax corn again if he thought it necessary; but he would be no party to increasing the proportionate burden on the working classes. The Government regarded the situation as normal. It was wholly abnormal. An increase in direct taxation would have horrified Gladstone and Peel, whose traditions Ministers professed to follow. It would be grossly unjust to the few and would seriously injure the interests of the many.

Mr. Asquith said that he was still in bewilderment as to the purpose and meaning of the amendment. Did the Opposition attack the main features of the Budget—old age pensions and the reduction of the sugar duty? If so, they ought to vote against them; but the amendment accepted old age pensions and was eloquently silent about the sugar duty. It merely contained a hollow and sounding generality about broadening the basis of taxation, and of the meaning of this no hint had been given. What had become of Colonial Preference? Were the Government now to state how they hoped to obtain revenue next year

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their expectations would be defeated by astute financiers. By "budgeting for the future" he meant that before increasing the national obligations, there should be assurance that the national resources would suffice. After a fresh defence of his own financial achievements, he claimed that the financial stability given by Free-Trade would enable the country to meet, and more than meet, all the obligations which lay before it.

The amendment was rejected by 367 to 124 and the Bill read a second time; but it was noted that Mr. Stewart Bowles, Lord Robert Cecil, and other Free-Food Unionists, voted or paired for the amendment.

The annual meeting of the Unionist Free-Trade Club, however, held on the afternoon of the division, had shown no weakening upon the main issue of the fiscal controversy. The Earl of Cromer, elected president in succession to the late Duke of Devonshire, delivered his address, questioning, indeed, whether the Budget could be regarded as a Free-Trade triumph in view of the expenditure needed next year, but declaring that he was confirmed in both the Unionist and the Free-Trade faith by the discussions since his return from Egypt, and suggesting various lines of argument which might promote the cause. They were, he hoped, only temporarily weak in money and organisation in comparison with their opponents. He thought the political dangers—of monopoly rule—were even greater than the economic. After referring to the difficult position of Unionist Free Traders as exhibited at Manchester, he urged them to hold together and bide their time, as a protest against the week-kneed opportunism of the day.

In one matter the Government had deeply offended many of their supporters. The Sugar Convention (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1903, p. 178) had been renewed in a modified form. Instead of prohibiting bounty-fed sugar, Great Britain had consented to allow a limited importation of it. Russia, which gave bounties, was to be allowed to send into the European markets not more than 1,000,000 tons of sugar within the next six years; and Great Britain undertook to give certificates guaranteeing that sugar refined in the United Kingdom and exported had not been bounty-fed. The case against the renewal was forcibly stated by Mr. Lough, M.P., in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1908; and the renewal was questioned on the motion for adjournment over Whitsuntide by Mr. Villiers (*Brighton*), who declared that the price of sugar had risen considerably, and the Convention had neither steadied it nor added to the prosperity of the West Indies. These remonstrances were backed by Mr. Austin Taylor (*Toxteth, Liverpool*). Sir Edward Grey replied that the Government had intended to denounce the Convention as soon as possible, but other countries had urged that Great Britain had induced them to enter into it and alter their fiscal systems, so that it would be unfair to upset the arrangement. Denunciation would not have meant reversion to prior conditions, for

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other countries would have continued the Convention, probably with success, and would have imposed prohibitive or retaliatory duties on British sugar, with bad results politically. Still the Government were prepared to denounce it in view of the penal clause [which had ensured the exclusion of bounty-fed sugar either directly or through the imposition of an extra duty]; but, this being removed, it was unreasonable to insist on denunciation. Russia would have made the same arrangements even had we seceded from the Convention. She had formerly sent us 40,000 tons yearly; she now might send up to 200,000; was this limitation a reason for sacrificing the advantages gained? Under the former arrangement we might have been asked to close our ports to sugar from one or other country; this was now impossible. Mr. Lough, however, who had recently been Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, strongly condemned the course taken by the Government, which was commended by Earl Percy and Mr. Mitchell Thomson (*Lanark, N.W.*), who had approved of the original Convention.

Another subject which had also disquieted Liberals was discussed in the same debate. Mr. Mackarness (*Newbury, Berks*) called attention to Dinizulu's continued detention without trial and the suspension of his salary, condemned the proclamation of martial law, and declared that the Natal natives were shockingly misgoverned. The Natal Government were defended by Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) and strongly condemned for enforcing prerogative martial law by Sir Charles Dilke. Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, declared that when Dinizulu was allowed to return to Zululand and his salary was fixed it was arranged that it should not be withdrawn without the leave of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but the Natal Government had suspended it without that leave. The Imperial Government were bound to see that our bargain with Dinizulu was carried out. To remedy native grievances the Government had only the power of representation, and this they would continue to exercise. The Attorney-General (Sir William Robson) then dealt with the legal questions involved in the proclamation of martial law. Some jurists (he said), among them the late Lord Davey, held that it should only be resorted to in case of actual danger of meeting armed force; others, among them the Earl of Halsbury, that it might be invoked when armed force was apprehended. Parliament could override the Colony if it chose, but such power should be used with great caution and reluctantly; he hoped and believed that Natal would awake to the danger of a long continuance of martial law, but if it did not the Government would have to act.

A number of less urgent Colonial questions had been raised on the Colonial Services Vote on May 28. In reply, Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, dismissed as impracticable a scheme devised by Mr. Lyttelton when in office for

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enabling Governors of Crown Colonies to come home more frequently in order to assist the home authorities in administration, and as unnecessary a proposal for recovering, by a subsidised steamship line, the trade between Great Britain and East Africa, the annual subsidy requisite being 80,000*l*. With regard to the labour difficulty in East Africa, he said the Government would support the Governor, and were determined that nothing like forced labour should exist in any part of the Empire. There would be no further alienation of native reserves. Answering questions regarding the New Hebrides Convention, he said reliance must be placed, as regards the recruiting of natives, on the well-known justice of the French; the matter could not be pressed without offence. He laid special emphasis in various parts of his speech on native rights and claims under British rule.

A third topic debated on the motion for adjournment (June 3) was the increase of accidents in factories and workshops, to which Mr. Glover (*St. Helens*) and other Labour members called attention. The Home Secretary, who spoke at some length, undertook to agree to the appointment either of a Departmental or Select Committee to inquire as to the classes of accidents that had increased and the possibility of legislation towards remedying them.

Next day the Radical and Labour dissatisfaction with the King's projected visit to the Tsar found expression on the Foreign Office Vote. It had been exhibited in frequent questions in the House, some of which, put down by Mr. Keir Hardie· and referring to the number of political prisoners executed and suspects sent to Siberia without trial in 1907-8, were suppressed by the officials, whose action the Speaker on June 3 virtually approved. On behalf of the Independent Labour party, Mr. O'Grady (*Leeds, E.*) moved a reduction of the Vote. Referring to the feeling against the visit among the middle and working classes, he said the objection was only to an official and State visit, and expressed his admiration for the King's noble work for international amity and peace. He claimed for the Labour party, as the only international party, the right to speak in the matter, and he laid stress on the state of Russia, the imprisonment and exile of members of the first two Dumas, the events of "Bloody Sunday," and the Tsar's approval of the Black Hundreds. He thought that the visit had been arranged since the late Premier's death, and that Russia pressed it to rehabilitate her credit. It should either not take place, or be divested of its State character. Mr. MacNeill (*Donegal, S.*) protested against the novel and unconstitutional practice of Royal visits to foreign potentates unaccompanied by a Minister; but two Liberals, Sir Ivor Herbert (*Monmouthshire, S.*) and Mr. Belloc (*Salford, S.*) urged that a change would be regarded as offensive by the Russian people. Mr. Kettle (*Tyrone, E.*) and Mr. Harwood (*Bolton*) protested

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against the visit, the latter [a Liberal] asking what Mr. Gladstone would have thought of a Royal visit to the King of Naples during the struggle for Italian freedom, and Mr. Hart-Davies (*Hackney, N.*) supported it as strengthening the Liberalising influence of England on Russia.

Sir Edward Grey, dealing first with the constitutional question, said that what the House had a right to demand was that the responsibility of the Cabinet for affairs of State should be maintained. This had been, and would be, the case now; and the previous foreign visits of the King were believed to have been beneficial to the State. Sir Charles Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office, was going to Reval, but as a member of the King's suite, not instead of a Cabinet Minister, and he would be responsible to the Foreign Secretary in the same way as an Ambassador. No negotiations were on foot for any treaty or convention with Russia, and none would be initiated during the visit. But it was intended to signify the existence of friendly relations and a desire for their continuance. The protests received hung together with those against the Anglo-Russian Convention, an arrangement cordially supported by the late Premier. To boycott Russia and refuse to discuss a Convention would have brought Great Britain nearer to conflict with her over Persia and India. He was for a policy of agreement with Russia, and if that policy were rejected, he should fall with it. The course suggested must lead towards war, to a point where matters were beyond the control of its pacific supporters. The King's visit to the Tsar was long overdue, and could not be postponed without marked discourtesy. The aspersions on the Tsar's character were not credited in his own country, and, if the Government were to give the advice suggested, it might as well tear up the Anglo-Russian Convention, and the continuation of negotiations on Macedonian reform would be ludicrous. Moderate and Liberal Russians approved the visit; the extreme reactionaries and revolutionists opposed it. The latter hoped to create difficulties for their country and shake its credit; could we lend ourselves to such a manœuvre? A Foreign Minister could not either defend or criticise the internal state of Russia, but the members of the first and second Dumas who were sentenced were not sentenced merely for expressing Liberal opinions. Crimes had been committed by the revolutionists as well as by the reactionaries, and he stated authoritatively that the system of government in Russia had been getting practically better. In three years extraordinary changes had been effected in the Constitution. Was the House going to help or hinder the progress made? We must interfere where we had treaty rights, and separate and oppressed nationalities had always our sympathy; but that did not apply here. Suppose that after the South African War a foreign potentate had refused to visit the King officially until the Transvaal should have received full self-government, would that have helped or

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hindered the grant? The policy advocated must in the long run make bad blood between the two peoples, and the peace of the world as well as the welfare of the two nations might largely depend on the relations between England and Russia.

Some observers stated that this speech, which was very impressive and animated, did much to recover doubtful Liberal votes for the Government. It received the emphatic approval of Mr. Balfour, who pointed out that it was impossible for the House to pass judgment on the internal affairs of foreign countries. Who would benefit if the amendment were passed? Our liberties would not be imperilled. Barren intervention such as the motion implied would be interpreted either as an insolent mark of superiority claimed over other nations or as a mark of British hostility to Russia. It would only hinder the growth of autonomous institutions. The Government believed that this visit would smooth the path of diplomacy. To divest it of its official character would be to put a deliberate insult on the Russian Government which the Russian people would bitterly resent.

Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydfil*) contended that an official visit would condone the "atrocities" for which the Tsar's Government and the Tsar must be held responsible. This term he only withdrew under strong pressure from the Chairman, and after some advanced Liberal, Labour and Nationalist members had supported him in resistance. Indeed, it was only when the Chairman threatened to name him and suspend the sitting that, in order not to prevent a division, he formally withdrew the word as applied to the Russian Government and the Tsar. Mr. Maddison (*Burnley*), a Liberal-Labour member, supported the Government; and the debate was eventually closured on the motion of Mr. Henderson, leader of the Labour party, amid protests from some Independent Labour members. The reduction was rejected by 225 to 59. Twelve Liberals, 22 Nationalists, and 25 Labour members made up the minority.

The House then adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess. The House of Lords had preceded it on June 1, after a somewhat warm debate on a local branch of the education controversy, and other business, including the introduction of the Evicted Tenants Act Amendment Bill.

In spite of the signs of a reaction in favour of the Government in Scotland and on the Licensing Bill, the Ministry had not greatly strengthened its position in the country during its first two months of office. Fears were expressed of the failure of Mr. Haldane's territorial army, seeing that by the end of April only 106,000 men of the 300,000 asked for had been enrolled, and his plan was attacked by means of questions in the House of Commons, notably on May 25, by Mr. Arnold-Forster and other members. It was doubted if employers would give their men facilities for the necessary training, though an excellent example was set in this respect by a number of firms and companies in the City, who formally promised to

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do so (June 1). Again, a well-founded fear of a decline in the revenue for 1908-9 emphasised the anxieties felt as to the effect of the Old Age Pensions Bill on future Budgets; and the Bill itself, published on June 2, disappointed some advanced Liberals. Indeed, it was among these and the Labour party that the disquiet at the course of the Government was most pronounced. Since the Liberals had come in as many Peers had been created as sat in the first Parliament of Henry VII. The Government, again, seemed to fail in Parliamentary management; it had great energy, the *Nation* said, in laying down ground plans, but was apt to be embarrassed in completing the edifice. It had disappointed its supporters by renewing the Sugar Convention; and some of them still murmured at the King's visit to Russia and complained of undue timidity in the foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM WHITSUNTIDE TO THE SUMMER RECESS.

THE chief event of the Whitsuntide recess was the much-canvassed State visit of King Edward VII. to the Tsar at Reval, the first visit ever paid to Russia by any British Sovereign. The King and Queen, with Princess Victoria, left *vid* Charing Cross and Port Victoria, on the evening of Friday, June 5, and arrived at Reval on board the *Victoria and Albert*, escorted by warships, on Tuesday morning, June 9. There, in beautiful weather, they were visited by the Tsar and the Imperial family, and at once returned the visit on the Imperial yacht. The speeches at the State banquet in the evening laid stress on the effect of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 in drawing the two countries together and consolidating the peace of the world; and it was stated that Sir Charles Hardinge and M. Isvolsky, who had accompanied their respective Sovereigns, had come near to a complete agreement on the projected reforms in Macedonia. The Russian Press, especially the more progressive organs, regarded the meeting as tending to encourage the hopes of domestic reform in Russia as well as to increase the prospect of peace in Europe. In Germany and at Vienna there was some apprehension expressed as to the effects of an Anglo-Russian understanding on the diplomatic interests of the German Empire.

An unfortunate after-effect of the debate in the Commons (p. 128) on the visit was the omission of Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Victor Grayson and Mr. Ponsonby, the newly elected member for Stirling, from the list of invitations to the King's garden party on June 20. The Labour party formally resented the omission of Mr. Keir Hardie (July 9) as "an attempt by the Court to influence members of Parliament," and requested

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the Lord Chamberlain to remove their names from the official list of royal guests until Mr. Keir Hardie's was restored to it. Mr. Keir Hardie himself alluded to the episode at Merthyr on July 14, remarking that the King had stood outside politics since the days of Charles I., and intimating that he had better remain there.

At home the Whitsuntide recess was occupied by the usual congresses and meetings. The annual Convention of the United Irish League at Leeds (June 8) emphasised the breach between English Catholics and Irish Nationalists by unanimously passing a resolution of thanks to the Executive for disavowing the dictation of certain organisations in the Manchester and Birmingham bye-elections, and this disavowal was strongly upheld by Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Dillon, the latter of whom advised acceptance of the Irish University Bill. The Co-operative Congress at Newport, Monmouthshire, which was attended by delegates representing ten foreign countries, passed resolutions in favour of women's suffrage and the Housing and Town Planning Bill, rejected one in favour of direct Parliamentary representation for co-operators, and showed that its general feeling was adverse to Tariff Reform. The various congresses of Friendly Societies expressed dissatisfaction with the Old Age Pensions Bill, or at least with its details, as giving no encouragement to thrift; and other labour organisations treated it as only an instalment, and qualified their gratitude.

A noteworthy speech was delivered by Mr. John Burns on Whit Monday at the opening of a new recreation ground at the Ealing Garden suburb. He condemned the "gladiatorial spectacles" now offered to the multitude as sport, and recommended individual pleasures and "the good old English games" of tennis, bowls, cricket and quoits, as the best antidote to the "spirit of the horde." He commended also the movement of population towards the suburbs, and hoped that in ten years motor-omnibuses might be replaced by municipal trams everywhere.

The Ministerial attitude towards the unrest in India, which was one of the causes of Radical dissatisfaction, was effectively set forth by Lord Morley of Blackburn at a dinner given by the Indian Civil Service Dinner Club on June 11. He was trying, he said, to feel his way through the most difficult problem that responsible Governments had ever had to face. The first duty of the Government was to keep order, but the ideals aimed at were desirable, and had to be reconciled with order, otherwise, for the first time in history, British statesmanship would have broken down. Pure repression was impossible. Macaulay had prophesied in 1836 that idolatry would be abolished in thirty years by the mere effect of teaching the Hindus English; but the natural operation of knowledge and reflection carried men of different mental structure and history into widely different paths. He defended the Press Act and Explosives Act against

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Radical criticisms, declaring that to talk about the freedom of the Press in connection with incendiary articles was nonsense, and predicting that "we should get through the dark and ugly moment before us," but only with self-command and without any quackery or cant, whether that of order or that of sentiment.

The House of Commons had reassembled on June 10. Its first day was occupied largely with the demands of the Customs and Excise Services, and its second (on the vote for the Board of Agriculture) with the working of the Small Holdings Act. Sir Edward Strachey, representing the Board, stated that no necessity had yet arisen to acquire land compulsorily, and that the County Councils would co-operate amicably with the Board. Some 16,000 people had applied and 250,000 acres were required for them. The great majority of the applicants were qualified by the possession of capital and knowledge. Several Liberal members imputed lack of energy to the Small Holdings Commissioners and inertia or hostility to the County Councils, and Mr. Collings (*Bordesley, Birmingham*) complained that labourers without capital had no chance of getting small holdings. Other members touched on the spread of swine fever, agricultural organisation, horse-breeding, and the restrictions on the importation of meat. The Commissioners were defended by Sir Edward Strachey, who mentioned also that the supply of horses was under consideration by the Board of Agriculture and the War Office.

The next day the House of Commons sanctioned in principle an important new departure in prison legislation. The Prevention of Crime Bill, introduced by the Home Secretary on May 27, established reformatories on the system adopted at Borstal prison for the detention of offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, the Home Secretary being empowered to release on probation those whose conduct had been sufficiently good. Courts were also to be empowered to sentence habitual criminals to detention until sufficient assurance was given that they would revert to an honest life, or until they became physically incapable of returning to crime. A man convicted of four offences would be a habitual criminal. For these the present system of punishment was little better than a farce. Such criminals would be committed (subject to appeal) to a new prison in the Isle of Wight, where the discipline would be less rigorous than in ordinary prisons, they would work and might earn wages, and all cases would be considered twice a year at least by a Special Committee and reported on to the Home Secretary. On the second reading (June 12) Mr. Akers-Douglas, a former Home Secretary, approved the principle of the Bill, the second part of which he claimed as identical with his own Penal Servitude Bill of 1904. Objection was taken by Mr. Pickersgill (*Bethnal Green, S.W.*), Mr. Salter (*Basingstoke, Hants*), and Mr. John O'Connor (*Kildare, N.*) to the new powers given to the Home Secretary, and Mr. Atherley-

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Jones (*Durham, N.W.*) and Mr. Belloc (*Salford, S.*) protested strongly against the principle of indeterminate sentences, and the latter also against the retrospective character of the Bill. After other speeches, Mr. Gladstone elaborately defended the Bill, explaining in detail the reasons for the "Borstal system," and declaring that under existing conditions desperate criminals profited by a judicial leniency intended to meet the case of average prisoners. The powers vested in the Home Secretary would be exercised, subject to his responsibility, mainly by the Prison Commissioners, who deserved full confidence. Eventually, after an adverse speech from Mr. Rawlinson (*Cambridge University*), the Bill passed its second reading by 133 to 11.

At a banquet given to him as Premier by the National Liberal Club on June 12, Mr. Asquith reviewed the political outlook. The party and the Ministry (he said) were thoroughly united and exceptionally zealous for reform, but in the future there must be greater concentration and on fewer subjects. Apart from devolution, they needed further improvements in the legislative machine; much had been effected by the new procedure, and it would be necessary to allot the time in advance between the various stages of important measures; there seemed no hope that a special tribunal could be set up for this work. But the next improvement needed was to arrange that uncompleted work should be resumed in the following session. As to their leading measures, they were not pressing the Education Bill because there were forces working for a compromise, which must be consistent with Liberal principles. On the Licensing Bill there was a reaction in favour of the Ministry, and they would make some progress with the measure before the autumn session. He defended the Old Age Pensions Bill against both the advocates of a contributory scheme and Liberal and Labour critics, mentioning that the exclusion of persons in receipt of poor relief was only for the current year, pending the Report of the Poor Law Commission; were it abolished the guardians would be tempted to withdraw out-door relief that pensions might take its place. The Bill was tentative, and the three measures were worthy of a great Government and a great party.

Mr. Asquith had made no mention of franchise reform; but the united women's suffrage procession and demonstration on the day following his speech proved at any rate an effective and artistic advertisement for the cause. The procession was formed of contingents of women from the provinces (over 1,000 strong) from various women's colleges, and representative of several professions as well as of the Liberal, Socialist, and Unionist parties, the militant suffragists, and the London boroughs; and it marched from the Embankment through Northumberland Avenue, Pall Mall and Piccadilly to the Albert Hall, where Mrs. Fawcett presided, and speeches were delivered by Lady Henry Somerset, Mrs. Despard, Lady Frances Balfour and

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others. The crowds were said to be rather impassive. An independent demonstration of Lancashire working women's organisations was also held on the same day in Trafalgar Square to support women's suffrage and to protest against the displacement of barmaids' labour under the Licensing Bill.

Mr. Asquith had promised at the National Liberal Club that the Old Age Pensions Bill should be passed before Parliament rose for the autumn recess; and the second reading was debated on Monday and Tuesday, June 16 and 17. The Bill as printed (June 2) differed from the forecast in the Budget speech in some points, notably in imposing a qualified character test, in disqualifying recipients of poor relief (other than medical relief) since January 1, 1907, and in extending the limitation on the pension of married persons (p. 97) to relatives other than husband and wife living in the same house. Moreover, unfavourable comment had been aroused by the announcement that immediately after the second reading the Government would propose to closure the Committee stage by compartments. Before the debate began on June 16, Mr. Balfour asked the Prime Minister if he would not wait to see the amendments, as without them it was almost impossible to "discuss the propriety of any particular 'gag' resolution." Mr. Asquith, however, replied that the main points of criticism were known.

The second reading was moved by Mr. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose speech was described as seeming almost apologetic. So-called contributory schemes, he said, had been given up by most reformers, including Mr. Chamberlain; they would exclude women, and the failure of friendly societies' superannuation schemes showed that the contributory plan was impracticable. As to the criticisms made on the fixed income limit, the Government had an open mind regarding a sliding scale, so long as the cost was not increased. The number pensionable was estimated at 572,000 (out of 1,262,632 persons over seventy) and the annual cost at 7,500,000*l.* For the first year it was put at 6,000,000*l.* In New Zealand and Denmark claims had been deferred till the scheme was seen working; and the pauper test would work fully at first, but would gradually vanish. Before extending the scheme they must have experience. It was the most liberal yet proposed in any old country; the Colonies, not having heavy naval or military expenditure, could afford to be more liberal. To reduce the age-limit to sixty-five was too costly; the treatment of married couples was similar in all schemes, and the industry test [disqualification by "habitual refusal to work"], which should not be called a character test, was intended to exclude the loafer and the wastrel, in fairness to other pensioners. But here he promised an amendment that proof of contribution to a friendly or benefit society or trade union for a term of years should exempt from inquiry as to the pensioner's industry. The pauper disqualification was provisional, and to eliminate

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the disqualification would wreck the scheme. It was an experiment, but a beginning.

Mr. Chaplin (*Wimbledon, Surrey*) praised the Bill faintly, saying that it had not been half thought out, and deprecating any hindrance to the work of the friendly societies. Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*) then moved an amendment commending State insurance against the principal risks of life, but condemning the expenditure of the taxpayers' money in subsidising persons selected by arbitrary standards of age, income and character. In a very successful speech, frequently cheered by the Opposition, he attacked the inconsistencies of the scheme and the changing attitude of the Government. The sliding scale would encourage fraud; the character test would be inquisitorial and set up the fear of favouritism. He commended the German (contributory) scheme, which provided substantial infirmity and old age pensions. For those left outside such schemes, the poor law was best, and its administration was becoming more considerate. Social inequalities should be redressed by raising wages, not by taxation. The scheme might lead to Tariff Reform. Lord Robert Cecil (*Marylebone, E.*), seconding, saw Socialistic elements in the Bill; the United States' pension lists showed a tendency to expand. As Great Britain might be engaged in a great international struggle, he protested against weakening the national character. Mr. O'Grady (*Leeds, E.*), speaking for the Labour party, advocated universal pensions as a right, declared the Bill hopelessly inadequate, and foreshadowed amendments extending it. Of the other speakers, Mr. Maddison (*Burnley*), a Liberal-Labour member, welcomed the scheme as a beginning, and Mr. Mond (*Chester*) replied to Mr. Cox, criticising unfavourably the German scheme. Mr. Haldane declared that the Bill embodied the principle of the British poor law since the days of Elizabeth, *viz.*, that the prosperous must relieve the necessitous, and that it was part of a much larger class of reforms included in the settled policy of the Government, to be carried out when the poor law system should have come under review. He hoped there might then be greater classification of the deserving poor, and of this a pension scheme would be part. The Bill might then be subject to review, but he did not think it would be largely departed from.

Mr. Long (*Dublin, S.*), who finished his speech on the second day of the debate, criticised the details of the Bill, but was not prepared to vote against it. He protested against Mr. Haldane's treatment of it as merely adding a new class of paupers, and mentioned that he had not devised a scheme when in office because he did not see how the limitations could be maintained. He defended the existing poor law administration, described Mr. Lloyd-George as an "apt pupil of the Labour party," and thought a contributory system should be combined with the Bill and might be devised in conjunction with the friendly

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societies. Mr. Burt (*Morpeth*) and Mr. Goulding (*Worcester*), the former a veteran representative of Labour and the latter a strong tariff reformer, cordially supported the Bill, and Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) intimated that it had Nationalist approval.

After numerous other speeches, Mr. Balfour laid stress on the refusal of the Government to say how the funds would be found. His party had been charged with neglecting the question, but the Report on which the Bill was based was made in 1899, and no money was available then or for some years after. The subject should not have been dealt with apart from poor-law reform. This fragmentary treatment caused untenable distinctions and left important questions untouched. The House had not been given material for a judgment as to whether the German scheme which had great merits, or some modification of it, could not have been adopted.

Mr. Asquith asked how the Opposition leader would vote. His speech gave no indication. The Government had hitherto been paying off the debts left by their predecessors, and under Free-Trade finance the resources of the country would be equal to the demands of the Bill. The points of difference brought out were Committee points mainly. A universal system was not seriously proposed. Nor were there funds for it; and contributory schemes were of no use for this problem. They were slow in operation, they excluded women, they gave a preference to particular forms of saving, and they left out some of those whose needs were greatest. The German system, based on inquisition and compulsion, was impracticable in England. He replied to criticisms; but were they, he asked, to "sit still, with folded arms and palsied energies, while this great procession of the poor and necessitous and unbefriended lingered out the last days of lives of which the strenuous years had been given to industry and the service of the State?"

This peroration was loudly cheered, and the amendment was rejected by 417 to 29. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lyttelton abstained; Mr. Bonar Law voted with the Government. All the minority belonged to the Opposition except Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*), who acted as teller.

The "guillotine" resolution was moved next day, June 17, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith being at Cambridge to receive an honorary degree. It allotted five days to the Committee stage—two to clauses 1 and 2, one to clause 3, one to clauses 4, 5 and 6, and one to the rest; a sixth day to the Report stage and a seventh to the third reading, and this day—but no other—might be a Friday. Mr. Lloyd-George pointed out that 178 amendments were already put down, and the number would probably be doubled before the Committee began. The best arguments for guillotine resolutions were to be found in Mr. Balfour's speech on the closuring of the Education Bill Committee in 1902, though some closure motions had been opposed under the late Government on the ground

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that the opinion of the country had not been obtained on the Bills in question. The Government, indeed, were now setting up a new precedent, but it was better to map out the time in advance. The main points of criticism were the question of contribution or non-contribution, on which the House might be taken to have expressed its opinion; next those of age and a sliding scale, on which it had not done so, and the next the abatement of the amount of pension. The first two clauses included these points, the industry test and the pauper test were covered by the third, and matters followed regarding the machinery, on which there had been hardly any criticism. Five days were a liberal allotment to cover all the points raised on the second reading or in the Press.

Mr. Balfour bantered the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his references to 1902, and argued that the general desire to see pensions established was no reason for curtailing the discussions on the very difficult and critical operation. The prophetic powers claimed by the Government were subversive of the liberties of the House. New points would arise in discussion; the reduction of the age to sixty-five would depend on the financial question, and the House had no information, and was further embarrassed by the introduction of the Bill pending the report of the Poor-Law Commission. The rejection of the amendment on the second reading did not imply rejection of a contributory scheme. Many members wanted further discussion of such a scheme, but had wished not to destroy the Bill. The Government were bringing in too many first-class controversial measures, and the House was rapidly losing its privilege of moulding the details of Government legislation.

Mr. Dillon by an interruption, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor in a set speech, reminded Mr. Balfour of his own closure record, and the latter added that the closure originated in the effort to deal with Irish affairs in that House, and would continue necessary so long as that policy was pursued. Mr. Lambton (*Durham, S.E.*), in an amusing speech, incidentally attacked the system of Grand Committees as encouraging the introduction of more measures than could be passed, and other members—including several Liberals — deprecated closure resolutions. Mr. Leif Jones would have preferred frequent all-night sittings to fixing the end of debate; Sir J. Dickson-Poynder suggested selection of the more important amendments, and carrying over Bills to a subsequent session. In reply, Mr. Lloyd-George pointed out that all sections of the House now wanted more legislation, and the Government had to get on with their work. The resolution was an expedient to deal with a temporary difficulty.

An amendment moved by Mr. Bowles (*Norwood*) exempting the Committee stage from the guillotine, was rejected by 251 to 88. Another amendment was moved by Lord Robert Cecil, providing that the allocation should be committed to the Prime Minister, the leaders of the Unionist, Irish, and Labour parties and three

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other members of long experience to be chosen by them with the assent of the Speaker, and that failing such allotment within a week the resolution should be operative. He urged that the decline of the House in popular estimation would go further if it were only to register Cabinet decrees. Mr. Dillon, however, declared that the responsibility for the conduct of business must remain with the leader of the House, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer endorsed this view, and said that Parliament would be lowered in the popular estimation by the idea that it could not get through its work. Mr. Balfour also condemned the amendment, which was by leave withdrawn, and an amendment proposed by Mr. Stuart-Wortley (*Hallam, Sheffield*) giving two days to the first two subsections of clause 1 was rejected by 311 to 99. The debate was then closured, and the resolution was carried by 306 to 102.

The increasing stringency of the guillotine indicated the overcrowding of the Ministerial programme, which had become more marked owing to the delays incident to the change of Ministry; but there was no faltering visible at the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Birmingham, its birthplace (June 18 and 19). The attendance of delegates was the largest on record; the new President, Sir William Angus of Newcastle-on-Tyne, declared that "Liberalism was never in a more progressive mood"; and great enthusiasm was shown throughout, notably for the Licensing Bill and one of its leading advocates, Sir Thomas Whittaker, M.P. The resolutions passed recommended the taxation of land values and the remission of the tea and sugar duties, as reforms which, being financial, the Lords could not touch; endorsed the Liberal programme, advocated a lasting settlement of the education question, and heartily approved the Licensing Bill.

On the previous day the report of a conference held at Manchester, between the Bishop of the diocese and representatives of the Roman Catholics and of Nonconformist bodies, had been published. It was not unanimous; but the majorities of all parties had made great concessions, which, however, mainly benefited the denominationalists. On this account it was not well received at the Federation meeting. The proceedings of the Federation were closed by a speech from the Prime Minister to a crowded audience in Bingley Hall. Special precautions had been taken to exclude women suffragists, but there were occasional interruptions. Mr. Asquith, after paying tributes to his predecessor and his colleagues, and acknowledging the loyalty and goodwill of his party, reviewed the work of the Government. Tory critics charged the Liberals with sacrificing social reform to constitutional change; yet the only political reform measure of this Ministry had been the Plural Voting Bill of 1906. On the other hand, they had established workmen's compensation, small holdings, criminal appeal, and old age pensions, about all of which the Tories had

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been "gesticulating and perorating" for years. Their financial measures had enabled the country to meet the calls—which would be many—for social reform. In South Africa, they had falsified all predictions. The Chinese would soon be gone, the mines were prosperous, and under the Ministries in the new Colonies, composed of our former foes, racial divisions were being rapidly obliterated. Tariff Reform was not talked about much in the House, but the ceaseless propaganda in the country made it necessary to present the Free-Trade case afresh. The decrease in trade returns was reviving the hopes of the Tariff Reformers, but their two great alarms—the expansion of the imports of foreign manufactures, and the inelasticity of the exports of British manufactures—had been wholly falsified; and while our foreign trade in 1902 was to our Colonial trade as 61 to 38, the proportion in 1907 was as 68 to 32. He thought Free Trade would stand the test of declining as of increasing prosperity. Of the three chief measures of social reform this year, the Education Bill would not be abandoned; popular control would accompany public expenditure and there would be no denominational test; but they could afford to be reasonable in details. For the Licensing Bill he was primarily responsible. He had staked his own and his party's fortunes on it, and he believed he never acted more wisely. After a defence of the Old Age Pensions Bill, and references to the Housing and Children Bills, he closed with a glowing peroration advocating the Liberal programme as the only way to create and sustain a community of free men in a free State.

The Tariff Reform appeal was "cutting deeply," according to the Prime Minister and Dr. Macnamara at Birmingham, and the truth of their words was emphasised by the Pudsey bye-election (June 20), in which a Liberal majority of 3,502 at the general election was now converted into a Unionist majority of 113 (Chronicle, p. 17). The change was partly due to the opposition of the liquor interests and partly to the intervention of a Labour candidate, while an appeal to the ownership voters, of whom the constituency contained more than any other in England, to demonstrate against their disfranchisement as proposed by the Plural Voting Bill, was not without its effect. But the main issue was alleged to have been Tariff Reform; and though the Unionists had fought at the general election under special disadvantages, and the Labour and Liberal votes added together gave a substantial Free-Trade majority, still the defeat produced a considerable impression. It may be added, however, that in a letter published on June 10, Lord Avebury had recommended Free-Trade Unionists to support Mr. Balfour, as he thought Tariff Reform less urgently menacing than Home Rule and Ministerial Socialism.

At Pudsey, of course, the militant suffragists had been active; and they advertised their claim still better on Sunday, June 21, by one of the largest and best managed demonstra-

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tions ever held in Hyde Park. Seven processions from different parts of London marched to the Park with bands and banners; the colours of the movement—purple, white, and green—were in evidence in the favours and dresses of the processionists; thirty special trains brought up working women from the provinces—for whose benefit, indeed, a Sunday was selected; there were twenty platforms and over 3,000 standard bearers; and the attendance was estimated at certainly 250,000 and probably more than 500,000. A contingent of French supporters of the movement was present, and though there was some disturbance, there was no serious opposition.

Meanwhile London had seen the most remarkable assemblage in the history of the Anglican Church. The Pan-Anglican Congress, to which attention had been called in the New Year's Letter of the Primate (p. 1), had been formally opened on Monday, June 16, with a solemn Service of Intercession and penitence in Westminster Abbey, which was thronged by the members. "Seldom, if ever," said *The Times*, "has there been so great and representative a gathering of clergy within the Abbey walls." Archbishops and Bishops (the account went on) were there, a number of mission fields were represented, and clergy were present from all parts of the United Kingdom, the British Empire, and the United States. The Archbishops and Bishops, unrobed, sat in the choir; other clergy were with the lay members in the transept or the nave. The Primate entered, attended by three chaplains and preceded by the archiepiscopal cross, and was conducted by the Dean to a seat in the sacrarium. Soon afterwards the choir and clergy of the Abbey entered in procession, with the Abbey cross used at the Coronation. The choir, as it passed, sang the "Miserere"; the first portion of the Litany was chanted, with a special petition for Divine inspiration for the Congress; prayers followed, then a short anthem, and a special Bidding Prayer read by the Dean. Then the great congregation repeated the Lord's Prayer, and, after a hymn, the service was closed by the Primate with an ancient Benediction, and the procession, which he now joined, passed out.

This service was followed by various social gatherings intended to bring the members together, among them a garden party at Knebworth given by Lord and Lady Strathcona, receptions by Lady Salisbury and Lady Brassey, and dinners at the Lyceum Club and the Savoy Hotel, the latter given by the Anglo-American Pilgrims' Club. Here Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in proposing the customary toast of "Great Britain and the United States," said that during the past seven years no two men had exercised a greater influence over the destinies of those States or appealed more forcibly to the higher instincts of mankind than King Edward VII. and President Roosevelt; and Mr. Asquith, in proposing "Our Guests," laid stress on the opportunity offered for promoting unity, peace, and concord

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among the nations. Other forces, he said, were contributing to that end, but the work should make an irresistible appeal to the Congress. The Church had always been at once an emancipating and a unifying power; she might still take her share in expelling the scourge of war, the greatest scourge which still threatened the unity and progress of mankind.

In the evening, at a crowded meeting at the Albert Hall, the Primate gave an inaugural address incidentally laying stress on the need of due preparation for Churchmen for their work in human society; other addresses were given, and, at the Church House, the Primate subsequently contrasted the Congress with past ecclesiastical gatherings, and described it as "banded together for a nobler crusade which was to make the work of Christ tell more fruitfully."

The real work began next day with the meetings in various parts of London of the six sections of the Congress. These, which had multiplied and expanded since the issue of the original programme, dealt respectively with (*a*) the Church and Human Society, Albert Hall; (*b*) Christian Truth and other Intellectual Forces, Kensington Town Hall; (*c*) the Ministry of the Church, Holborn Town Hall or King's Hall, Holborn; (*d*) Missions in non-Christian lands, Caxton Hall; (*e*) Missions in Christendom, Church House, Westminster; (*f*) Church Organisation, Church House; (*g*) The Duty of the Church to the Young, Sion College. For six successive week-days papers were read and speeches made in each section; but, as the full report (published by the S.P.C.K.) was to fill seven large volumes, it is absolutely impossible to describe the debates here, or even to enumerate their subjects. They ranged from the Church's attitude towards divorce and polygamy to municipal trading and sweated industries; from the problems of a native episcopate to the ethics of journalism; from agnosticism and Buddhism to children's work and play. But it may be noted that acute interest was shown in social and economic problems, the details of which until recent years had usually been outside the clerical horizon; that much sympathy was exhibited with the aims, and even the creed, of Socialism, as well as much strong condemnation of both; and that in dealing with the relations of the Church to non-Christian faiths and philosophic systems, and to the lower moral standards and institutions of backward races, and with Biblical Criticism, the Congress displayed a breadth of view which also contrasted sharply with the usual attitude of Churchmen a generation or two before. The burning questions of Ritual and Disestablishment were not touched on, and there was no parallel to the excited episodes of some Church Congresses. Secular education was generally condemned by colonial and some American speakers, though approved of in one paper sent from New York. Special mention must be made of the women's meetings in connection with the Congress, and of

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the number and activity of the women speakers at the proceedings of the sections. Among the many discussions of problems at once economic and ethical, that on capital and labour produced some remarkable speeches. Mr. Masterman, M.P. (*West Ham, N.*), Secretary to the Local Government Board, suggestively reviewed some of the main features of the modern financial system, under which investors cannot well control or even know of the precise employment of their capital, and which lies outside ordinary ethics; and the same difficulty was further expanded by Professor R. M. Burrows and Canon Scott Holland. Some Labour members were among the speakers at the Congress, and altogether the proceedings showed a much closer relation than formerly between economic problems and the best thought of the Church. Cordial greetings were sent to the Congress by various Free Church organisations.

On each evening there were two or three meetings, and on Sunday, June 21, there was a men's meeting, and also a children's gathering, at the Albert Hall. On Monday evening, June 22, Mr. Balfour spoke in that building on religion and science, arguing that the view that the two were necessarily opposed was already antiquated; that the growth of science had made it easier to believe in a rational and benevolent Creator, and that the range of reason showed that it was something more than what naturalism took it to be, an expedient for enabling a relatively small number of organisms to adapt themselves the better to their surroundings. Tuesday, the 23rd, was a "devotional day," and on Wednesday, the 24th, the proceedings came to an impressive close. A thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral at noon, at which some 250 Bishops were present, and the thankoffering collected in the various dioceses, amounting altogether to just over 333,208*l.*, was laid on the altar by the respective diocesans. The scene was profoundly impressive. The Episcopal procession, whose members were mostly in scarlet Convocation robes, came up from the crypt by one of the north doors, and went round to the west door, where it was met by the cathedral choir, which preceded it up the church chanting the Litany. Each of the twelve groups of Bishops was accompanied by a clergyman with a mace, and the procession was closed by the Primate. Prayers and a hymn followed the Litany, then an address of hearty thanksgiving was delivered by the Primate, and, after an interval of silent prayer, the Lord's Prayer was said, followed by two special collects, the Apostles' Creed, and an ascription of praise for blessings received. Then the offering, or rather parchment slips stating the amounts, was laid in almsdishes on the altar by the Bishops, beginning with the Primate; the hymn "Now thank we all our God" was sung; and, after the Primate had blessed the people in the words of Solomon, the "Te Deum" was chanted, and the procession retired as it had come. A final service, at which between sixty and

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seventy Bishops were present, was held the same evening in Southwark Cathedral.[1]

To return to politics, the misgivings felt regarding Mr. Haldane's Army reforms, abundantly expressed in *The Times* by Mr. Arnold-Forster, had again found expression in the Commons on the vote for the Territorial Force (June 18). Mr. Lee (*Fareham, Hants*) questioned whether this force could succeed without largely increased expenditure or some form of compulsory service. Its efficiency had been cut down by Mr. Haldane's concessions, and only 50 per cent. of the Volunteers had re-engaged. Many of the 93 local "War Offices" established were in an unsatisfactory position financially, and he feared reduction of expenditure on the regular Army to provide the needful funds. While events were tending to compulsory service, Mr. Haldane was leaving the final plunge for his successor. He again condemned the changes in the Artillery (p. 64 *seq.*), and asked how we should stand if a war came now? The Regular Army was reduced by more than 23,000 men, the Militia disbanded, the Special Reserve "not yet materialised," and the Volunteers broken up, not more than 50 per cent. having joined the Territorial Force, and 70 per cent. of those for a year only.

Mr. Haldane replied at once. He claimed to have set machinery working that in time would bring the Army to a perfection never before reached. He had always followed the advice of the General Staff. He was not diminishing batteries, but converting thirty-three batteries [of a nominal ninety-nine of which only forty-two could be mobilised] into training batteries, which would enable him to mobilise the necessary sixty-six. The 2,400 Artillerymen represented as "scheduled for destruction" would remain where they were till he had special Reserve men to replace them. There had been no reduction of expenditure on the Regular Artillery. Military correspondents and critics had commended the behaviour of the Territorial Artillery recently at Aldershot and on Salisbury Plain. The organisation was working with little or no friction, but it took time, and he was entitled to ask for some forbearance. The response by the County Associations had been in some respects magnificent. The concessions made [as to coming into camp] would encourage recruiting. On May 31, 49 per cent. of the force, or 148,459 out of 302,199, had come in; since then more units had been formed; of the 897 units projected 732 were now approved. Each must have at least 30 per cent. of its establishment; some had much more. In May recruiting showed a marked increase.

Mr. Arnold-Forster questioned the utility of the Territorial Army, either for repelling an invasion in force—which he did

[1] The *Guardian* and *Record* published full reports of the Congress, and *The Times* reprinted its own reports, with additional matter, in a pamphlet to which the foregoing account is very greatly indebted.

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not believe possible—or for meeting a raid. He wished it well, but the resources of the country should primarily be applied to the forces most likely to be useful. This latter position was also taken up by Sir Charles Dilke, who regarded the Territorial Force as merely giving the War Reserve provided by the Volunteers in a new and very costly form. Mr. Belloc, on the other hand, rather favoured the Territorial Force and condemned conscription, and, subsequently, Mr. Wyndham favoured the idea of the force, as tending to avert the panic arising from fear of invasion.

A few days later (June 24) Mr. Haldane told a *Daily Mail* interviewer that, though about 3,500 Yeomanry and 70,000 Volunteers had not yet come into the Territorial Force, many of these were disqualified by age or otherwise. The same day the National Service League, at its annual meeting, expressed renewed hope of the adoption of compulsory service. This hope was endorsed by Lord Milner at the annual dinner, but found little support in the House of Commons. On July 7 leave was asked by Captain Kincaid-Smith (*Stratford, Warwickshire*) to introduce a Bill making every British subject in Great Britain liable to a maximum of forty-eight days' military training at the age of eighteen, thirty days at nineteen, and fourteen days between the ages of twenty and thirty. Mr. Harold Cox opposed, arguing that such a force could be needed only to repel invasion, which was only possible after the destruction of the Navy, and the Bill was rejected by 320 to 34.

More acute and widespread misgivings were set up by the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill (p. 69) which came up for second reading on Monday, June 22. Mr. Gladstone, the Home Secretary, who had charge of it, elaborately endeavoured to conciliate opponents. In 1906 and 1907, he reminded the House, an Eight Hours bank to bank Bill had been read a second time unanimously; there was no serious attack, except by the coal-owners, till last February, when the Coal Consumers' League arose (p. 70). The question had been imperfectly studied in the country and by the opponents of the Bill. This provided an eight-hour day from bank to bank, with the exclusion of one winding time, so as to give an average period of employment of eight hours below ground, with provision for sixty hours overtime per annum and for suspension by the Government in a great national emergency. After dealing with the evidence before the Departmental Committee (appointed in 1906) as to the effect of reduction of hours on the output, he accepted, though with some reserve, its finding that the establishment of a fixed eight-hour day, whether introduced suddenly or gradually, could not but result in a temporary contraction of output and consequent embarrassment. The extra speed aimed at in coal-getting might cause accidents, but he would meet the first-named danger by moving an amendment in Committee. The Bill proposed that for eighteen months before the adoption

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of the eight-hour day there should be a nine-hour day; he proposed to substitute a period of five years during which both windings would be excluded, so as to make the average day eight and a half hours. He argued in some detail that the effect of the amended Bill on the output would be inconsiderable, and that the output would be raised eventually by better organisation and means of production. What was the object of the Bill? (The Opposition members shouted "Votes.") Mr. Austen Chamberlain had voted for it, and his illustrious parent had long supported it. The Conservative party too had long given up its objections to interfere with adult male labour. The miner's work was exceptionally severe and anxious, and the strain was far more continuous than in any other trade. The percentage of accidents was 12·82 per 1,000, and miners were subject to special diseases; but they were picked men, and as they went to other occupations when their health failed, the death rate was really no guide to their state of health. Foreign countries had tended to limit their miners' hours, and the principle of the Bill had been repeatedly affirmed and supported by leading Unionists.

Mr. J. F. Mason (*Windsor*) moved the rejection of the Bill, basing his opposition on the Committee's report, which he said had totally altered the situation. [*Cf.* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, Part II., p. 14 (Chronicle, May 22).] The community had a better claim to consideration than the owner or the miner, and coal was the pivot of British commerce. Prices might rise so greatly as to send industries abroad; even a 2*s.* rise would raise the cost to the consumer by 25,000,000*l.* The mining population numbered only 900,000, but the iron trade alone employed 1,000,000. A permanent burden on coal, iron and steel would be far worse than any possible tariff. The Government were seeking to benefit a class at the expense of the community, under pressure from the Labour party. Mr. Lambton (*Durham, S.E.*) seconded the rejection, pointing out *inter alia* that it would make the position of half the Durham miners worse, and that the miner would have to work daily instead of taking holidays and making up by overtime. Mr. Russell Rea (*Gloucester*), the Chairman of the Departmental Committee, approved of the Bill, but suggested various amendments giving elasticity locally in the limitation of hours. He thought the equilibrium would be readjusted in the end, but he feared the period of transition. Mr. Enoch Edwards (*Hanley*), a Labour member and ex-miner, ridiculed the idea that the Bill would add heavily to the price of coal, and laid stress on the hardships of the miner's calling, which were increasing yearly with the temperature of the mines. Mr. Lyttelton thought that interference with adult labour should only take place where the workers were weak and unorganised. The demand was not unanimous, and it was not shown that Parliamentary interference was necessary, or that the public interest would not be injured. It was a bid for votes

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which had been condemned at recent bye-elections. Mr. Ridsdale (*Brighton*), a Liberal, also opposed the Bill as unnecessary, laying stress on the danger of foreign and colonial competition through water power if coal became dearer. Mr. Lupton (*Sleaford, Lincs*), also a Liberal, opposed the Bill from his practical experience of coal mining. Several Labour members spoke for it, declaring that there was not a close relation between output and price, that the Bill would not raise prices, and that it was necessary in the miners' interests. The adjournment of the debate was moved by Mr. Bonar Law and agreed to by Mr. Gladstone in view of the many members who wished to speak, but it was resented by the Labour members and many Liberals, and the numbers of the division were 290 to 145. Many of the Unionists who were now adverse had formerly supported the principle of the Bill.

The Committee Stage of the Old Age Pensions Bill, which began on Tuesday, June 23, was marked by considerable concessions on the part of the Government, appreciably increasing its cost. Amendments moved by Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Bowles, altering the wording of the first clause so as to stamp the measure as experimental, were rejected respectively by 293 to 55 and 341 to 103, there being some cross-voting. Another amendment, moved by Mr. Bowles, suspending the pension in the absence of the pensioner from the United Kingdom, was ultimately rejected by 376 to 101, it being explained by Mr. Lloyd-George that short absences would not disqualify, though permanent removal would involve forfeiture. An amendment moved by Viscount Castlereagh (*Maidstone*) embodying the principle of a sliding scale according to means, was opposed by the Labour members as insufficient, though they would accept a scale ranging from 10*s.* to 15*s.* per week, and the principle found such support in other quarters that Mr. Lloyd-George ultimately foreshadowed a scale based on one of 8*s.* to 13*s.* per week proposed by Mr. Goulding (*Worcester*). A fixed income limit, he said, would tend to cut down wages and induce evasion of the regulations. The amendment, so modified as to omit the limitation of pensions in the Bill to 5*s.* per week, was passed by 334 to 118; the additional cost was estimated at 100,000*l.* annually. The debate was closured; and next day, after long discussion of two relatively unimportant amendments, a third was moved by Lord Robert Cecil, providing that the scheme should be contributory under regulations to be made by the Treasury. This was rejected by 346 to 86 after a speech by Mr. Buxton, Postmaster-General, repeating the Ministerial objections to the contributory principle, and the application of the closure amid cries of "Gag." Mr. Barnes (*Blackfriars, Glasgow*) then rose to move the omission of the subsection providing that pensioners living together should be paid at a reduced rate. Some points of order being raised, he protested against the "frivolous amendments" hitherto discussed; and after a scene,

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ending in the withdrawal of the expression, he denounced the clause as peddling economy, entailing a saving of only half a million. Plenty of money could be obtained next year from the same sources as at present. Mr. Gladstone had said the income tax should be raised in a national emergency, and there was one now. Mr. McKenna replied to the demand unfavourably, pleading limited means; but Mr. Long argued that the provision could not be maintained for long after the passing of the Act, and urgent appeals to the Government to give way were made both by Opposition members and by two Liberals—Mr. Dickinson (*St. Pancras, N.*) and Mr. J. W. Wilson (*Worcestershire, N.*). Under these circumstances the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave way, declaring that the obstacle had been purely financial; if this were understood to be the end of the demands on the Exchequer, he would meet the views of the House. His speech was delivered amid laughter and ironical cheers; and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, while congratulating him on his dexterity, declined to pledge the Unionists to the bargain. The funds could be provided by retaining the taxation which the Budget would throw away. The clause was agreed to without a division; clause 2, fixing the age-limit at seventy, was passed under the guillotine without debate by 341 to 124, the minority dividing as a protest, since they desired the age to be sixty-five. The limitation of the means of pensioners to 26*l.* 5*s.* per annum had, however, been removed by a Government amendment. Clause 3 (disqualifications for pension) was then taken, and several amendments were moved and negatived. The disqualification for acceptance of poor-law relief was generally criticised, and Mr. Lloyd-George promised to reconsider it after the Poor-Law Commission had reported. The debate was adjourned till Monday, June 29.

Next day a monster demonstration against the Licensing Bill was held at the Albert Hall by the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations. It was very enthusiastic, and was addressed by Mr. Balfour, whose speech was thought to indicate that the Lords would reject the Bill. He recognised the honesty and strong feeling among the supporters of that measure; but the Bill itself he denounced as dishonest. It was monstrous to punish brewers for inflating the value of brewery shares when they had already been punished for their miscalculation. A licence was not a freehold, but it could be bequeathed and taxed, and must not be taken without equitable compensation. The compensation provided was not equitable, and the Bill was not effectual. After the expiry of the time-limit there would be a "clean slate" as to on-licences only; not as to off-licences, grocers' licences, or clubs. After contrasting the British public-house unfavourably with the Continental *café*, he said that drunkenness was actually declining, but morality would never be secured by legislative coercion, nor a moral end by grossly immoral means.

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The case of the Vatersay crofters (*post*, Chapter VI.), which had been discussed by the House of Lords on March 31, gave rise to a heated debate in Committee of Supply on June 25, when a motion by Mr. Mitchell Thomson (*Lanark, N.W.*) for the reduction of the vote for the Scottish Secretary's Department was rejected (after closure) by 175 to 52. Mr. Balfour made an eloquent defence of the management of Lady Gordon Cathcart's estate, contending that in substance Barra was an example of the congestion of population partially checked in Ireland by the famine, that the subdivision of Vatersay would have made matters worse, and that no good could be done in the Highlands by subdivision. The action of the Government was defended by Mr. Sinclair, Scottish Secretary, who explained that the negotiations with the Government fell through because the estate managers would accept no settlement which did not involve purchase of the island by the Government, and the Lord Advocate, replying to a suggestion that the Trespass Act (or "Tinkers Act") of 1865 might have been enforced against the squatters, declared that it was not suitable for cases of continuous possession. The estate lawyers had suggested its application to save expense, but he had referred them to the civil remedy [under which the ringleaders had been imprisoned for contempt of court] with the effect of which he could not interfere. He expressed the hope of the Government for an equitable arrangement in which both sides could acquiesce.

Meanwhile the House of Lords had been occupied with less exciting topics. Attention was called by the Earl of Onslow on June 24 to the additional duties imposed by Parliament in recent years on local authorities and the consequent increase of burdens both on members and officials of those authorities, and on urban and rural rates. In twenty years, he said, rates had increased by 34,000,000*l.*, half of this being for education, while municipal debts exceeded 500,000,000*l.* Additional duties and burdens were being placed on local authorities, not only in connection with education, but by legislation providing for isolation hospitals, notification of births, the unemployment problem, and the medical inspection of school children. He feared that the character of the local authorities would deteriorate. Forms of wealth other than real property should pay their fair share, and the administration of, and payment for, national services should be taken over by the central government. The system of compounding for rates hid the burden from the mass of the ratepayers. After a speech from Lord Allendale, intimating the need of a Valuation Bill as a preliminary to reform, Viscount St. Aldwyn mentioned that 283 Acts had been passed imposing various duties on the London County Council; he also condemned the vicious system of compounding, and remarked that the provision in the Small Holdings Act and in the Housing Bill, enabling the central government to override a recalcitrant local authority and put

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these measures in operation at the cost of the rates, almost violated the maxim coupling taxation with representation. He suggested the transfer of services rendered to the State to the Central Government, as under the Prisons Act of 1877. Lord Fitzmaurice, replying for the Government, held that an inquiry as to valuation could alone reveal the true relation of rateable and non-rateable property, and would reveal cases of astonishing injustice. He thought the increases most felt were in the cost of maintaining main roads, education, and police; but, while approving strict central control of expenditure, he viewed centralisation with apprehension. The Government would keep valuation to the front. Lord Balfour hoped this question would not be complicated with others, such as taxation on capital value. Next day the debate was continued, but the speeches added little to its substance. Ultimately the Earl of Crewe reviewed it, and concluded by saying that the Government attached extreme importance to the forthcoming report of the Poor-Law Commission in connection with the whole system of local taxation.

The Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill, introduced on June 1 to meet a difficulty on the Clanricarde estate (p. 115), was read a second time, after a protest from the Earl of Mayo, in the House of Lords on June 26. An amendment to the Bill passed in 1907 had prevented the compulsory acquisition of land held by "planters" who were *bonâ fide* farming it; certain "planters" on the Clanricarde estate had since agreed with the Estates Commissioners to vacate their land in order that it might be restored to evicted tenants; but the landlord had claimed that his consent was also required, and, his view being upheld by the Court, had refused it. This Bill, therefore, proposed that the proviso in question should not apply where the tenant consented in writing to the compulsory acquisition of the land by the Estates Commissioners. In Committee, the Bill was amended on the motion of Lord Atkinson by providing that the consent must be signed before two witnesses and filed in the office of the Land Commission and would not be acted on if the landlord satisfied the Judicial Commissioner that intimidation had been applied to induce the planter to give it. This latter proviso was opposed by the Government and discountenanced by the Marquess of Lansdowne but carried by 88 to 36 (July 8); but it was struck out in the Commons on July 27, and, the alteration being accepted by the Lords, it passed into law.

Two other social questions were debated in the Lords at this period and hopes of inquiry as a step to reform were held out by the Government—a weekly rest day, which was the aim of a Bill introduced by Lord Hill, on June 24, but withdrawn as unworkable, and the treatment of merchant seamen, brought up on June 29 by Lord Muskerry and the Bishop of Bangor.

The following week Lord Curzon of Kedleston initiated an important debate on the condition of India. The recent fron-

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tier expeditions, he thought, had vindicated the frontier policy of the Indian Government; but he intimated that the attitude of the Amir was ambiguous both towards the disturbers and towards the Anglo-Russian agreement, on which his views should have been ascertained in advance. The Indian unrest Lord Curzon described as a new development of an old movement, insignificant relatively to the whole continent of India, but menacing the structure of Indian society. One of its causes was unsuitable education, which had given the natives the catchwords of modern civilisation without its ideas or its sobriety; another, the unrest set up by the victory of Japan; again, though there was not less sympathy than formerly between Anglo-Indians and natives, there was less social intercourse, for which the administrative system left no time. He condemned the attacks made before native audiences by English visitors on the Indian Government. It was absurd to put down the unrest to the partition of Bengal; he warmly defended that measure, and complained that the feeling against it had been intensified by a telegram from Lord Midleton when Indian Secretary (August 16, 1905). He defended his own policy against the charge of reaction, and generally approved of Lord Morley's measures, but condemned the Press Act as inadequate, and regretted that Sir Bampfylde Fuller's resignation had been accepted; had he remained in Bengal, it would have been pacified. He approved entirely of "broadening the basis of government" in India, but concessions should not seem to be extorted by fear or to weaken British rule, which might be the effect of enlarging the Legislative Council; and they should be preceded by a repression of disorder.

Lord Morley of Blackburn, who addressed the House for the first time, began by saying that it was unnecessary to appeal to him to resist sedition and repress disorder. He thought Lord Curzon had forgotten that the debate had listeners in India and Kabul. In spite of the ex-Viceroy's disclaimer, his speech contained partisan criticism. He had deprecated questioning the Government about India in the House of Commons; but could democracy be without its simpletons? He agreed that Indian education urgently needed reform. The partition of Bengal had been mistaken in its methods, but so far as he was concerned it was a settled fact. He regretted Sir Bampfylde Fuller's recent vitriolic attack (in *The Times*) on a Viceroy struggling with vast difficulties. The acceptance of his resignation was an act of salutary discipline. On frontier policy, they had not given way to those military men who, as Lord Salisbury once said, "would advise you to make a campaign in the moon to prevent being overrun from Mars." He believed the Amir had acted in the spirit of the friendship cemented by his visit to India. Lord Curzon had not indicated what policy he would pursue. One policy he had heard described as "martial law and no damned nonsense"; this was not Lord

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Curzon's policy, but he made too little of native opinion. After a tribute to the Viceroy's manful courage, Lord Morley declared that they must persist in reform. To pause now because of bombs would not only expose them to the fury of the extremists and the lamentations of the moderate natives, but would disappoint a great mass of Anglo-Indian opinion. When the Hobhouse Commission had reported, they hoped to simplify administration and give local bodies some executive as well as advisory powers. Disappointment had been expressed in India with this Parliament, but he did not believe it would be deaf to reasonable demands.

The Earl of Cromer remarked that education in India was far too literary and insufficiently professional or technical, and that little was done for elementary education. Thus the system provided both an overplus of demagogues and a field for them. He commended the policy of moderate reform, but regretted that the policy of allowing freedom of the Press in Oriental countries, which he had always supported, could not be pronounced successful. He thought that there might be some interference with Englishmen acting as demagogues in India.

Lord Midleton condemned as unwise the language used about the Amir by Lord Curzon, and defended himself against the attacks of the latter. The Opposition desired to strengthen the hands of the Indian Secretary and the Viceroy. Lord Ampthill disclaimed any share in the partition of Bengal, and also endorsed the policy of the Indian Secretary; and, after other speeches, Lord Curzon replied, dealing largely with the personal questions raised between himself and Lords Midleton and Ampthill, and assuring the Indian Secretary of his warm support of his policy.

Meanwhile, the House of Commons had been again engaged in heated debates over the Old Age Pensions Bill; but of these only the barest outline can be given. Great pressure was put on the Government on Monday, June 29, to accept an amendment to the effect that the acceptance of outdoor relief should not disqualify for a pension, which was moved by Mr. Bridgman (*Oswestry*); but the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the proposal would add 200,000 to the number of pensioners, and 2,700,000*l.* to the cost. The removal of the reduction for pensioners living together had used up all the resources available. He offered to accept an amendment terminating the disqualification on December 31, 1910, so as to ensure a revision; but the subject could not be dealt with apart from the relations between local and Imperial finance. Mr. Balfour sarcastically congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his intimation that financial arrangements would in future precede, not follow, the assumption of new liabilities, and on the "strategic movement to the rear" of the previous week. He himself, he said amid laughter, was a connoisseur in such movements. He bitterly condemned the restriction, and said that the money for

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the change demanded might have been found by retaining the sugar duty; but the Finance Bill might yet be amended. After further criticisms from both sides and replies by Mr. Harcourt and Mr. Masterman, the debate was closured and the amendment negatived by 257 to 142. An amendment moved by Mr. Goulding (*Worcester*), leaving the disqualification to the discretion of the Pension Committees, was refused by Mr. Lloyd-George as too wide, and rejected by 267 to 62. A Government amendment was then discussed, limiting the operation of the disqualification to the end of 1910, as promised, and providing that medical aid and other specified forms of assistance should not disqualify. This was carried by 348 to 95, and the clause, further amended by the Government, was carried by 276 to 158. Clause 4 (directions for estimating the means of applicants) was taken next day, June 30. Two amendments were rejected—one, that the income to be considered should be "net income," the other that it should be that which the pensioner might be reasonably expected to receive "as of right," *i.e.* excluding "tips" and Christmas boxes; this latter moved the Chancellor of the Exchequer to declare that the amendments, with their accumulating demands, represented a rake's progress. A third amendment, moved by Mr. Mildmay (*Totnes, Devon*), directed the pension authority to disregard sums under 40*l.* annually, received in consideration of previous payment, from a friendly society or trade union; and Mr. Chaplin met an objection made by Mr. Harcourt against distinguishing between various forms of thrift by moving to extend the amendment so as to cover all other approved provision against old age, sickness, or infirmity. This was supported by some Opposition and Labour members, and an attempt to arrange for the limitation of the issue to it having been opposed by the Liberals, much indignation was exhibited among the Opposition. Hereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Opposition thought they were putting the Government into a hole. Their policy had been to move wild, illogical, irrational amendments, regardless of the cost, in order to say to every class in turn, "We voted for you and those wicked Radicals voted against you." Later, he said that Mr. Mildmay's amendment would add 100,000 pensioners and 1,300,000*l.* annually to the cost; Mr. Chaplin's 2,600,000*l.* The amendment, in the form given it by Mr. Chaplin, was rejected by 243 to 113; and, after discussion and rejection of various other amendments, the guillotine fell at 10.30 P.M. The irritation of the Opposition found vent in a refusal to vote in one division on a technical ground, and in an objection to the conduct of one of the divisions. Subsequently, clause 4 as amended was carried by 381 to 108, and clauses 5 (mode of paying pensions) and 6 (assignment of, or charge on, a pension to be void) were carried, the first with some amendment, without divisions.

Next day (July 1) the debate was quieter and more prac-

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tical. On clause 7 (machinery of the Bill) Mr. Bennett (*Woodstock, Oxon*) objected that in rural districts the Pension Committees, who were to decide on claims after reports from the pension officer, would be saturated with prejudices, sectarian, political, and social. His apprehensions were shared by other members; and Mr. Balfour thought that too much power was given to the pension officers, who were to be Excise officials, and questioned their competence. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that they would merely have to discover the age, means, and past character of applicants; that the machinery would be developed by elaborate regulations to be prepared by the Local Government Board; that the officers would not be the sole sources of information, and were needed to protect the interests of the Treasury; and that there would be an appeal from the refusal to grant a pension. An amendment moved by Sir W. Foster (*Ilkeston, Derbyshire*) substituting stipendiary magistrates or county court judges for Pension Committees was negatived; another, moved by Mr. Dickinson and accepted by the Government, giving a right of appeal to the President of the Local Government Board, was carried by 343 to 92. The rest of the clauses were passed under the guillotine without debate, but after divisions, the majorities varying from 203 to 277. "Never," said the *Spectator*, "had there been a clearer case of the suppression of debate."

A few days later (July 6) a protest against the passing of the Bill in the current session was issued by about twenty eminent persons, some of them specially experienced in poor-law questions. Among them were the Dean of Wells (Dr. Jex-Blake), Sir William Chance, Sir Edward Brabrook, Professors Darwin, Dicey, Knight, and Kenny, Mr. John Murray, Principal Reichel of Bangor, and the editor of the *Spectator*. On the other hand, the Bill was endorsed by the Federation of Trade Unions at Oxford (July 2), which expressed its hope that the limiting conditions would soon be modified.

Meanwhile the militant women suffragists had resumed their aggressive tactics. A crowded Convention was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 30, under the auspices of the Women's Social and Political Union, as a prelude to an attempt to convey personally to the Prime Minister the resolution passed in Hyde Park on July 21; and bills were issued inviting the people of London to attend "in their thousands" outside the House. A large crowd responded, consisting, however, chiefly of sightseers, with many roughs; and a deputation of thirteen women left the Hall for the House, but was refused admittance. A more moderate suffragist, Lady Grove, who intimated that the course proposed was impolitic, was told by Mrs. Pankhurst, who presided, to "be true to her own sex." On the return of the deputation unsuccessful, the meeting broke up, and its members tried to force their way into the Houses of Parliament singly or in small groups, but in

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vain. Twenty-seven in all were arrested, each arrest setting up a dangerous rush in the crowd. One lady harangued members on the terrace from a boat; two others broke the windows of the Prime Minister's official residence with stones; one of them was stated to have said, "It will be bombs next time"; and an attempt, which nearly succeeded, was made to get into Palace Yard from a pantechnicon van. The window-breakers were imprisoned for two months; of the other twenty-seven, twenty-six refused to be bound over to keep the peace, and received terms varying from one to three months' imprisonment, being treated as ordinary criminals.

Throughout this disturbance the police behaved with good temper and judgment; and the Report of the Royal Commission, appointed two years earlier (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 127), which was published next day, fully vindicated the discipline, arrangements and general behaviour of the force, and commended it to the confidence of all classes. In the specific cases examined, the result was generally favourable to it, and entirely so in that of Madame d'Angely (*ibid.*), the occasion of the inquiry.

Mention may here be made parenthetically of a proposed reform in standard time which was endorsed in principle by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in a Report issued on July 2. The Daylight Saving Bill, based on a suggestion of Mr. Willett, of Brighton, and introduced by Mr. R. Pearce (*Leek, Staffordshire*), proposed that on each of the first four Sundays in April of each year the hour between 2 and 3 A.M. should consist of forty minutes, and on each of the first four Sundays of September (after 1908) the corresponding hour should consist of eighty minutes. The eighty minutes of daylight thus gained would be available for recreation on summer evenings, to the benefit of the general health and happiness. The Bill had been read a second time without debate on March 27, and the Select Committee to which it was referred suggested that one alteration of the clock in the spring and autumn respectively would suffice. But the Government refused to take it up.

To return to the House of Commons: on July 2 the proposed allotment of a supplementary grant for Irish education of 114,000*l.* was fiercely criticised by both Nationalists and Unionists, on the ground that 2,857 teachers in schools of less than thirty-five children would be excluded, and that it might lead to an amalgamation of small schools unfavourable to the rights of denominational minorities. The buildings of some rural schools were also said to be very bad. Mr. Birrell, while favouring a reduction in the number of small schools, gave way to the general wish that they should share in the grant, and said that the localities should do something for the buildings, seeing that there were no education rates in Ireland.

This debate supplied Mr. Lloyd-George with an effective illustration for his first speech in the City as Chancellor of the Exchequer (July 3) at the customary dinner to bankers and mer-

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chants given by the Lord Mayor. In sharp contrast to some Liberal comments on the Budget, he spoke of "a stunning deficit, a falling revenue, and a depression of trade," the last-named phenomenon, however, existing also in France, Germany and the United States. Everything (he said) was diminishing except the demands on the Treasury, and these were all reasonable on their own merits and very influentially backed up. He referred to the storm that had burst over Mr. Birrell on the previous evening, and stated that, had all the concessions demanded on the Old Age Pensions Bill been granted, they would have increased the cost of the measure to 30,000,000*l.* a year. They were all accompanied by demands for the reduction of taxation, and the only remedy for them was that the public should interest themselves in expenditure.

The economic apprehensions thus emphasised could only be intensified by the debate on the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, which was concluded on July 6 (p. 145). It was resumed by Mr. F. E. Smith, who said that the limitation of hours had first been defended as a means of reducing output and raising prices, then as obviating unemployment, and then on the plea of health and safety. He predicted unfavourable effects. The Under-Secretary for the Home Department, Mr. Herbert Samuel, remarked that the Unionist objections to the Bill were of recent date; it had been approved by Mr. Chamberlain. The estimates of the rise in price were exaggerated. In Austria a reduction of hours from twelve to nine had resulted in an increased output. The modifications suggested by the Chairman of the Select Committee (p. 146) would receive consideration in Committee. The miners merited this preference over other trades owing to the severity of their labour and the endorsement of their demand for twenty years by the House. Austria and Germany had shorter hours; England ought not to fall behind. The alternative to the Bill was a great coal strike. Mr. Beck (*Wisbech, Cambridgeshire*), a Liberal, opposed the Bill from the consumers' standpoint; but Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydfil*) declared that the actual time now worked averaged less than eight hours daily, and that there would be no rise in price, taking the country as a whole. Many colliery shares were at an enormous premium, and the high price of coal was not due to wages, but to dividends. He emphasised the danger of a strike. Among subsequent speakers, Mr. Markham, a Liberal and an expert, said the increase of price in South Wales would be 1*s.* and in the Midlands 3*d.* to 6*d.* per ton. Sir Charles McLaren (*Bosworth, Leicestreshire*), a coalowner, held that only the old collieries would suffer; Welsh coal would cost more, but the money would be got from the foreigner. It would mean generally an increase of $\frac{1}{10}d.$ per cwt. Opposition members had to make a fuss about the Bill to justify the speeches at bye-elections. Mr. Bonar Law (*Dulwich*) said that the Bill had been an open question as long as it

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was purely academic. To say that it must be passed to avoid a strike was an object lesson to other trades. But the Bill would tend to increase working hours in Durham and Cumberland, and this set up a greater danger of a strike. The Report of the Committee had shattered the argument that the change was necessary to health, and the Bill would increase rather than diminish mining dangers. Miners preferred to work longer hours and take occasional holidays, and shorter hours might be secured by negotiation. It was foolish to stereotype conditions for the whole trade. The Bill was the first step in a movement for the general restraint of production, to which the Government were being driven by the Labour party. The output would be diminished to keep up the price. The South Wales Miners' Federation aimed at preventing the adoption of double shifts. Mentioning various other reasons for expecting a rise in price, he laid stress on the danger to other trades and hoped that the opposition to the measure in the country would affect its subsequent fate.

Mr. Churchill, President of the Board of Trade, wound up for the Government. He argued elaborately that any reduction of the output would only be transient, assuming that it took place at all, and laid stress on the safeguards provided by the Bill—the provision for overtime, and for its temporary relaxation in emergencies, and suspension in crisis such as a "corner" in coal. Similar prophecies had been made regarding mining in the Transvaal, but the change had reduced working expenses; and here five years were allowed for the industry to adapt itself to the new conditions. The reasons for the legislation were social. Democracy demanded, not inadequate hours of work, but adequate hours of leisure. In an eloquent justification of this demand, he declared that the Bill was a step in a general movement for reconciling the conditions of labour with the ascertained laws of science and health.

This speech roused much enthusiasm, especially among the Labour members; and the Bill was supported by 390 to 120. Mr. Balfour moved to commit it to Committee of the whole House; but this attempt to shelve it was negatived by 391 to 113.

A few days later the Old Age Pensions Bill passed from the House of Commons. It was recommitted on July 2 for further amendment of the sliding scale, and for the insertion of a proviso that the acceptance of poor-law relief in the shape of food or comforts ordered by a medical officer, or of the funeral expenses of a dependant, should not disqualify for a pension. Attempts were made to revise the age qualification, to reconsider the disqualifications clause, to remodel the sliding scale, to restore the original figure of 5*s.* per week, to impose an industrial test on applicants, and to make the trade of pension-agent illegal; but all were rejected, the last-named partly as threatening to interfere with friendly societies in their

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efforts to assist claimants. An amendment moved by Mr. Soares (*Tiverton, Devon*), accepted by the Government, and carried by 292 to 47, provided substantially that no pauper should be excluded from the benefit of the pension scheme after December 31, 1910. This was interpreted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a mandate to deal afresh with the question before that date. Ultimately all amendments from clause 5 onwards were dealt with under the guillotine. This abridgement of discussion afforded ground for a final attack on the Bill at its third reading (July 9). Mr. Bowles, who moved the rejection, declared that, had the Bill been fully debated, its inconsistencies would have compelled the Government to abandon it, and that it would cause grievous disappointment. Sir Henry Craik seconded the motion for rejection. Mr. Long also predicted serious difficulties and complications, but the official Opposition did not vote against the Bill. It was eloquently defended by Mr. Masterman, Secretary of the Local Government Board. The question, he said, could not be left alone, for the country had been tantalised, bewildered, and fooled long enough; a contributory scheme was impracticable and would be repugnant to the British people, and a universal scheme was too costly; so, acknowledging the anomalies and limitations of their scheme, the Government had decided to act at once. It was a great experiment, but their attitude towards it was not that of apology. Mr. Snowden (*Blackburn*) followed with a bitter attack on the Government. The Labour party (he said) would take the Bill for what it was worth, and use it as a lever for extorting more. Their demand was for universal pensions of 5*s*. per week at sixty-five. He was sick of the parrot cry that there was not enough money for social reform, which he described as the making of the rich poorer and the poor richer; and he complained bitterly that the guillotine had prevented discussion of some of the points in the Bill, and that the character test was impossibly severe. Later, however, Mr. Fenwick (*Wansbeck, Northumberland*), another Labour member, cordially approved of the Bill. Mr. Balfour thought that there would be great difficulty in investigating cases, there was a possibility of undue influence, especially in Ireland, and pensions would become merely part of out-door relief, and possibly subventions in aid of wages. The question should not have been separated from that of Poor-Law reform, and the financial burden would swallow up for years all the funds available for social reform. He approved of the aim of the Government, but the responsibility for this plan must rest with it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd-George) after declaring that, except the reduction of age, all the important principles of the Bill had been discussed in Committee, said that every part of Mr. Balfour's criticism of the Bill might have been directed against the scheme of Mr. Chaplin's Com-

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mittee, to which the late Government was committed. Mr. Balfour had suggested no alternative. The Government had looked carefully into the German scheme, and, like Mr. Chamberlain, rejected it. It would not meet the case of the women. There were difficulties, and others would arise, but they had to begin. In spite of Mr. Snowden's "acrid ferocity," they were giving pensions to 572,000 people, and were pledged to deal with the pauper next year.

After other speeches, the third reading was carried by 315 to 10, amid cheers.

The scale of pensions was now as follows: If the yearly means of the pensioner were under 21*l.*, 5*s.* per week; 21*l.* to 23*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.*; 23*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* to 26*l.* 5*s.*, 3*s.*; 26*l.* 5*s.* to 28*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.*; 28*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to 31*l.* 10*s.*, 1*s.*; over 31*l.* 10*s.*, no pension.

On the same day another measure of social reform, the Land Values (Scotland) Bill emerged from the House of Lords in a considerably modified shape. A week earlier, at the report stage, amendments had been moved by the Earl of Camperdown which were described by the Lord Chancellor as a considerable advance towards the position of the Government. The most significant of these provided that where land proved to be required in the public interest for building or industrial purposes was held back, the yearly value should (with certain exceptions) be taken as if it were in use for such purposes. The amendments were accepted by the Government, though not regarded as satisfactory, the Lord Chancellor saying that people ought to be rated according to their property and not to their conduct, and strongly objecting to the substitution of annual for capital value (p. 104). On the third reading, Lord Balfour complained that the Bill as originally introduced had seemed to be devised either to commit that House to the acceptance of capital value as a basis of rating, or to use a rejection in the agitation against the House. He defended the course of resistance adopted. The Lord Chancellor replied that the Government had only desired fair-play to the ratepayers. The Lords' amendments would make the Bill unworkable, but it had little prospect of passing. The Government could only put forward their proposals and leave them to the country in the event of their rejection by the Lords.

The Bill was not proceeded with in the autumn session.

More exciting matter had been provided earlier in the week by a new naval scandal. The changes in the navy initiated under the Unionist Government and continued under its Liberal successor, and ascribed to Sir John Fisher, First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, had called out much unfavourable criticism in the Service and the Press. It was reported that Lord Charles Beresford, who was in command of the Channel Fleet, was among the dissentients, that he had ignored Sir John Fisher at a *levée* (though this was explained as an accident), and that strained relations continued to exist between him and Admiral

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Sir Percy Scott, who was in command of the First Cruiser Squadron (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 246). It was even stated that during the first week in July Lord Charles Beresford had signalled to the *Argyll* and the *Good Hope*, of the First Cruiser Squadron, to turn towards one another in a manner which would have produced a disaster like that of the sinking of the *Victoria* by the *Camperdown* in 1893, but that the *Good Hope* had disobeyed the signal. Attention had been called to the disagreement by Captain Murray in the House, but the First Lord had dismissed the rumour as gossip; but Mr. Arthur Lee brought up the subject again in *The Times* on July 6, and asked what steps the Government proposed to take to end the scandal. A similar question was put to the Prime Minister in the House by Mr. Bellairs (*King's Lynn*) on July 8, coupled with a suggestion that inquiry might be made into "the method of introduction and the value of the changes in administration and organisation which originated this antagonism." Mr. Asquith, ignoring supplementary questions interpolated by Mr. Swift MacNeill and Captain Murray, replied that apart from unverified rumour the Government had no knowledge of the alleged dissensions, but, should the discipline of the Fleet appear to be compromised, they would take prompt and effective action. The direction of naval policy lay with the Government, and officers on active service had to carry it out with a single eye to the efficiency of the service.

The matter was referred to next day in the House, and in the adjourned debate on the Naval Estimates on July 13; but it was intimated that the dissensions had been exaggerated and were abating. On July 30 Mr. McKenna stated that the movement ordered was not dangerous, but that the rear-admiral was justified in turning the other way, and had been told so at the time by signal from the Commander-in-Chief. It was clear that too much had been made of the incident, and shortly afterwards it was announced that Sir Percy Scott would take command of the cruiser squadron to be sent to South Africa.

The new system of training naval officers, which was one of the questions dividing naval opinion, was attacked by Mr. Barnes (*Blackfriars, Glasgow*), a Labour member, on July 8, as being costly and undemocratic. It was hinted by Dr. Macnamara that the field of selection might be widened, but the system was defended by the Government and approved by the front Opposition bench, and the amendment was rejected by 205 to 90.

The shipbuilding vote, however (July 13), gave the Opposition an opportunity to criticise the naval policy of the Government. Mr. Lee contrasted the spasmodic shipbuilding of Great Britain with the steady increase of the German navy, and pointed out that in 1912 we should have twelve *Dreadnoughts* and *Invincibles*, while Germany would have thirteen, with four more in the autumn of 1912. As the Prime Minister had

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stated in March that we were not going to be left behind (p. 54), our programme for 1909 must provide for the laying down of five such ships, if possible early in the year. But the only safe course was to complete two ships for every one constructed by our chief rivals. Experts held that not more than 50 per cent. of our torpedo destroyers were capable of continuous service in the North Sea, and twenty-five more should be laid down this year to maintain our superiority to Germany. Again, three Brazilian warships were building in private yards; should these be bought by any great Power, it would upset the calculations at the basis of our naval programme. Mr. McKenna replied that while in Germany five *Dreadnoughts* and *Invincibles* had been laid down, we had ten very nearly complete. In 1911 we should have eight *Dreadnoughts* and four *Invincibles*, while Germany, if she completed her programme as speedily as she hoped, would have seven and two respectively. He admitted that in the 1909 programme regard must be had to the comparative position of England and Germany in 1912, but our superiority in other types of warship must also be taken into account. For security the country would make any sacrifice, but to go beyond it was needless waste. Foreign construction would be considered, and next year the Government would lay down all the ships needed to ensure security in 1911 and 1912. He thought the provision on the Estimates for destroyers was sufficient, and there would be twenty-nine more in 1909. Mr. Arnold-Forster suggested a return to the system of works loans for the coming naval expenditure. Subsequently Dr. Macnamara, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, gave details supporting the Government contention that British Naval strength was far ahead of other nations, and later, Mr. McKenna confirmed and amplified the promise to secure its superiority in 1912.

The postulate of the adequacy of the Navy, it may be added, was the main ground of the conclusion adverse to the establishment of a national guarantee for shipping risks in war time, which was arrived at by the Treasury Committee whose report was published on July 9. The views of the witnesses examined had varied greatly; but the Committee concluded that, though the risks might handicap certain trades and even appreciably raise the cost of living and manufacture, yet if the Navy were adequate British shipping would neither be extensively laid up nor transferred to foreign flags, and that a guarantee, whether contributory or otherwise, was beset with so many difficulties and drawbacks as to be impracticable.

For the public, at any rate, no light was thrown on the adequacy of the navy by the annual manœuvres, which took place towards the end of July in the North Sea. Some 250 vessels of all classes were engaged in working out and testing certain strategical problems; but correspondents were not allowed with the fleets, and no particulars were published as to

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the scheme or results. Possibly this secrecy, combined with the choice of locality, heightened that apprehension of an Anglo-German war in the near future which expressed itself in rumours of a recent German staff ride through England (about which Colonel Lockwood, M.P. for Epping, asked a question in the House on July 13), as also of the activity of Germans in collecting topographical information in Epping Forest and the Isle of Wight, and of the possible services in this direction performed by the numerous German waiters and clerks in Great Britain. These apprehensions, however, were not widespread, though they provided exciting "copy" for a section of the Press.

Political interest, indeed, was concentrated in the House of Commons; but a relief to its somewhat arid proceedings was afforded by a series of important functions in great provincial cities. The new university buildings at Leeds were opened by the King accompanied by the Queen and Princess Victoria, on July 7. It was the first visit of a Sovereign to Leeds since 1858; the day was observed as a Bank holiday, and the reception of the Royal party was enthusiastic. Their Majesties were presented with an address at the Town Hall, and the Royal procession was witnessed by some 700,000 persons, including 80,000 school children who, stationed in stands along the route, sang patriotic songs at intervals. Proceeding next day to Bristol, *vid* Hereford, their Majesties slept on board the Royal yacht at Avonmouth, and, after a progress through Bristol, the presentation of an address, and an enthusiastic welcome, formally opened the Royal Edward Dock at Avonmouth (July 10). On July 8 the Prince and Princess of Wales opened the new Town Hall at Stockport. The King's speeches were thought to be more spontaneous and less conventional than the usual utterances of Royalty on these ceremonial occasions.

Another function of a different order took place at the University of Manchester on Thursday, July 10, when Lord Morley of Blackburn was installed as Chancellor and delivered an address. Noting that John Owens, the founder of the college out of which the university had grown up, had provided for literature as well as for science in the face of a great industrial development, Lord Morley said that when they were sure that the "ancients" had nothing to teach, they might omit classics, but not before. The character of the benefactions gave hope that technical teaching would not drive out teaching of the purely university type. Honorary degrees were afterwards conferred, including that of LL.D. on Mr. Balfour, who declared that the motive power which would change the external surface of civilisation lay with science, and that he himself "would rather be known as having added to the sum of knowledge of the truth of nature than anything I can imagine."

Two other non-political events may also be mentioned here.

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The dinner given to Mr. Asquith in the Inner Temple Hall on July 10, and the similar compliment paid him by Parliamentary colleagues from Balliol on July 23, exhibited at once his personal popularity and that sense of corporate comradeship which in England happily overrides the divisions set up by politics.

For the last half of July public interest was largely diverted from the political arena by the Quebec celebrations (Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VIII.), by the Franco-British Exhibition, and by the Olympic Games held in connection with it, of which some particulars are given on a later page (Chronicle, July). The exhibition occasioned some further international courtesies, notably a visit of some eighty French Senators and Deputies, in connection with the opening of the Social Economic Section. They received the good wishes of the King, and were entertained by Mr. Harcourt at luncheon at the House of Commons on behalf of the Government. The games eventually, like other international sporting contests, gave rise to a regrettable dispute between high athletic authorities in England and America.

That political activity would not slacken, however, was made clear by the programme of business for the remainder of the session, as set forth by the Prime Minister on July 10, the opportunity being offered, as usual, by the motion appropriating the whole time of the House to Government business and suspending the 11 o'clock rule. The House, he said, would adjourn for a recess, on Saturday, August 1, after voting Supply and passing the Finance Bill and Appropriation Bill. The long list of other measures to be passed before the adjournment included the Irish University Bill and two private members' Bills which the Government had taken up (dealing with housing in Ireland and the further protection of wild birds). The Licensing Bill would be the main business of the autumn session; but before the adjournment the Government would submit a time-table and devote two days to the Committee. This statement provoked Mr. Balfour to criticise the Ministerial method of conducting business. The system of Grand Committees, he said, though it had great potentialities of usefulness, overburdened hard-working members and shut out the most vital stage of the measures dealt with by them from the consideration of most of the House. Where Bills were considered in Committee of the whole House, the discussions were cut short or destroyed by the time-table system. They were living under a permanent closure. He complained also, that supply now took the minimum period of twenty days instead of the maximum of twenty-three, and that the Opposition were not, as formerly, invited to specify the votes they desired to discuss. For several important departments the votes had not been discussed at all, and the Colonial and Foreign Office Votes had only been discussed inadequately. Mr. Asquith, in

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reply, first announced, amid Opposition groans and Ministerial cheers and laughter, that the autumn session would begin on October 12; and then defended the Grand Committee system as the only means of dealing with lengthy measures like the Children Bill, and declared the guillotine a necessary evil in the absence of an arrangement—which it was too much to expect—that discussion should be confined to the most important provisions of Bills. With regard to Supply the regular Opposition had the first claim to consideration, but the convenience of the Irish, Scottish and Labour members had to be consulted likewise.

In view of this statement, the Marquess of Lansdowne on July 14 asked what opportunities the House of Lords would have for revising legislation, since of ten first-class measures mentioned in the King's Speech only one had yet reached that House. He hoped that provision might be made for carrying over Bills from one session to another. The Earl of Crewe, in reply, gave the dates at which various Bills might be expected, but said that carrying over Bills should be exceptional. The Government regretted the necessity of an autumn session which was partly due to the illness of the late Prime Minister.

Outside Parliament, meanwhile, there was active political agitation, which, however, added little to the material of political controversy. The Licensing Bill continued to be the subject of acute agitation. One objection to it—that the suppression of public-houses would merely stimulate the growth of low-class clubs—had been put very forcibly by Sir Robert Anderson, ex-Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, in *The Times* of June 29. Some controversy (conducted on the part of the trade by advertisement) also arose as to the amount of public-house drunkenness revealed by a "midnight march" conducted by the Bishop of London in the interests of Temperance; the dispute, however, resolved itself into a question of degrees of intoxication. The Bill was endorsed by a great temperance demonstration at Leeds (July 18) and by a Labour demonstration at Clitheroe (July 11). At the latter, as at other Labour demonstrations elsewhere, the Old Age Pensions Bill was accepted as a first step on a new path. Two days later, the Parents' League met at Queen's Hall and was addressed by Mr. Balfour, who declared that practically the choice was between secular education and parental control of religious teaching, and that the latter course would break down Cowper-Templeism, and involve ascertaining the fitness of the teacher to teach religion. He advocated some kind of parental veto on the choice of teachers; but Mr. Runciman, speaking at Dewsbury a few days later, indicated that the Government held fast to the principles of their Bill. The Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill was accepted by the former opponents of the change among the miners of Northumberland early in July, and, a little later, at a demonstration in the Rhondda Valley

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attended by Mr. Winston Churchill on July 20, Mr. Henderson said that even if they landed in the Clock Tower the Labour party meant the Bill to be passed within the session.

While the Government were thus supported in the country, there was continued discontent among many Liberals at their renewal of the Sugar Convention (p. 126). It was reported that, at a dinner given to Mr. Lough, late Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education, by the Political Committee of the New Reform Club on July 15, Mr. A. H. Scott (*Ashton-under-Lyne*) had stated that he had been induced in 1906 not to press his resolution demanding the withdrawal of Great Britain from it (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 40) by a promise privately given him by the late Prime Minister that the Government would withdraw as soon as practicable; and on the previous day a deputation of 200 Liberal members had waited on the Prime Minister to repeat the protest against the renewal. Mr. Villiers (*Brighton*) charged the Government with betraying Free Trade, infringing the rights of the House of Commons, and violating the Constitution; but other members dissociated themselves from this attack. Mr. Asquith replied substantially that the intention of the Government to negotiate for renewal if the Powers would drop the so-called penal clauses had been announced by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on June 6, 1907; that none of the obligations entailed by the renewed Convention conflicted with Free-Trade principles or required statutory authority, and that treaties did not need the assent of Parliament. They had not in any way restricted the sources of supply of sugar to Great Britain.

This deputation was a prelude to the Committee stage of the Finance Bill (July 14), in which unsuccessful attempts were made to abolish the tea and sugar duties in Ireland, on the ground that that country had been shown by the Financial Relations Committee to be overtaxed as compared with England; to reduce the tea duty to 3*d.* (a Labour proposal), to exempt tea coming from the British Empire, and to compel the reconsideration of the sugar duty in 1909. Objection was taken next day to the transfer of the collection of assessed taxes from the excise authorities to the county and borough councils in England and Wales, a change explained as leaving the former free for Old Age Pension work; but after explanations from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Government was sustained by 299 to 86. A proposal to reduce the income tax by 1*d.* was also unsuccessful, as was an effort to have the incomes of husband and wife treated as separate, and also another, made by Mr. Chiozza Money (*Paddington, N.*), to require declarations of income in all cases, whether taxed at source or not. These declarations would have served as a basis for a graduation of income tax. The attitude of the official Opposition was represented by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who declined to divide against details in the Budget, but condemned it as a

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whole, and cited the description of the situation given in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech at the Mansion House (p. 156). A feature of the debate was the controversy between the partisans of direct and indirect taxation, Mr. Keir Hardie declaring that the Labour party would prefer the application of the former to the working classes, but that the underpaid workers should not be taxed at all. Opposition speakers, however, preferred to extend indirect taxation so as to fall more effectively on the rich.

Such arguments, however, at any rate when used outside the House, were generally associated with a demand for Protection; but one form of that demand had found no countenance from the Report of the Hop Commission (July 10), which stated that though the consumption of hops was decreasing with the decline of beer-drinking and the use of hop substitutes, the quantity of English hops produced, and their proportion to the imported hops used, were remaining the same. The acreage under hops was less, the yield per acre greater than formerly. Cold storage was mentioned as a potent factor in the depression; but the Commission did not think that foreign competition was so, or that a duty on foreign hops was called for.

This discouragement to the advocates of Protection in its crudest form was followed by another disappointment for the mass of the Opposition. The Liberals kept the seat in Pembrokeshire vacant by the elevation of Mr. Wynford Philipps to the peerage as Lord St. Davids, though the figures showed a Liberal decline and a Unionist increase (July 16); but the opposition at the general election had been tardy and ineffective, the outgoing member was personally very popular, and the Liberal majority was the largest on record except in 1906. The Unionists had fully expected to win.

For one thing, at any rate, the Government had earned and received gratitude on both sides of the Atlantic. On June 3 the Postmaster-General had announced in the House of Commons that the United States Post Office had accepted a proposal for the reduction of postage between that country and Great Britain to 1*d.* per oz., to take effect on October 1. The arrangement was welcomed in the United States; and some well-deserved credit for it was given to Mr. Henniker Heaton (*Canterbury*) who had agitated for it and for other postal reforms for many years. An effort was made to induce the postal authorities to make a similar arrangement with France; but an influential deputation which waited on Mr. Asquith on July 13 was told by him that the cost (82,000*l.* annually) was prohibitive, and that an extension to other European countries, which it would be invidious to refuse, would cost 320,000*l.* a year. The new arrangement, however, gave additional interest to the annual review by the Postmaster-General (Mr. Buxton) of the work of his department on the occasion of the Post Office Vote (July 16). The revenue for the past year had been

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22,500,000*l.*, the expenditure 18,750,000*l.*, the surplus 3,750,000*l.* For the current year the surplus was the same. The revenue, however, showed signs of falling off, and a general election, or a new craze, would give it a satisfactory stimulus. The Limerick craze had raised the sale of postal orders during the past six months from the normal figure of 700,000 or 800,000 to 11,400,000. But expenditure was increasing, and the only profitable head of revenue in the postal system was the penny stamp. The telephone, however, was affecting the telegraph system, which was carried on at a loss, and the postal system also, but it was itself, and should continue to be, on a paying basis. One million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds had already been spent on underground telegraph wires, the Convention respecting wireless telegraphy had been ratified by Great Britain and all but two of her Colonies, and by all the Great Powers except the United States; and, as he did not intend to sanction any monopoly in wireless telegraphy the Department, while in improved relations with the Marconi Company, was working a commercial station, and could extend its operations without buying up companies. The traffic in foreign lottery tickets, which was often complained of, could not be stopped because the letters were mostly in sealed envelopes, but he had made suggestions to a Committee then sitting and hoped for further powers. The results of the reduction of postage to Canada on magazines had been very satisfactory. He alluded to other reforms, among them the reduction of the postage on literature to the blind, and referred to the reduction of postal rates to the United States. The Post Office ought to set an example as an employer of labour, and he was endeavouring to obtain uniformity of work in the factories, and to deal with sweating in contracts. He explained what had been done towards carrying out the recommendations of the Hobhouse Committee, justified the system of classifying towns (in respect of the rate of wages paid to postal employees in them) according to units of work and cost of living, and disclaimed the intention of reducing wages with which he was credited. He had never regretted his recognition of the associations of postal employees. The subsequent debate was only of passing interest.

Next day (July 17) a new form of guillotine was set up for the Committee stage of the Licensing Bill. The amendments proposed now filled fifty-two pages of the orders and numbered 980; and Mr. Asquith, therefore, moved an elaborate and lengthy resolution allocating nineteen days, which were allowed for the Committee stage, among the various clauses and schedules, five to the Report stage and one to the third reading. The novelty lay in the proviso that after the Committee stage the apportionment of the days allowed for the Report stage should be considered. This, he explained, was to secure discussion of important points that might have been missed in Committee. Great pains had been taken in the allocation to ensure that all

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the contentious clauses should be debated; and, in regard to the new proviso, he did not think it possible to go further in reconciling the crude and admittedly harsh requirements of a guillotine resolution with free discussion and fairness to all sections of the House. Mr. Balfour was rather favourably disposed to the proviso, but thought that the conclusion of the Committee stage was not a good time for a calm discussion. Historically, he said, closure by compartments, introduced in the Parliament of 1886, had been used seven times for Bills between 1886 and 1906, and ten times in the existing Parliament, that difference in amount was a difference in kind. But the Parliamentary management of the Government was a mystery; the autumn session was a case in point. He quoted, amid much amusement, Mr. Asquith's last utterance on the guillotine when in Opposition (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1904, p. 154). The Government had initiated the habit of dealing with every difficulty not by persuasion, but by the guillotine.

Lord Robert Cecil moved an amendment declining to continue to pass special procedure resolutions, and calling on the Government to produce proposals for permanently settling procedure. He urged that the decline of discussion would lower the character of Parliament. Devolution would be no remedy, and all-night sittings showed the House at its worst. He disapproved of the guillotine in all forms, and thought a Committee of Selection impracticable; and he outlined a scheme by which each party might be allowed to select, in proportion to its numbers, the amendments it really desired to see debated. He should like, also, to see considered carefully a proposal for increased power of closure. But the fundamental difficulty was that the House had lost its self-respect. Mr. Bottomley, seconding the amendment, laid stress on the lack of discussion of the Estimates. Mr. Asquith replied to Mr. Balfour by citing the latter's prediction of July 5, 1905, that his successors would find guillotine resolutions necessary, and saying that the necessity now was due to arrears of legislation. Lord Robert Cecil's remedies would be far worse than the guillotine. After a number of other speeches, the debate was closured, and Lord R. Cecil's amendment rejected by 221 to 101. The Government, however, accepted amendments moved by Mr. L. Hardy (*Ashford, Kent*) providing that the discussion on the allocation of time for the Report stage should not be taken on the same day at the conclusion of the Committee stage, and also that the clauses should be put from the chair singly and not in groups.

The Committee stage began on the following Monday, July 20. The Nationalists and many of the Labour members were absent; the Ministerialists and the Opposition were present in force. The whole sitting was occupied with amendments to the first line of clause 1; but it is hardly necessary to describe the proceedings minutely, in view of the eventual fate of the Bill.

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The first two hours were spent on an amendment moved for Mr. F. E. Smith by Mr. Younger (*Ayr Burghs*) making the decisions of licensing justices subject to confirmation by quarter sessions.

Mr. Asquith replied that the licensing justices would know the circumstances best, that the compensation fund was now a national and not a county fund, and that the amendment would mean unnecessary delay and expense. Complaints were made by other members that quarter sessions, having no local knowledge, frequently overruled the local licensing authority. The Opposition argument was that the selection of licences for extinction mattered very much to the licensees, and that an appeal was needed to an unbiassed authority. Ultimately the amendment was rejected by 299 to 126. Incidentally there was a scene owing to a vehement complaint by a Liberal, Mr. H. C. Lea, that the Liberal whip was discouraging Liberals from speaking. Other amendments, rejected by nearly the same majorities, were (1) moved by Lord Robert Cecil, that magistrates pledged to oppose the sale of intoxicants should not sit as licensing justices; (2) moved by Sir F. Lowe (*Edgbaston, Birmingham*), giving the licensing magistrates discretion as to suppressing licences; this, Mr. Harcourt replied, would defeat the object of the Bill; (3) moved by Earl Winterton (*Horsham, Sussex*), permitting justices to certify to the Home Secretary that reduction was unnecessary, in which case it should not be compulsory. Mr. Asquith, however, declared that the principle of compulsory reduction had been decided on the second reading. In that case, Mr. Balfour replied, the Committee stage was useless. Later, Mr. Austen Chamberlain made a heated speech, which was much interrupted from the Liberal side. After further stormy scenes, and an appeal from Mr. Jesse Collings not to reduce the facilities for social intercourse among agricultural labourers, Mr. Asquith moved the closure amid Opposition protests, which were met by Ministerial cries of "Manners." The closure was carried by 298 to 122, and the amendment negatived by 290 to 124.

Next day (July 21) the proceedings were quieter. Mr. Gretton (*Rutland*) moved an amendment safeguarding the supposed interest of villagers by confining the compulsory statutory reduction to urban districts with a population exceeding 10,000. This was resisted by the Government and withdrawn. Mr. J. F. Hope (*Sheffield, Central*) proposed to allow the licensing authority to "adjust" areas to population, so that the existing practice might be maintained of transferring redundant licences to adjacent districts where the proportion was below that legally permitted. On the Liberal side this was treated as enabling public-houses to be set up against the wish of the population; two Liberal members, however, voted for it, but it was rejected by 326 to 127. On the next amendment a warm discussion arose. It was moved by Mr. Talbot (*Oxford University*) and

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proposed to extend the operation of the Bill to off-licences, which facilitated the sale of spirits by grocers and other shopkeepers, and were frequently stated to have promoted drunkenness among women. Mr. Gladstone said that the inclusion of these licences had been carefully considered; but in the last few years their number had greatly decreased. The question of on-licences was not merely one of redundancy; their reduction would secure better police supervision of licensed premises, and the character of the licensees would be improved. But the extinction of an off-licence here and there would have no appreciable effect on secret drinking. It would be difficult to get at the monopoly value, and a separate compensation scheme and a new scale would be requisite. This last reason was subsequently emphasised by Mr. Herbert Samuel, who cited the action of the Peel Commission and of Mr. Balfour's Government in 1904 as precedents for the Ministerial course. Mr. Balfour pointed out that under the fifth clause of the Bill there was provision for ascertaining the monopoly value of a new off-licence, so that the difficulty of ascertaining that of an existing off-licence should not be insuperable. The Government professed to believe that the cause of temperance was bound up with the diminution of the number of places where intoxicants could be obtained, and yet they dared not deal with grocers and clubs. The motives of their crusade against on-licences were hatred of a particular trade and a desire to profit by monopoly value. They left out off-licences because they were afraid to quarrel with their political friends; their political enemies they did not hesitate to plunder. Sir T. Whittaker indignantly repudiated these charges; he regretted that the Bill did not deal with grocers' licences, but there were four times as many on-licences as off-licences, and if he could not get two things he was ready to take one. The Opposition wished to kill the Bill by overloading it. Mr. Faber (*York*), however, contended that grocers' licences had been kept out for political reasons, and that Sir T. Whittaker, as the real author of the Bill, had approved the omission—an assumption which the latter hotly denied. The Opposition, however, continued to press Mr. Balfour's contention, and it was accepted by Mr. Belloc (*Salford, S.*), a Liberal, while Mr. Markham, another Liberal, announced his support of the amendment, which was rejected by 306 to 126. An amendment by Mr. F. E. Smith to exclude the "ante-1869 beerhouses" was hastily debated, amid considerable excitement, and rejected by 354 to 140; and, the guillotine then becoming operative, the clause was carried by 348 to 140. Consideration of the Bill was resumed on October 14.

Meanwhile the controversy had been vigorously kept up outside the House. The demonstrations in support of the Bill had culminated in a monster meeting in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 25, to which some 100,000 persons marched in procession from various parts of London, and which was addressed by Mr.

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Winston Churchill, the Dean of Carlisle, Sir T. P. Whittaker, between forty and fifty members of Parliament, and other eminent persons, both men and women. Some rowdyism had been expected, but there was no opposition. Intellectual interest was shown as well as enthusiasm; and Mr. Churchill warned the Lords that "the resources of the constitution would not be exhausted" if they threw out the Bill.

It was generally understood that the course thus conditionally predicted would be the imposition of a high licence duty, as practised in some of the States of the American Union; and, as this would be included in the Finance Bill of 1909, the House of Lords could only veto it by throwing out the whole Bill. The powers of that House over finance, however, were about to be tested by the Old Age Pensions Bill. In some quarters it had been urged either to reject the Bill or postpone the Committee stage till the autumn session, when the Report of the Poor Law Commission might be available. This step was discountenanced by *The Times*, as likely to intensify the conflict between the Houses, and also because the Bill was virtually part of the Finance Bill for the year. In Committee, however, the question was raised in another way.

The second reading was moved by Viscount Wolverhampton on July 20. He sketched the history of the subject, pointed out the strong backing the measure had received in the Commons, and gave an outline of it, declaring that, far from acting hastily, the Cabinet had given anxious consideration to the subject for twelve months in conjunction with the Government departments chiefly concerned. They could not wait for the coming Report of the Poor Law Commission. The Earl of Wemyss moved an amendment declaring such legislation unwise pending the issue of this Report, and condemned it as indefinitely extending outdoor relief and tending to destroy thrift and self-reliance. In France an Old Age Pensions Bill had been postponed by the Senate, pending further information. This amendment was supported by the Earl of Cromer in a remarkable speech. The expenditure under the Bill, he said, was very uncertain, but would certainly increase; and the means of finding the money was more uncertain still. The money could only be provided by suspending the Sinking Fund, or by an increase of either direct or indirect taxation. Many Liberals desired to increase direct taxation, but no great inequality in the incidence of the two forms could be proved, and eventually additional indirect taxation must be resorted to. The path of least resistance would be Tariff Reform, and he thought the Government were disobeying the main mandate given them at the last general election. But moderate Tariff Reformers regarded high taxation as bad in itself, and extremists aimed at Protection, not at increased revenue. He had never known such a case of reckless finance. The main duty of the Government was to make provision betimes for the

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European conflict which might not improbably be forced on Great Britain before many years had passed. They need not disbelieve the pacific assurances of high personages abroad, or suppose deliberately hostile intentions, but when national interests were involved and race-passions were excited there was always the chance of a collision, and it would be increased by any departure from Free Trade. It was dangerous to reduce the Sinking Fund, or to impose new taxation which would reduce our ability to meet fresh war expenditure. He awaited the pronouncement of the Opposition leader, whom he followed in spite of Tariff Reform. If the question could be considered on its own merits, it would be best to await the Government scheme of poor-law reform.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, after a tribute to Mr. Charles Booth and a reference to what was being done for the aged poor apart from the workhouse, said that the time for action had arrived. The cost would be very heavy, but that was a question for the House of Commons. He thought that the age would be reduced, that "invalidity pensions" would follow, and be increasingly costly, and there was a danger that the funds might partly be taken from education, and that the friendly societies' systems might be interfered with. But he believed the Bill would conduce greatly to the common good. Viscount St. Aldwyn regarded the Bill as in fact a large extension of out-relief, the demand of stern economists that people should provide for themselves in their youth involving a self-denial generally rare. He noticed various difficulties in the machinery of the Bill, and thought its financial aspect very serious. He hoped that if additional taxation were necessary it would be fairly divided among the different classes of the population. He sympathised with the amendment, but they had to think of the feelings of the country. The Earl of Rosebery, who regarded the Bill as more important than even the great Reform Bill, said that logically it was difficult to attack the amendment, but the Bill was almost purely financial, and sent up with the almost unanimous assent of the Commons. It would be unwise, therefore, to pass an amendment involving its rejection. But he was profoundly disquieted as to its effect. The first duty of a Government was national defence; but he feared that both parties would extend the pension system, and that the annual cost would be 30,000,000*l.* He asked the Government to assure them that the Bill was not striking a blow at the Empire and indefinitely embarrassing national finance.

The debate was continued by the Bishop of Ripon, the Marquess of Ripon, who defended the Bill against Viscount St. Aldwyn's criticisms, Lord Avebury, who condemned it on moral grounds as well as financial, and pleaded for delay, and by Lord Welby, who did not share the view that it would largely increase taxation. The Marquess of Lansdowne asked for more information; they had not been told how abuses would be pre-

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vented, the anomalies remedied, or the expenditure met. The Bill would restore the taint of pauperism of the old Poor Law; it was a thinly disguised system of out-door relief. It would create a huge bureaucracy, and members would bribe their constituents by offering extensions. He laid stress on the financial danger, but thought the Bill should be read a second time and discussed in Committee. After a reply by the Earl of Crewe, on behalf of the Government, the second reading was carried by 123 to 16.

The next few days saw the rapid despatch of a good deal of work by the other House. The Indian Budget statement was made on July 22 by Mr. T. R. Buchanan, Under-Secretary to the India Office, before a moderately attended House and a gallery crowded with natives of India. Mr. Buchanan said that while there was considerable anxiety as to the condition of India, the financial situation was satisfactory. Successive surpluses had allowed three consecutive reductions of the salt duty, followed by increase of 25 per cent. in the consumption. The opium revenue would be progressively lessened—by 300,000*l.* in the current year—and in ten years would cease altogether. The reform of the police service had been costly, the expenditure on education had doubled, and that on sanitary, medical, and other services had also largely increased. So had military expenditure, but it was believed by good judges that Lord Kitchener had increased the efficiency of the army, and the campaign against the Mohmands had verified this. He believed military expenditure would slowly but steadily decrease. The famine would cost the Indian Government more than 5,000,000*l.* Revenue had been suspended, and loans given to cultivators on a larger scale than formerly with good results. After referring to the favourable agricultural prospects, to the increased yield of the railways and irrigation works, and to the plague, he dealt with the question of sedition and conspiracy. The bomb conspiracy in Calcutta was a new and unpleasant feature, but the Government was daily promised support from all sections of the population in stamping out this hateful form of political disease. The Explosives Act and Press Act had been deterrent, for no need to put them in force had yet arisen. He commended the patient fortitude of Europeans in India, and the Government would not fail them. But there were other signs of political unrest. A new spirit was influencing a large class of educated Indians, and our rule, to be successful, should attract them to our side. Some were frankly hostile to it, others hostile, but not frankly so; the majority knew that disaster would follow its removal. Our chief duty was to improve administration in Bengal and remove the soreness caused by the manner of the partition. The Government and the Viceroy intended to meet as far as possible the aspirations of honest reformers; a further statement might be made during the autumn. Earl Percy, speaking for the Opposition, in the course

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of a lengthy review of the situation, laid stress on the necessity of repressing the agitation, urged development of the native denominational schools, and of technical education, and suggested that the Director-General of Education should have the right of free access to the Viceroy. He favoured decentralisation and subdivision of areas, and regretted the contemplated separation of judicial and executive duties in Bengal.

An amendment declaring the need for educational reform in India was moved by Mr. Rees and seconded by Sir H. Craik. The former attacked the so-called "friends of India" in the House, more especially those who were retired Indian civilians, and asked for more primary schools, denominational teaching, technical education, and more control over students both in India and Europe. The latter said Indian education was too literary and non-religious. Mr. John Ellis (*Rushcliffe, Derbyshire*), an ex-Under-Secretary for India, described the situation as very grave, hinted that Lord Curzon of Kedleston shared the responsibility for it, and thought that discussion on reforms was premature pending the expected publication of them. Mr. Keir Hardie ascribed the growing unrest in India partly to militarism, agreed generally in the criticisms on education, and incidentally denied, amid sympathetic cheers, the extravagant statements ascribed to him during his Indian tour as to the condition of Eastern Bengal. Discontent, he held, would only be allayed by the grant of some effective form of self-government, and he sketched a system of village, district, and provincial councils, the last-named, however, to be under Government control. After a number of other speeches, Sir Henry Cotton cited the two cases of native senior wranglers to show that the criticisms on Indian education had been wholly misplaced. The real cause of the discontent he ascribed to the spirit and policy of British administration. He strongly condemned the partition of Bengal and thought Mr. Tilak's prosecution a suicidal error. His own family had been connected for 100 years with the Indian Civil Service, but that service had had its day, and we ought to encourage the Indian people to bridge over the disturbance inevitable to a change in the form of government. He urged the appointment of a committee to take evidence and advise. Mr. Buchanan, in reply, said that some of Sir H. Cotton's statements would not make their task easier, and held out hopes that something would be done in reference to education, though they could not largely increase expenditure on it. After other speeches, the amendment was negatived.

The Report stage of the Irish University Bill was taken on July 23 and 24. The Bill had been so amended in Grand Committee as to make it possible for Maynooth to become an affiliated college, so that its graduates might eventually form part of the governing body of the university without having necessarily resided within its precincts in Dublin. A direct attack on the

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amended measure was now made by a motion to omit the first clause, moved by Captain Craig (*Down, E.*) and seconded by Mr. Moore (*Armagh, N.*), on the ground that the scheme was now thoroughly denominational; Sir William Anson and Mr. Hutton (a Liberal) took a similar view, but the amendment was rejected by 231 to 31. Another amendment, moved by Mr. Moore, and providing that three-fourths of every governing body under the Act should be laymen, was supported by Mr. Long and resisted by Mr. Birrell as illiberal, and negatived by 219 to 71. An amendment by Mr. Craig, specifying that the new college in Dublin should be undenominational, was opposed by Mr. Balfour, who declared that the Bill was really denominational, as well as by Mr. Birrell, who maintained that the university would be as undenominational as any body of men could be made by legislation; and was rejected by 273 to 32. Other amendments proposed by Mr. Butcher (*York*) and rejected, aimed at the reduction of civic representation on the governing bodies of the three constituent colleges, and at the affiliating of colleges by statute, a more deliberate method than by resolution. Sir W. Collins (*St. Pancras, W.*) moved and Mr. Seddon (*Newton, Lancs*) seconded an amendment admitting external students, which was, however, strongly opposed by Sir E. Carson and Mr. Butcher, on the ground that the crying need was for university teaching, while Mr. Redmond urged that poor scholars could be provided for by Education Board and County Council Scholarships. It was rejected by 263 to 38. The relation of affiliated students to the university was brought up again next day by Dr. Hazel (*West Bromwich*), who proposed two years' study in a constituent college of the University of Dublin or Belfast should be required from such students as a condition of a degree. He feared that the senates would recognise attendance at lectures in sectarian seminaries as equivalent to attendance at lectures in a constituent college, and so the universities would be neither teaching nor undenominational. Mr. Redmond urged the House to trust the Irish people; Mr. O'Brien, however, declared that it would be unreasonable to ask Maynooth students to separate themselves from sacred influences; and Mr. Birrell thought that the amendment would interfere with the main aim of the Bill. It was rejected by 216 to 75; and an amendment, moved by Mr. Massie (*Cricklade, Wilts*), excising a provision inserted at Mr. Butcher's instance in Grand Committee which would have permitted the erection of university or college chapels by private benefaction, was carried by 172 to 111, after a protest from Mr. Redmond.

The Bill was read a third time on July 25. Its rejection was moved by Mr. J. Gordon (*Derry, S.*) and seconded by Mr. H. Barrie (*Derry, N.*), who asserted that it would set up strongly denominational universities and so perpetuate existing religious differences. Mr. Redmond, who cordially congratulated and thanked the Chief Secretary, declared that the prophecies of

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failure would be falsified and the scheme carried out in a spirit of toleration and good fellowship. Sir George White (*Norfolk, N.W.*), speaking for the Nonconformists, said they were friendly to Irish higher education and Home Rule, and had therefore been comparatively little disposed to argue about first principles; they had done their best, not very successfully, to preserve the undenominational character of the Bill, but they thought too much had been conceded to the Roman Catholic priesthood. Mr. Balfour endorsed Mr. Redmond's congratulations to the Chief Secretary. The measure was clearly denominational, for, were the Belfast and Dublin governing bodies under it transposed, Catholics and Presbyterians alike would be shocked. But he did not complain because it was denominational, but because the arrangements regarding Maynooth might bring Dublin University under clerical control. The value of university life was less in the teaching than in free discussion among the students, and with this the Roman Church claimed to interfere. The civic and County Council element on the governing bodies of the constituent colleges was too large, and threatened academic freedom. But, on the whole, he cordially approved the measure. Mr. Birrell ridiculed the contention that the university in Dublin would be denominational, and remarked that Maynooth graduates in any case could only elect eight members in a Senate of thirty-five. As to the civic element, it was necessary to secure local sympathy.

After other speeches, Mr. Butcher's especially emphasising the need of residential provisions, the third reading was carried by 207 to 19.

The Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords on July 27, the Earl of Camperdown complaining that it was being hurried through. It was generally accepted; its denominational character, however, was again insisted on by Lord Ashbourne and the Marquess of Lansdowne; and Lord Macdonnell, the ex-Under-Secretary for Ireland, regretted that Trinity College had not come in. In Committee (July 30) a Government amendment was inserted prohibiting tests for Professors, the Marquess of Lansdowne, however, remarking that it was merely decorative; and an amendment allowing the erection of chapels, within or without the precincts, by private benefaction (a provision struck out in Grand Committee) was reinstated by 32 to 31, but this was struck out in the Commons by 142 to 40, and was not insisted on by the peers. The Bill became law on July 31.

The Old Age Pensions Bill passed through Committee in the House of Lords on July 28. Before the clauses were considered the Earl of Rosebery protested against sharing the responsibility for the measure by considering any amendments at all. He would have preferred to refer it to the country, but the *referendum* could not thus be indirectly adopted by that House. The Bill (he said) was objected to as non-contributory,

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as financially inopportune, and as threatening the reserve of resources on which the country relied for defence. But in those respects that House could not amend it, and though he favoured the Earl of Cromer's amendment making it provisional, he did not think this would be accepted by the Commons. He had now delivered his soul and cleared himself of responsibility. The Lord Chancellor, who rose next, warned the House that this was part of the Budget and distinctly a money Bill, and that any amendments, except possibly those dealing with its machinery, would be regarded by the Commons as a breach of privilege. The Marquess of Lansdowne, however, said that the Peers had to think of the privileges of their own House. There was a tendency to restrict them; and owing to the guillotine, a Bill might come up in great part undiscussed. He quoted precedents of 1838, 1849, 1891, and 1906 to show that it had been either asserted by Ministers, declared by the House of Lords, or ruled by the Speaker (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 243) that the House had the right to amend Bills which were only partly money Bills. It was the duty of the House to suggest amendments, leaving to the Commons the responsibility of rejecting them. In 1838 Mr. Speaker Abercromby had said that the Commons' privilege could best be secured by not pressing it too hard. The Earl of Halsbury added that the question of privilege only arose after discussion of the amendments; and, after a few words from the Earl of Crewe, the Earl of Cromer moved an amendment, limiting the operation of the Bill to December 1, 1915. He explained that another amendment would prevent any pensioner being deprived of his pension by the limitation, and argued in effect that it would give time for fuller consideration of the Bill and for reform of the poor law. After Viscount Wolverhampton had quoted a precedent of 1897, when the Earl of Halsbury as Lord Chancellor had ruled out of order an amendment to the Voluntary Schools Bill as a breach of Commons' privilege, the amendment was carried by 77 to 45. Other amendments were dealt with relating to the machinery of the Bill, and the discussion was described in *The Times'* summary as long and business-like. It had, however, no ultimate effect. A few more amendments were dealt with on Report, two being Ministerial; and on July 30 the Bill was read a third time without debate. Next day, on its return to the Commons as amended, the Speaker ruled that Lord Cromer's amendments to clause 1 were a breach of privilege, and these were disagreed with, as were others, either as breaches of privilege or *per se*. One, fixing the term of imprisonment disqualifying for a pension at not less than a month, led to a division and an attack by Mr. Balfour on the Government for refusing to accept what was clearly an improvement. But one, enacting penalties for false statements in connection with pensions, was accepted, Mr. Balfour noting that it would discourage the interference of political organisations to procure

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pensions, of which there were already signs, and which Mr. Asquith agreed was a grave danger. Later in the afternoon when the Bill was returned to the Lords, that House decided not to insist on its amendments. The Earl of Cromer formally though regretfully abandoned his own; the Marquess of Lansdowne said that the Government had accepted an extreme view of privilege, which would prevent the House discussing any social reform measure which might involve charges on the Exchequer; and, after the amendments had been dealt with *seriatim*, he moved a resolution declaring that the House, though not insisting on its amendments, did not accept the reasons offered by the Commons or consent to their being hereafter drawn into a precedent, and laying stress on the character of the measure as not purely a money Bill. The motion was carried, after some discussion, by 37 to 23. Throughout the proceedings there were vigorous protests against the alleged restriction of the Lords' privileges by the Commons.

It may be mentioned that Mr. Crooks (*Woolwich*) replied derisively to the Earl of Cromer's amendment by giving notice of a motion (July 29) that the pension voted to that nobleman should terminate on January 1, 1915.

The second reading of the Finance Bill in the House of Lords (July 29) had given Viscount St. Aldwyn an opportunity to deliver a severe criticism on Liberal finance. As the Government had only slightly reduced expenditure in the previous year and had since increased it, the charge of extravagance against their predecessors should be disposed of. But they would also have to increase expenditure on various civil objects, on the Territorial Army, and on the Navy, and the work at Rosyth should be hastened. All this would add several millions to the Estimates, and there was the Old Age Pensions Bill. Seven millions of taxation, however, had been remitted, but the sugar and coal duties had not been seriously burdensome. It was one thing to talk of a free breakfast-table when expenditure was comparatively small, and quite another thing to do so when we were spending 111,000,000*l.* and the income tax was 1*s.* in the £. It was not sound finance that those members of the working classes who neither drank nor smoked should go untaxed. He defended his own policy in spending part of the Sinking Fund on public works when Consols were at 110. Consols were never so low as in 1907, and one cause was the force given by the policy of the Government to attacks on property. It was at this time that they cast a new burden of unknown extent on the country. They had tampered with what should be our principal resource in war time. Lord St. Davids, in a maiden speech, ascribed the fall of Consols to the prosperity of trade and the multiplication of trustee stocks, and hoped that war-taxes would be such that the whole people would feel them. The Earl of Cromer endorsed Lord St. Aldwyn's warnings, declaring that at the Treasury the

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desire seemed to be to do what was popular rather than to look at facts. Lord Faber added some criticisms of the finance of Ministers, especially of the purchases of short-dated securities instead of Consols in reducing debt. The Earl of Crewe defended them, declaring that they believed indirect taxation to be quite high enough, and that the country bore taxation more easily than it had some years before. Ministers could not anticipate next year's Budget, but he believed they would be able to pay their way as regarded national defence, and to provide "without dramatic or melodramatic taxation" for the old age pension scheme of which they were proud.

Though thus limited in its powers of revising legislation, the House of Lords had abundantly exercised its function of criticism and eliciting information from Ministers by its debates on various aspects of national defence. On July 6 the Earl of Donoughmore had drawn attention to the possible deficiency of horses for Army purposes, and had been officially informed that some 2,000,000 were available. On July 8 Lord Lovat had complained that various small economies were tending to reduce the efficiency of the Territorial Force; on July 16 the Duke of Bedford, in an exhaustive speech, had again deplored the abolition of the militia, and had called attention to the possibility that the changes might interfere with recruiting for the Regular Army, and to the fact that on July 1 the Territorial Force was some 40 per cent. short of its establishment figure. This force, he predicted, would be a failure at the end of the year; compulsory service would be demanded, and would be impracticable, and then the three-line system would be restored. The Expeditionary Force was acting of necessity as a garrison in the United Kingdom. Lord Raglan and Lord Harris endorsed these views, the latter wondering why the scheme was taken up. Lord Lucas of Crudwell replied that it was taken up because the Government had not sufficient troops to fulfil their commitments. As to recruiting, there was no reason for despondency, and the great majority of the Territorial Army were physically superior to the Volunteers. It was too soon to judge of the future of the force. At a later date (July 20) the Earl of Crewe gave an assurance which had been pressed for during this debate, *viz.*, that no further reductions were then contemplated in the Regular Army. On July 22 the Earl of Wemyss raised another debate, suggesting that the Territorial Force might be recruited by ballot. The Force was defended by Lord Lucas of Crudwell and the Earl of Crewe. The former attacked the plan of the National Service League, explained by Lord Newton as a modified form of the Swiss system; the latter endorsed a deprecation of such discussions already uttered by Lord Saye and Sele.

The Special Reserve had been the subject of peculiar apprehension on the part of the Duke of Bedford; and its infantry section was described by Mr. Arnold-Forster in *The Times* of

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July 27 as necessarily an "absolute and disastrous failure." In Committee of Supply that day Mr. Haldane defended this part of his scheme in detail. He again explained that it was intended mainly to renew the wastage of war in the Regular Army, though some or most of its 101 battalions would be able to go out as units. Why should the venture be a failure when recruits were coming in, an organisation of officers had been provided for, and the force had been organised to meet a recognised want according to the advice of the General Staff? There were 54,000 men in sight, 30,000 had come in, and the percentage of officers who had come over was satisfactory. The scheme was again severely criticised by many members, among them Mr. Balfour whose questions drew from Mr. Haldane the explanation that the units of the Special Reserve would go out with their own officers and have their *esprit de corps* as far as possible preserved. Mr. Acland, Financial Secretary to the War Office, also explained later that the ordinary reserves would be used at the beginning of a war to bring up the regiments to full strength and that Reservists would as far as possible be posted in War to those Regular units with which they had a territorial connection. A reduction of the vote for the Special Reserve was negatived by 231 to 77.

The Foreign Office Vote, which was next taken, produced a clear and eminently reassuring statement of the British attitude in regard to Germany, Macedonia, and the Congo. The debate was begun by the new member for the Stirling Burghs, Mr. Ponsonby, who expressed his belief that the Turkish Constitution was only a ruse, and would not diminish the Sultan's unparalleled autocracy; we should, therefore, keep our scheme in reserve, and, if we must work through the Concert, England should conduct. Mr. Lynch (*Ripon, W.R. Yorks*) suggested that the Government might have used the Anglo-Russian Convention negotiations as a means of securing Russian support in Macedonia. He also commented on the Persian crisis, and feared that Russia might absorb her sphere of influence. How could we then defend the Indian frontier? He intimated likewise that we ought to have upheld the Persian Parliament. Sir Charles Dilke deprecated speaking of Anglo-Russian cooperation in a way that suggested an intention to isolate Germany. That gloss was put on our policy everywhere, and therefore difficulties were thrown in our way. Earl Percy urged that before consenting to the annexation of the Congo by Belgium we should insist on the maintenance intact of the legal security of the concessionary companies, and the restoration of land and trading rights to the natives. As to Macedonia, he now feared resentment of foreign interference.

Sir Edward Grey, after replying to criticisms passed by Earl Percy on the Macedonian reform scheme, and mentioning that the Anglo-Russian Convention negotiations could not have been used to forward Macedonian reforms because they

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were limited by agreement to those countries where Russia and Great Britain had common interests, referred to the changed situation in Turkey. Hitherto the root of the mischief had been bad, weak government. The change had led to order and to the dispersal of the bands; if they had dispersed for good, there would be no need for the mobile force. The Government hoped that the Balkan States would prevent any advantage being taken of the situation. The sole British object in Macedonia, though it was not believed on the Continent, was good government; if Turkey introduced this the British aim was achieved. He welcomed the news of the proclamation of a Constitution. He should not himself have touched on the delicate subject of our relations with Germany, but he said (amid cheers) that it was very undesirable that any section of public opinion of Great Britain should represent British policy as aiming at the isolation of Germany, and equally so that any section of German public opinion should believe it. In gauging the feelings of the two countries they should not take short views. During the last twenty years our attitude had not been that of a Power reluctant to be on good terms with Germany; and we should not take advantage of our friendships with other Powers to make enmity between nations. Nor was it our object to isolate any Power whatever. Germany had two allies, and we had never grudged that alliance. Neither in our co-operation with Russia in Macedonia nor at the Hague Conference had we had any selfish political aim. As to the Congo, the Government would shortly have to reply to Belgium on the question of our concessions and on our own right to have some say before recognising the transfer to Belgium, since we considered that our treaty rights had been broken by the Congo State. The question of concessions was very difficult, because, contrary to our practice, the Congo Government had given them without inquiring about native rights. The Belgian Government promised that forced labour should be ended; if so, the natives must be given large tracts of land from which to earn a living. As to freedom of trade, we had proposed that disputed interpretations of treaty rights should be submitted to arbitration. In Persia, so long as British subjects were not in danger, there would be no intervention. Refuge at the British Legation would not be refused to persons in danger of their lives, but the Legations were not to be used for political purposes. Great Britain and Russia genuinely desired to intervene as little as possible.

Other questions were raised relating to Egypt, the French tariff, and the Baghdad railway, but the hour was so late that Sir E. Grey excused himself from dealing with them.

The Colonial Office Votes were discussed next day, July 28. Mr. Lyttelton, ex-Colonial Secretary, criticised the action of Ministers in ignoring the Hong-Kong authorities in their measures for suppressing opium smoking, and argued that the

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experience of the current year justified the terms of his grant of the Ceylon pearl fisheries, severely criticised in 1906 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 207). Passing to the Transvaal, he complimented the British minority on having "courageously and toughly" accepted the situation set up by self-government. After pointing to satisfactory features in the situation, he dealt with the other side of the picture. The difference between Chinese labour and the Portuguese African indentured labour that had replaced it was practically slight, and the mortality among the black immigrants was twice or thrice that among the Chinese. He asked for an impartial inquiry into the grievances of the Civil Servants "retrenched" since the grant of self-government. Turning to Natal, he deprecated any condemnation of the proclamation of martial law without full information, and declared that martial law had never been enforced more leniently. Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, in his reply, traversed most of Mr. Lyttelton's contentions. The best public opinion of Hong-Kong, and the Governor, agreed with the course proposed by the Government. Mr. Lyttelton while at the Colonial Office had "come two croppers"—on the Ceylon pearl contract and Chinese labour—yet he persisted in returning to these topics. As far as the Ceylon pearl contract had gone, the bargain was very bad. As to Natal, it was part of Mr. Chamberlain's bargain regarding Dinizulu that this chief's salary should not be withdrawn without the consent of the British Government. That Government had decided to pay the salary, partly because it was unfair to withdraw a salary when most wanted, partly because they were threatened with legal proceedings, and though they would have welcomed an adverse verdict, the speeches made would have attacked the Natal Government and caused native unrest. The trial of Dinizulu by a special court would be a fairer method of procedure than by a jury. The Indemnity Act would not prejudice his status, and he hoped there would be no attempt in the House to ask for its disallowance. The Government would welcome federation or unification of South Africa, and would do their utmost to give due dignity to the coming Conference. He was amazed at Mr. Lyttelton's statement that there was no difference between Chinese labour and black labour from Portuguese East Africa. By a majority of two to one the people of the Transvaal had declared for ending Chinese labour. [Here Mr. Stuart-Wortley (*Hallam, Sheffield*) caused a stormy scene by interjecting, "Yes, after you had promised them a loan of five millions." He refused to withdraw his words.] Places for 68 of the 164 "retrenched" officials had been found by the Colonial Office; and 59 per cent. of the officials appointed by General Botha's Government were English, while 58 per cent. of the railway employees were British-born. The grant of self-government had been a great experiment and its success had been great and surprising.

After a discursive discussion, including Natal, the West

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Indies, and other subjects, Colonel Seely replied, incidentally announcing that a Committee would be appointed to deal with the liquor traffic in West Africa. An amendment designed as a protest against the retrenchment in Natal was lost by 247 to 92. The remaining Civil Service votes were then carried without debate, though some divisions were taken, and the other outstanding votes in Supply were passed also.

[The difficulty as to Dinizulu's salary was settled by the Natal Government undertaking to find an equivalent sum for his defence. This was announced in the House of Commons by Colonel Seely on July 31, and described by him as a satisfactory ending to an unfortunate business. The protest against the sanction by the Crown of the Natal Indemnity Bill, which he had deprecated in advance, was made by Mr. Mackarness and Mr. Greenwood on July 31.]

On the Report of Supply on July 30 a number of points were debated which concerned the Local Government Board—the proposed change in its status, the abuse of motoring, tuberculosis, and unemployment. Mr. Long condemned police traps for motorists, and urged that the police should pay attention to public safety and not to speed exclusively. Signposts should be set up near roadside cottages, asking motorists to drive slowly, so as to abate the dust which was ruining the cottagers' gardens. Other members agreed in condemning the motor nuisance; and Mr. T. A. Herbert (*Bucks, S.*) suggested that no car should be licensed if geared to go more than twenty miles an hour. Unemployment was dealt with by Mr. Summerbell (*Sunderland*) and others, and loans for municipal works by Mr. Harmood-Banner (*Everton, Liverpool*); tuberculosis had been referred to by Mr. Long. Replying, Mr. John Burns intimated that the Cabinet were considering the proposed raising of the status of the Board and of its President, and that an interchange of duties between several departments was also contemplated. He agreed in the main with the views expressed regarding motors, and was not favourable to the employment of police scouts. Some 10,000 signposts had been set up by local authorities giving warning of dangers, and the Board had issued a circular asking local authorities to widen roads at dangerous corners and reduce the height of hedges. Mechanical contrivances for keeping down speed could be tampered with. He was sending an expert to the Conference on Road Construction and Maintenance at Paris, and he had asked the Motor Association to consider the abandonment of armoured, studded tyres. Public opinion was hardening against selfish motorists, and if they did not behave themselves he would have to take steps to keep them in order. He did not wish to extend the reference and scope of the Tuberculosis Commission because he thought enough money and time had been spent, but the farm and laboratory provided by Lord Blyth's generosity might be carried on. Consumption, he thought, was largely due to low-wages and

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poor food and housing, but we were ahead both of other countries and of our own position thirty years ago. As to the unemployed, he explained in detail what had been done, and said there had been no complaint of lack of promptitude on the part of the department. He did not think the outlook was so gloomy as some members expected, but he had, on occasion, to be firm in resisting appeals, for one could not administer an Unemployed Workmen Act so as to satisfy sentimentalists. He was not going to be driven into foolish courses by panic-mongers or political mischief-makers. The administration of the Act had been conducted with sympathy and reasonable moral courage.

Sir Charles Dilke drew attention to the increased employment of girls on machinery, and the need of enforcing the law regulating the employment of children; and Mr. Atherley-Jones laid stress on various evils exhibited in the Report of the Police Commission (p. 155), while Sir Henry Craik complained of undue laxity in licensing motor omnibuses. [The nuisance caused by these in the City had been the subject of a Mansion House meeting and a deputation to the Home Secretary on July 14; but Mr. Gladstone had said the existing law was sufficient, and had mentioned that they were used by 200,000,000 passengers annually in the City alone.] In a brief reply Mr. Gladstone mentioned that the Government had never doubted the efficiency of the police force, and that he would not have consented to the inquiry had it not been pressed on him by the Chief Commissioner in the interest of his men. London was proud of the remarkable testimony of the Commission to the character and efficiency of the force.

The reports of the resolutions of votes in Supply were then passed without debate, but with a few divisions, and the Appropriation Bill was introduced.

The debate on the second reading of this measure next day (July 30) gave Mr. Balfour an opportunity for reviewing the conduct of business by the Government. He contrasted their use of the guillotine in Supply with Mr. Asquith's condemnation of that device in October, 1905, pointing out that in 1907 53,000,000*l.* of public expenditure had been left undebated, and complaining that Supply debates had been curtailed to find time for the Licensing Bill, presumably because Ministers had to show their temperance supporters that they were in earnest. That the Education Vote had been left undiscussed was almost a scandal, and the time allowed for the Irish Estimates had been curtailed; opportunity had been refused for a debate on the Chief Secretary's salary, so that the administration of Ireland could not be properly discussed. The arrangement had been made for the convenience of the Nationalist party, who were coming into a kind of subordinate alliance with the Radical party at large [Nationalist dissent]. Each of these parties, Mr. Balfour continued, was trying to keep its supporters from breaking with the other over Home Rule, so that the National-

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ists could scarcely be independent critics of the Government. Disorder in Ireland was shown by the returns to be increasing, and cattle-drivers were now merely bound over to keep the peace, and in only one case had the recognisances been escheated. Though large sums were required for extra police, the Government would not use the Crimes Act. Though there was no apparent danger of international complications, yet there was acute general disquietude, which he attributed to the financial outlook. Considering the price of Consols, the effect on the public of the debates on finance, the vast commitments of the Government, and the contradictory statements as to national armament, the prevalent uneasiness was justified. He hoped next year the Government would redeem its pledges as to the maintenance of the national armaments.

Mr. Asquith replied that he saw no signs of the disquietude in the House. [Few members were present, and there was an air of apathy among them.] Consols were higher than a year ago. Would members, after three years of Liberal Government, change places as to national credit with any other country in the world? Did the Opposition leader mean to suggest that the Navy was not in a position of unassailable superiority? Such unfounded insinuations did harm abroad. He thought the dignity and efficiency of the House had been vindicated by the Liberal party. They had provided a plan, after full examination, for dealing with the abuse of blocking motions, and, had they had Mr. Balfour's assurance that it was generally accepted, it would now have been in force. The Education Vote would have been discussed if a discussion had been desired, and this was the fifth debate on Irish administration. He protested good-humouredly against Mr. Balfour's description of the Nationalists, and pointed out that thirty-three Government Bills and fifteen private members' Bills had been passed. He recognised the loyal co-operation of both sides of the House, and thought it might look back to five months of fruitful legislative work.

Subsequently Mr. Birrell defended himself vigorously against Mr. Balfour's criticism. He admitted the increase of crime in parts of Ireland, but some of the crimes were not agrarian, but arose out of disputes between recipients of land, who exaggerated the value of landholding. Elsewhere the increase was due to the passion of the people for the grass lands, which the Dudley Commission had said should be broken up. Unionist land legislation had done much to demoralise the people by creating the belief that England backed their desire to divide the grass lands. He defended his decision to keep to the ordinary law. Cattle-driving had become difficult to deal with because it was carried on at night, and the offenders frequently could not be caught. Binding over had produced very good results. He appealed to the Irish leaders to influence their followers to abate the practice.

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The subsequent debate included some further discussion of Irish matters and of the details of the administrative action of the Board of Education.

Mr. Balfour, in his review of the causes for disquietude, had referred to a speech made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer before the seventeenth Universal Peace Congress, representing 280 societies and 22 different nationalities, which sat in London from July 27 to July 31. The King received a deputation with an address expressing profound gratitude for his efforts in promoting peace in Europe, and, in reply, declared that peace among the nations was the surest and most direct means by which humanity might be enabled to realise its noblest ideals. A Christian Conference at Caxton Hall which preceded the opening meeting received an address of sympathy from the Bishops in session at Lambeth, and was addressed by the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Horton of Hampstead, and other religious leaders. At the inaugural meeting a letter was read from Mr. Balfour, expressing his sympathy with the aim of the Congress. Lord Courtney of Penwith, in his Presidential address, dwelt on the interdependence of peace and justice, and indicated that the aim of the movement was to regulate disputes between nations by international law and international tribunals, and to promote better understanding between the nations; and, at a public meeting at Queen's Hall (July 28), he illustrated the falsity of the superstition of the "inevitableness" of war by reference to "Queen Victoria's Letters" and the "Life of Delane." Mr. Lloyd-George followed, and, amid repeated interruption from women suffragists, who were successively ejected, mentioned that war with France was supposed to be "inevitable" in 1853, and ridiculed the Anglo-German war scare. Great Britain had started it by building *Dreadnoughts*, and though the German Army was as vital to the defence of Germany as our Navy to us, yet Germany had not a two-Power standard on land. Could not the nations give up spending 400,000,000*l.* a year in means of destruction, and rescue humanity from its sufferings from intemperance, ignorance, crime and disease? On Friday, July 31, a dinner was given to the members of the Congress at the Hotel Cecil by Mr. Lewis Harcourt on behalf of the Government. Mr. Asquith, the principal speaker, said that he was not much impressed by the argument that war was now too costly to undertake. Armaments were meant to be used, and at some moment a sudden outburst of passion might bring them into use. In some ways there had been real progress—in international agreements for arbitration, the demarcation of spheres of influence, the development of commercial intercourse, and the substitution (attended, however, with great difficulties) of international litigation for the barbarous methods of slaughter and conquest; and he laid stress on the effect of moral influences in promoting international peace. Lord Courtney of Penwith and several foreign delegates also spoke. The Congress closed on

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August 1, and a Labour demonstration in sympathy with it was held in Trafalgar Square on that day.

The House of Commons, meanwhile, had prepared for an intermission of its labours. On July 31, after the Lords' amendments to the Old Age Pensions Bill and the Irish University Bill had been dealt with (pp. 177, 176), Mr. Asquith moved a resolution providing that the House should adjourn from August 1 to October 12, and that its whole time in the autumn session should be reserved for Government business. In reply to expostulations from Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, he intimated that the adjournment might be moved to discuss matters of urgent public importance on any days except those allotted to the Licensing Bill, that a day for a vote of censure would be given if demanded by the Opposition leader, and that if discussion on any topic represented to be of real interest was demanded by a number of members, arrangements would be made for its discussion. The session would not extend beyond Christmas.

The usual miscellaneous discussion followed. Asiatic immigration into the Colonies having been spoken of by Mr. A. E. W. Mason (*Coventry*), Colonel Seely emphasised the importance of the question for the Empire, pointing out, however, that the Colonies were free to exclude Asiatics if they chose. But certain principles might be laid down; Asiatics, if admitted, must eventually receive civil rights; and when admitted they should be treated well and fairly. The Imperial Secretariate would let each Colony know what the others were doing. The Government fully appreciated the manner in which the Canadian Government had met them, and believed that the same fine spirit would be shown by the other self-governing Colonies.

Other matters touched on were the hop industry, the alleged delay in obtaining small holdings, the distress in Glasgow, and the unemployed problem. This latter subject was again raised by Mr. Crooks on the third reading of the Appropriation Bill next day, as was the question of assent to the Natal Indemnity Bill (p. 183), but without much result. The Royal Assent was given by Commission to about 160 Bills, and both Houses adjourned until October 12.

The close of the session was immediately followed by the loss of another Ministerial seat, that at Haggerston (Shoreditch), vacated by the death of Sir W. R. Cremer, the well-known advocate of international arbitration. Mr. Rupert Guinness, the Unionist candidate, was returned by a majority of 1,143 over the Liberal candidate, and got 157 more votes than those given to his Liberal and Socialist opponents combined. The result was claimed as a victory for Tariff Reform, though the Licensing and Education Bills—the latter alienating the Catholics—were at least subsidiary factors.

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CHAPTER V.

THE SUMMER RECESS AND THE AUTUMN SESSION.

THE echoes of the session were heard in a few Bank Holiday speeches, notably those of Mr. Long at Huntingdon and Mr. Wyndham in the Duke of Westminster's park at Eaton, near Chester, but the speakers dealt only with such well-worn themes as the Licensing Bill, Tariff Reform, and the need of increased naval strength. The naval alarmists, however, were partly answered by the remarkable voyage of H.M.S. *Indomitable*, bringing the Prince of Wales from Quebec at an average speed of twenty-six knots per hour. This performance drew attention to the value of this new class of cruiser-battleships, which, as *The Times* pointed out, possessed more armament than an armoured cruiser and more speed than a battleship, and were likely to be of the highest value both for purposes of reconnaissance and for actual warfare. To the Tariff Reformers a more comprehensive answer was offered by the International Free-Trade Congress, the first of its kind, which had been organised by the Cobden Club, and met in London from August 4 to 7. It was attended by 500 delegates from various countries, among them Professor Sumner of Yale, Mr. Franklin Pierce, and Mr. Joseph Fels from the United States; MM. Yves Guyot, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and Emile Ollivier from France, Signor E. E. Moneta from Italy, and Professor Brentano, Herr Georg Gothein and Dr. Theodor Barth from Germany. At the opening ceremony Mr. Winston Churchill, President of the Board of Trade, in welcoming the delegates, laid stress on the advantages claimed for Great Britain as the result of her Free-Trade policy, and insisted that international peace was preserved and strengthened mainly by the increase of international commerce, and that it was powerfully promoted by Free Trade. The same theses were developed by the Prime Minister at a dinner at the Hotel Cecil on the same evening. He laid stress on the existence of internal Free Trade over vast areas, notably within the United States and the German Empire, and ridiculed the common delusions of Tariff Reformers that English Free Traders were influenced solely by the Cobden tradition, or were slaves of an economic formula. Free Trade, he pointed out, had been adopted in England as an economic necessity, to give us the necessary food and raw materials; and in fifty years the imports of raw wool had nearly quadrupled, and the imports of raw cotton had just doubled. No sane Free Trader held that we could keep as far ahead of our great industrial rivals as we had been fifty years before, nor that foreign tariffs did not injure our trade; but we must still "fight hostile tariffs with free imports." Moreover, during these recent years of exceptional prosperity, our financial system had pro-

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vided sufficient revenue to enable us to remit taxation and reduce debt. That could not be said of our rivals. We were now entering on a period of comparative depression, and might have to suspend the reduction of debt and to impose fresh taxation; but there was no reason to doubt that Free-Trade finance would stand the strain of social reform. At any rate, none of the yield of taxation would be diverted to serve the purposes of privileged interests. In domestic politics, Free Trade was on the side of public as against private interests, on the international side, it was bound up with the interests of peace.

Effective speeches were also made at this dinner by M. Yves Guyot, Herr Barth, and Mr. Martin, K.C., a Canadian delegate; and many valuable papers were read on the days following, notably by Herr Gothein, Signor Giretti, M. Yves Guyot, and Mr. Franklin Pierce, the last-named dealing especially with the political immorality and corruption promoted by the Tariff policy of the United States. At the close a committee was appointed to arrange for another congress to meet in 1910 at the Hague, Brussels or Antwerp, and to promote international Free Trade. The proceedings were published in a massive volume, and the Congress, though rather sneered at by Tariff Reformers as uttering "jeremiads," as "academic," and as showing a certain division of opinion between British and foreign Free Traders, undoubtedly provided a fresh stock of ammunition for use against Tariff Reform. It was followed by an International Constitution Congress (Aug. 7-8) for the study of the Constitutions of various countries, which had no direct bearing on current politics, and the week also saw an International Art Congress, which, of course, was wholly unpolitical. Other Congresses of considerable interest, which were held later, were that on the History of Religions at Oxford (Sept. 15-18), which was purely scholarly and scientific, but was marked by one sensational paper questioning the belief that the Founder of Christianity was of Jewish race; and the Moral Education Congress (Sept. 25-30), at South Kensington, at the latter of which many British, Colonial and foreign educational experts, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Agnostic, discussed the various means of giving ethical training with or without religious instruction. The papers read at this congress were published in a Blue Book.

But of all Congresses held in this year of international assemblages in London, the first in interest and importance was the Pan-Anglican (p. 141), with its sequel the Episcopal Conference. The latter closed on August 6 with a solemn service at St. Paul's Cathedral. Some 200 Bishops walked in procession through the nave, which was thronged by a congregation comprising all classes of society and many foreign visitors; and, entering the choir, listened to a sermon by the venerable Bishop (Tuttle) of Missouri, the presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and then

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received the Communion. Probably no more impressive ceremony had ever been witnessed in the history of the Church of England.

The seventy-eight resolutions passed by the Episcopal Conference were published on August 7, and were introduced by an Encyclical Letter signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of the 243 Archbishops and diocesan or suffragan Bishops who had taken part in the deliberations.

This document, after describing the procedure, which had secured thorough and repeated consideration of the resolutions, dwelt on the vitality of the spirit of service, as seen in the revival of missionary enterprise and the enlarged recognition of social responsibility exhibited at the Congress. "Round this central thought of service" the Encyclical grouped its review of the resolutions passed. In regard to the service of God, these reaffirmed the historic facts of the Creeds as essential to the Faith; they insisted on the need of providing more and better trained candidates for Orders; and on the maintenance of religious education and the creation of Church secondary schools. The separate organisation of Churches on a basis of race or colour was condemned; the training of Churches for local self-government was recommended, together with the creation of a native episcopate. The adoption of native forms of marriage was permitted, provided they could be brought into conformity with Christian principles. Lines were laid down for the revision of the Prayer-book by different branches of the Anglican Church and autonomy was proclaimed in regard to the Athanasian Creed. Attention was significantly called to the dangers threatening the sanctity of the family and the growing evil of the restriction of its numbers, and the re-marriage of an innocent party in a divorce suit was so far tolerated that, while a religious sanction was discountenanced, the Communion was not to be refused after such re-marriage. Special attention was called to the need of paying heed to morality in investment (p. 143). The opium trade was dealt with, the growth of a spirit hostile to war was thankfully acknowledged, and stress was laid on the need for the promotion of Sunday observance. The Central Consultative Body was reconstructed, and a series of resolutions, too long to summarise here, contemplated intercommunion (it may loosely be said, in various degrees) with the Eastern Churches, with the Old Catholic Churches of the Continent, with the Church of Sweden, and with the Moravian body. The Encyclical closed with an earnest hope for Christian unity.

A memorandum by the Archbishop on the allotment on the thankoffering (p. 143) was published on August 11. Of the total, about 345,000*l.*, 125,000*l.* was marked for specific purposes by the donors; it was intimated that the rest would mainly be spent on educational needs in the Colonies, China, India and Japan.

In a letter to the Canterbury *Diocesan Gazette*, published

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September 1, the Primate said that the expectations of his New Year's letter (p. 1) had been fulfilled. The attendance at the Congress and the circulation of the papers had been unparalleled and the interest shown had been wide and deep. He looked forward to the devising of means for retaining this interest and making it fruitful. The Encyclical and the resolutions had been awaited as authoritative pronouncements on current controversies. The Lambeth Conference, however, was deliberative, not legislative, and the responsibility for action or formal direction rested with each local administrative body. But the great value of the decennial Conferences lay in the more comprehensive view of Church affairs, and in the association of Churchmen at home with the pioneers at the outposts, which was an invaluable inspiration for their daily work and daily prayers.

The week following the issue of the Encyclical saw the repetition of what had come to be the annual visit of King Edward to the German and Austrian Emperors. On his way to Marienbad, the King spent a day at Cronberg with Wilhelm II. (August 11) and was received most cordially. He went on that evening to Ischl, and spent the next day with Francis Joseph, by whom he was entertained at a State banquet, at which toasts of the most cordial character were exchanged. Both meetings were apparently of domestic rather than political interest, but it was believed and hoped that the first had helped to promote a better Anglo-German understanding; while a political character was given to the second by an interview between Sir Charles Hardinge and Baron von Aehrenthal. It was semi-officially stated that both Governments agreed in adopting an attitude of benevolent expectancy towards the Turkish revolution—a statement which read oddly when contrasted with the attitude towards the close of the year of the Austro-Hungarian Government and the Vienna Press. As before (p. 128) some dissatisfaction was expressed in England at the absence of any responsible British Minister from this interview, but there was no doubt that Sir Charles Hardinge, the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, spoke the mind of his chief.

The supposed antagonism of Great Britain and Germany was the leading theme of a vigorous speech delivered by the President of the Board of Trade at a miners' demonstration at Swansea on Saturday, August 15—at which, owing to the announcement that morning of his impending marriage, he received a specially hearty welcome. After urging the miners to make their Eight Hours Bill (p. 145) a success by showing that it would not raise the price of coal, he intimated that additional safeguards for the working classes, and especially for their poorer strata, against accidents and dangers were much needed, and that the provision of these would be considered by the Government in the light of the coming Report of the Poor

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Law Commission. He then referred sympathetically to the Turkish revolution, and went on to deplore the language about Anglo-German relations used by the Earl of Cromer (p. 171) and by Mr. Robert Blatchford, a prominent Socialist writer, in the *Clarion*. [The latter had described the German Navy as a menace which could be intended for no other country than Great Britain.] Mr. Churchill utterly repudiated the notion that an Anglo-German war was inevitable. All British parties were pledged to effective naval defence against invasion; and there was nowhere any collision of German and British interests. It was never worth while fighting for the sake of trade; the status of the great self-governing Colonies and India would be unchanged even after a British defeat; there was nothing else to fight about except tropical plantations and scattered coaling stations; the war party in Germany did not number 10,000, and in England it existed only in lunatic asylums and on the staff of the *National Review*. After laying stress on the King's work as a peacemaker and on the international solidarity of the working classes, and extolling the "strong, patient, industrious German people," he appealed to his audience to help to end the "unreal and nonsensical antagonism" of older date which was artificially kept up between England and Ireland.

Two or three days earlier Mr. Lloyd-George, who was in Germany in order to study workmen's insurance and other social institutions, had incautiously allowed himself to be interviewed by a reporter of the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, and had warmly advocated an Anglo-German understanding. Various unauthorised reports of his further efforts in this direction were circulated, some of them based on remarks ascribed to his secretary; and, while Sir A. Acland-Hood (Aug. 28) and the *Spectator* deprecated speech on foreign politics by any Ministers except the Foreign Secretary and the Premier, the *Standard* treated Mr. Lloyd-George's and Mr. Churchill's utterances as indicating an effort to undermine the position of Sir Edward Grey—a misrepresentation promptly and vigorously denounced by Mr. Churchill in the *Daily Chronicle*. This latter paper collected a number of opinions from statesmen and merchants strongly deprecating an Anglo-German war, and also pointed out that Mr. Churchill had been merely paraphrasing and confirming Sir Edward Grey's speech of a fortnight before (p. 181). Mr. Blatchford, whose language was condemned by the Labour leaders in Parliament, defended himself by saying that he was referring to a war party in Germany, and not to the German people.

This controversy, however, so far as the Press was concerned, was a mere incident of the holiday season. It may here be noted, however, that the training of the territorial forces in August in various camps gave very encouraging results, and that some of the artillery batteries astonished skilled observers by their rapid progress—a significant fact in view of the

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predictions of the futility of that arm (p. 64). A Parliamentary paper on the comparative naval strengths of different countries, issued on August 28, showed that in regard to numbers of battleships less than twenty-five years old, armoured cruisers of less than twenty years old, and destroyers, Great Britain had more than any two of the other leading naval Powers together. A return showing the naval expenditure of the principal Powers, and their annual new construction expressed in tonnage, gave results at once less definite and less reassuring.

The political utterances of the recess dealt, as usual, with themes already worn threadbare in the session. At a Primrose League demonstration at Stockton-on-Tees on August 29 the Marquess of Londonderry denounced the Education and Licensing Bills as robbery, and the latter as Socialism; and Lord Hugh Cecil upheld parental rights and "the right of entry" in education. A similar line had been taken on the previous day by Sir A. Acland-Hood at Wellington, Somerset. The opposition to the Licensing Bill, however, had caused Mr. Cameron Corbett (*Tradeston, Glasgow*), a Free-Trade Unionist, to secede from his party; and his constituents did not ask him to resign his seat. At a luncheon given to Mr. Franklin Pierce (p. 188) by the Unionist Free-Trade Club of Glasgow, a letter was read from Lord Balfour of Burleigh, remarking that Mr. Chamberlain's prediction in the speech in Glasgow which started the crusade, that the Colonies would not attempt to start competing industries, had been falsified by the new Australian tariff, and that no answer had yet been given by Tariff Reformers to the question, What articles are to be taxed? The guest of the occasion closed his speech by a prediction that the United States would some day adopt Free Trade, and would then "beat the boots off" Great Britain.

At the Trade Union Congress, which opened at Nottingham on September 7, the President, Mr. Shackleton, indicated that the Trade Unions would endeavour to reduce the pension age to sixty, expressed the readiness of the Labour party to enter into a contest with the House of Lords if the latter should reject the Licensing Bill, and urged the stoppage of overtime as a remedy for unemployment, also advocating the Unemployed Workmen Bill (p. 62). Meantime, he held, the existing Unemployed Act should be used to the full. He condemned the German scare, and laid stress on the tendency of labour movements to promote international peace. Of the resolutions passed, one called for legislative action in view of the increasing number of accidents from motor traffic, which had attracted considerable attention in the Press; another censured Messrs. John Burns, Maddison, and Vivian for their opposition to the Unemployed Workmen Bill; another condemned the action of English "blacklegs" in foreign labour disputes. A resolution in favour of compulsory arbitration in trade disputes was rejected; another, demanding State aid for the out-of-work benefit granted by trade

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unions was carried, though after considerable opposition, as was a resolution in favour of the "secular solution" in education. The important announcement was made that the Home Secretary had promised a Royal Commission to inquire into universal compulsory insurance; and there was a warm discussion on the industrial methods of the Salvation Army.

Altogether, it was an anxious time for Labour. The engineering dispute had continued on the north-east coast (p. 112), the men refusing to return to work unless the notice of reduction of their wages was withdrawn. Further negotiations had taken place in August, and at the invitation of the executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers the President of the Board of Trade had resumed his efforts at conciliation. As the result of his conference with the employers, on September 9, the men were advised to agree to resume work at the reduction, it being agreed that no further reduction should take place for six months, and that a conference should be held of representatives of employers and employed after the resumption, to consider such an amendment of the procedure in wages questions as would avoid stoppages of work. These terms were sanctioned, on a ballot of the men, by 4,609 votes against 3,739, and work was resumed on September 24.

Another serious dispute had broken out in the cotton trade meanwhile. On July 24 the master cotton spinners had decided to reduce wages by 5 per cent.; on August 4, at a conference with the men's representatives, the latter had refused to recommend the acceptance of the reduction; on the 20th, notice was given that wages would be reduced from September 21, and it was understood that non-acceptance would be met by a lock-out; but the reduction was refused on ballot by an overwhelming majority of both the spinners and the cardroom workers, and, after ineffectual negotiations for a postponement of the reduction until January, the mills were closed on September 21. The stoppage affected, directly or indirectly, some 120,000 work-people at the mills, mainly at Bolton and Oldham, but also at other Lancashire towns; while thousands of weavers were also thrown out of work for want of yarn. The dispute was not settled until November.

To avoid the recurrence of such crises, the President of the Board of Trade issued a memorandum (Sept. 15) marking an important advance in the mechanism of industrial conciliation. To consolidate, expand, and popularise the working of the Conciliation Act of 1896, he proposed to set up a Court of three members, nominated by the Board of Trade respectively from panels of employers, workmen, and "persons of eminence and impartiality," the chairmen being chosen from the last-named category. This constitution, he hoped, would meet the usual objection in cases of arbitration and conciliation in labour disputes, that the arbitrator did not understand the men's position. If the parties desired, the Court might be increased to five

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members by the nomination of two employers and two workmen. A provisional list of the panels in the *Labour Gazette* for November mentioned, among eminent persons who had consented to serve, the Duke of Devonshire, Viscounts Selby and St. Aldwyn, Lord James of Hereford, and Lords Balfour of Burleigh, Macdonnell, and Lochee on the chairmen's panel, Lord Pirrie, Lord Glantawe, Sir Hugh Bell, Sir C. Furness, and Mr. A. Siemens on that of the employers, and some half-dozen Labour members of Parliament on that of the workmen.

These troubles in highly organised trades, however, stood quite apart from the main question of unemployment, which was taking an increasingly menacing form in many provincial towns. In Glasgow, a demonstration outside the City Council Chamber was followed by an attempt to enter, which was stopped by the aid of the police. A deputation was admitted, which found the Council's reply to its demands unsatisfactory; and on Saturday, September 5, Prince Arthur of Connaught was hooted when departing to review the Boys' Brigade after a luncheon in the city buildings, though the demonstration was against the luncheon rather than the Prince. Midnight marches were talked of, and there was a Sunday parade of unemployed; but the men were somewhat mollified by a promise from the Lord Provost that Glasgow would maintain its reputation for generous conduct, and there was no disturbance. In several provincial towns the unemployment was acutely felt, and the "Hunger Marchers," who had walked from Manchester to London, held a meeting on Tower Hill which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Stewart Gray and another leader (Sept. 10) and the imposition of trifling fines for obstructing the traffic.

Labour troubles, however, had no direct influence on party politics. It was not so with the Eucharistic Congress, which unfortunately for all concerned attracted little general attention until it actually met in London (Sept. 10-14). Similar assemblies had been held for many years in various Continental cities, and had concerned only Roman Catholics; but the meeting, unlike the other Congresses of the autumn, aimed at demonstrative worship as well as deliberation and study, and thus roused the energies of aggressive Protestantism. A Pastoral Letter from the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, read in all the churches in his diocese on Sunday, August 25, intimated that its supreme aim was the promotion of the adoration of the Mass, and that it was an act of reparation for the English Reformation. Nevertheless, outside Roman Catholic and ultra-Protestant circles, little notice was taken until the programme was announced of the splendid "Eucharistic Procession" which was to traverse about a mile of streets in the neighbourhood of the Westminster Cathedral on Sunday, September 13. The Host was to be carried in a gold monstrance by Cardinal Vannutelli, the Papal Legate, under a canopy; he was to be the centre of a splendid procession of

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ecclesiastics in their sacramental vestments, and the Cardinals were to wear their scarlet robes. Certain Protestant societies, however, had obtained, and now published, counsel's opinion that the carrying of the Host, and the wearing of their vestments in the streets by priests and members of religious orders, were illegal under the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, under a penalty of 50*l.* for each transgressor, for which, however, only the Attorney-General could sue; and that a deliberate breach of the law might lead to a breach of the peace. These societies also telegraphed a petition against the procession to the King (who was staying with Lord Savile for the Doncaster race week at Rufford Abbey) and asked various Peers and members of Parliament to use their influence with the Government against it. The Press commonly regarded the procession as ill-advised, but thought that the law was a dead letter; and the Cardinal Archbishop disclaimed all desire to wound the susceptibilities of any one, and explained that he had not consented to the procession until he found that it was not objected to by the police. However, at a mass meeting at the Albert Hall on Saturday evening, September 12, he announced that all elements of ecclesiastical ceremonial would be eliminated. This statement, which was quite unexpected, caused keen disappointment, and Mr. Belloc, M.P., who was present, at once predicted that the intervention of the Government would cost them very dear.

Correspondence subsequently published showed that on Thursday morning, September 10, the Cardinal Archbishop received a private intimation [through the Marquess of Ripon] that the Prime Minister [who was in Scotland] desired the abandonment of the procession. He telegraphed and wrote that he could not alter the arrangements unless allowed to say that he did so at the desire of the Prime Minister, and added in his letter: (1) that similar processions [on a smaller scale] frequently took place unhindered; (2) that the police said that there was no danger; (3) that the procession was the only means of admitting all Catholics to participate in the Congress; (4) that very quiet streets had been chosen; (5) that the change would offend the foreign Bishops. The Home Secretary then wrote asking the Archbishop to secure conformity with the law. The Archbishop, after communication with the Home Office, replied that he would abandon the ceremonial if authorised to state that he did so at the Prime Minister's request. Mr. Asquith then telegraphed the collective opinion of the Government that, in the interest of order and good feeling, it would be better to abandon the proposed ceremonial, the legality of which was open to question.

The procession, therefore, was shorn of much of its splendour, but nevertheless it was profoundly impressive, and was watched by dense and sympathetic crowds, who were by no means all Roman Catholics. The members of religious orders carried

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their vestments instead of wearing them; the Bishops were in Court dress, the Cardinals in scarlet; the secular priests were surpliced; and the Benediction of the Host was given from the balcony of the cathedral. Only one trifling attempt at disturbance was reported; but it was rumoured that, but for the alteration in its character, attempts would have been made by Protestant zealots to break it up. The Press generally approved of the Ministerial intervention, regretting, however, that it had come so late; and its first results were to detach Irish Nationalists from the Government, and to send the Irish vote at Newcastle to the Unionist side.

The Congress called out great enthusiasm among the participants, and was incidentally marked by an interesting ecclesiastical ceremony, the celebration of Mass in Westminster Cathedral according to the Byzantine rite; by a great procession of 17,000 children, who were reviewed by the Papal Legate, and by the revival of the protests against the form of the Royal declaration relating to the Mass. But it was resented by many English High Churchmen, inasmuch as it represented the Roman Church as the sole custodian of the doctrine of the Real Presence; and its constant presentation as an act of reparation for the apostacy of England was hardly favourable to the Roman Catholic cause.

The bye-election at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Sept. 24) caused by the death of Mr. Cairns, the Liberal member, seemed likely at first to result in a split between the Liberal and Labour parties in the constituency, the latter, who already held one of the seats, desiring to run a candidate and so secure the second. A conference of the Executive of the Labour Representation Committee, held at Nottingham, induced the Labour candidate, Mr. Stephenson, to withdraw; but a Socialist, Mr. Hartley, took his place. Mr. Renwick, an ex-member for the city, was the Unionist candidate and preached Tariff Reform; the Nationalist vote was willingly given to him, on a mandate from the central office, as a censure on the interference of the Government with the Eucharistic Procession; and Mr. Renwick won the seat, though his poll was lower than those of the Liberal and Socialist combined. Even though Newcastle had been a fickle constituency, this result was a serious blow to the Ministry.

The same cannot be said of the great demonstration of "the Trade" against the Licensing Bill in Hyde Park on Sunday, September 27. It was, indeed, very orderly; its members were brought up from all parts of the country by seventy special trains; and it contained a large respectable element, together with some who, according to the *Westminster Gazette*, "seemed bent on demonstrating the extreme unwisdom of the indulgence which they claimed"; while others again "seemed as if specially chosen to illustrate the ravages of drink on the human frame." The numbers were variously estimated at from 100,000 to 500,000; many members of Parliament, though none of them

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very prominent, addressed them; and a condemnatory resolution was carried amid loud cheers. But the desecration of Sunday gave much offence, and the behaviour of the crowds in the Strand that evening recalled "Mafeking night."

Two days later Mr. Haldane, speaking at a demonstration at Perth in support of the Bill, said that the Government felt bound to go forward with it and repeated the current Liberal explanation (p. 89) of the fall in brewery stocks; he claimed also that the Bill put down those clubs which had become mere agencies for the sale of drink.

The Bill, of course, did not apply to Scotland; but nearly three weeks later (Oct. 15) the Prime Minister told a Scottish temperance deputation that the conditions in that country were riper than in England for a large and effective licensing measure, and that the Government hoped to deal with the question during the existing Parliament.

The carrying out of the Old Age Pensions Act had begun by the issue of an official circular early in August; and on September 24 the application forms were given out at all post offices, and proved, in some places, inadequate to the demand. In the Midlands and the North of England the applicants could generally fill up the forms themselves; in the South and in Ireland the officials had to give a good deal of assistance. Many found it difficult to prove their age; some clergymen helped the movement by giving certified extracts from the parish registers free of charge; and in some towns subscriptions were raised to keep applicants from disqualifying themselves by receiving parish relief while awaiting their pensions. Some Liberal organisations had attempted to facilitate applications; but their interference had been condemned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons and was discontinued. Many old soldiers were among the applicants.

The end of the holiday season brought the usual multitude of platform speeches, but only a few can be noticed here. At the Welsh National Liberal Convention at Swansea (Oct. 1), Mr. Lloyd-George declared that the Government would go steadily forward. He intimated that Welsh Disestablishment was in sight, indicated that the Old Age Pensions Bill was only a beginning, and said that poverty might be dealt with partly by cutting off temptation by such measures as the Street Betting Bill and Licensing Bill, but partly it was due to economic causes over which the chief sufferers had no control. Proper provision for aged, infirm and unfortunate toilers ought to be a first charge on the wealth of the land. It was said that capital would flee the country, but where was it to go? All classes were not taking their fair share of the burden. He could name twelve men whose average income during the worst days of depression would suffice to maintain 50,000 workmen and their families for a month; yet they would probably all be on Tariff Reform platforms advocating the taxation of

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bread as a remedy for unemployment. The Liberal party had done something to relieve poverty and would yet do more. He vigorously denounced the House of Lords. Mr. Long next day at Dublin described this speech as a series of threats; incidentally defended the Unionist action in regard to the evicted tenants (p. 150) as part of the fulfilment of their land purchase policy, and denounced the laxity of the Government in dealing with disorder in Ireland. Mr. Harcourt, speaking in Rossendale, condemned the German scare, and Mr. Asquith at Earlston, Berwickshire, on October 3, and at Kirkcaldy on October 5, emphasised the Ministerial attitude towards social reform. At Earlston he intimated that the Old Age Pensions Act was only a step towards "a complete reclassification of the subjects of our so-called Poor Law," and elaborately defended the Scottish Land Bill, as one of the means of reaching the causes of unemployment. The population of Scotland, he said, was increasing, yet in twenty years the numbers engaged in cultivating the soil had decreased by 43,650. The supply of farms freely offered in the market was abundant for the purposes of the Bill. The same predictions of disaster had been made when the Crofters Act was under discussion. In receiving the freedom of Kirkcaldy on October 5 he dwelt on the dignity of local service, and the readiness of the best men and women to give up to it an enormous amount of time and labour.

Speaking at Dumfries next day, Mr. Balfour asserted that there was an "almost unexampled" revulsion of feeling in favour of the Unionists, and that Ministers differed as to the way to meet it. Mr. Haldane, he said, took a moderate, conservative line; the Scottish Secretary was ready to join hands with the Independent Labour party; the Chancellor of the Exchequer desired to abolish the hereditary principle, but the country would never tolerate an uncontrolled Second Chamber which was not allowed to debate; the House of Lords, not being elective, had accepted the uncontrolled primacy of the House of Commons—in finance, for example—but an elective Chamber would not, and he would contemplate it with dismay; but there must be some Chamber of review. After attacking the Government for insincerity on Home Rule, he claimed that social reform had always been the Conservative and Unionist policy, and charged the Government with reckless irresponsibility in their measures. The Old Age Pensions Bill was a piecemeal reform, undertaken hastily and to catch votes. The Licensing Bill he denounced as the greatest injury ever done to public morality. Intemperance had increased in Scotland since public-house hours in the great towns had been shortened. The Government had rushed in without looking at the facts. He denounced the Scottish Land Bill as conflicting with the experience of the civilised world, and declared himself a profound believer in the effects of fiscal reform in promoting the unity of the Empire, the stability of trade, and the growth of

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national industries. But it could not do away with the alternations of affluence and depression. He denounced Mr. Lloyd-George's attack on rich men (falling incidentally, however, into the common fallacy that unproductive expenditure is economically beneficial) and declared that the present Government were destroying confidence and so promoting unemployment.

Mr. Asquith replied to this speech next day at Leven, in his own constituency of East Fife. He ridiculed Mr. Balfour's talk about "spoliation" after his association for many years with Mr. Chamberlain, the author of the doctrine of ransom. The Unionist party, and especially Mr. Chamberlain, had very properly directed attention to the old age pension problem about 1895; but, though they then had abounding revenue, they had merely appointed a commission of inquiry. The Liberal Government had first restored order in the national finances, reduced debt, and made taxation more equitable; then they had given old age pensions, a problem which could be dealt with before the issue of the Report of the Poor Law Commission. They had carefully studied the three existing systems, that of Denmark, that of Germany, and that of New Zealand and Australia. He also elaborately defended the Licensing Bill, arguing that Mr. Balfour's treatment of a licence as involving an indefeasible right of property was refuted by his Act of 1904. Scottish opinion was more advanced than English, and a Scottish measure might be more comprehensive and thorough. Both the Old Age Pensions Act and the Licensing Bill went down to the foundation of the Liberal creed, *viz.*, that private and sectional interests must be subordinated to the common interest and the public good.

This speech, however, was of importance mainly through the reference to the crisis in the Near East with which it began. Mr. Asquith spoke with cordial sympathy of the Turkish revolution and the spirit of fraternity which it had developed, and intimated that, according to a Protocol attached to the Treaty of London of 1871, the action of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria would require the assent of the Powers who had signed the Treaty of Berlin. A revision of that Treaty would not be all in one direction, and this Government would do its best to see that the interest and status of Turkey were fully safeguarded. In this England would not stand alone, and he hoped and believed that the resources of diplomacy would be adequate to devise a peaceful solution.

The same line was taken by Sir Edward Grey in a speech at Wooler, Northumberland, on the same evening. Never, he said, had there been a change more sudden and more beneficent than the Turkish revolution. The Government had hoped that Turkey would be undisturbed, and he hoped and thought that there would be no breach of the peace. The British Government, when pressing Macedonian reforms, had always been warned that they would be imperilled by any slighting of the

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Turkish Government; and Great Britain must therefore refuse to recognise the right of any Power or State to alter an international treaty without the consent of the other parties to it, and would use its influence to support the progress of the new Turkish Constitution and Government.

Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking at Lochee on October 8, also dealt with Mr. Balfour's speech at length, and reasserted the Liberal position regarding the House of Lords and Home Rule. But at Dundee next day he dealt specially with unemployment. He enumerated three vicious conditions in the existing industrial system: (1) the lack of any "averaging machinery" to regulate the general course of the labour market, by foreseeing depression and meeting it either by the distribution of Government contracts, or by employing surplus labour on the permanent State industries which ought to exist, *e.g.*, afforestation; (2) the existence of surplus casual labour, employed only in good times; (3) the existing condition of boy labour, the result of which was that 28 per cent. of the applicants under the Unemployed Workmen Act were men between the ages of twenty and thirty. Up to eighteen every boy and girl should be learning a trade as well as earning a living. He thought that the necessary expenditure would be supported by the patriotism which marked the wealthy in Great Britain. Neither Tariff Reform (as Mr. Balfour had admitted) nor Free Trade was a remedy for unemployment, but he did not believe that State intervention would injure self-reliance, foresight and thrift. Thrift, indeed, would be encouraged by the Old Age Pensions Act.

On Saturday, October 10, the Prime Minister wound up the recess campaign by addressing a large Liberal meeting in the Coliseum at Leeds. After a tribute to the Marquess of Ripon on his retirement (p. 206) and a brief reference to the crisis in the Near East, he defended the Old Age Pensions Act from the charge of reckless finance, rebutting the charge on its authors, and pointing out that the reduction on the Army and Navy for the current year was 5,632,000*l.* This would not trench on the national margin of safety; he cited his speech of March 2 (p. 54) and added that, starting with such a margin, they could always keep it intact by watching the shipbuilding of other nations; it was unnecessary to lay down a programme years in advance. They had reduced taxation during his Chancellorship by 7,000,000*l.*; and there was a large untapped reservoir of possible revenue. He went on to speak of the programme of the session. On the Education Bill he was still hopeful of a compromise which should redress the unredressed grievance of rate-aided sectarian teaching without popular control. Of the Licensing Bill he made a detailed defence. The Government had expected a storm, but would not turn back. Its objects were, first, the "immediate, progressive, compulsory, and uniform reduction in licences," and next, the recovery for the

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community of domination in the monopoly value which the community had created. The time-limit was the fairest method, but he hinted that here there might be some reconsideration.

A suffragist demonstration outside the hall resulted in a disturbance and numerous arrests. One man and one woman were tried at Leeds assizes; the latter, refusing to be bound over, was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment on November 20.

Meantime the problem of unemployment had again been forced on public notice. In several places there were demonstrations of the unemployed, notably in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, October 4, where the "Hunger Marchers" held a meeting at which two speakers predicted or advised violence, and passed a resolution demanding land grants as a measure of relief. As a protest against the lack of sympathy shown them, Mr. Stewart Gray asked all who were "unemployed, supperless, or homeless," to refuse to leave the square. They were permitted to remain there until sunset, but as meetings in the square were forbidden after that time they were then moved on by the police, and seven, who resisted or assaulted the police, were next day either bound over to keep the peace or fined with the alternative of imprisonment. The Independent Labour party, at a large meeting at the Scala Theatre on the same evening, demanded additional legislation and Government grants to meet the distress. Efforts were made to cope with it by putting municipal employees on short time, as at Birmingham, or by undertaking repairs and painting usually done at a more suitable season; and the War Office issued a circular suggesting that employers might advise their younger workmen to enlist for six months' immediate training in the Special Reserve.

The Church Congress at Manchester (Oct. 6-9) reflected the general interest in social problems. The opening address of the Bishop, Dr. Knox, described the time as one of economic depression and national despondency, and therefore eminently demanding the attention of a Church Congress. The hopes of the mid-Victorian leaders, he said, had been disappointed. They had not foreseen the growth of the opportunity of the rich to make money without troubling themselves about the workers; the splendid philanthropy of the last century had been disappointed through overlooking the causes of misery inherent in human nature; and from the same quarters there now came visionary schemes of social reconstruction. The barrier to the land of promise was sin; religious efforts alone could remove it; and he looked forward to a great religious revival, comparable to that of the eighteenth century, and taking the form of a mission to the wealthy and prosperous. He hoped for common and concerted action, making for Christian reunion.

The liberality towards Socialistic views shown both in this address and by speakers in a subsequent discussion was remarkable, and there were noteworthy discussions also on factory life and on the moral problems connected with industry and commerce.

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Of more direct political significance were the resolutions passed in the same week at the Congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, condemning recent dismissals and alleged annoyances to members of their body on the part of the companies; and the decision of the Miners' Federation to apply for admission to the Independent Labour party, their existing Parliamentary representatives, however, being exempted from the necessity of accepting its entire constitution, unless standing at bye-elections or until the next general election.

The Tariff Reformers had likewise been at work. The day that Parliament reassembled the *Morning Post* published a statement of "constructive policy," drawn up after consultation among the most influential of the Unionist party (who clearly were not Free Traders), and comprising (1) moderate import duties on all imports except where they would not be worth collecting or would hamper home industry; (2) colonial preference, even before the next Imperial Conference; (3) compulsory military service; (4) as implied in Tariff Reform, the economic rehabilitation of Ireland; (5) reform of the House of Lords, whose function of revision was rendered more necessary than ever by recent developments in Commons' procedure; (6) a new old age pension system, contributory and providing infirmity pensions; (7) wages boards for sweated industries; (8) facilities for the acquisition of the freehold of small holdings by their tenants, with cheapened transfer of land; (9) reform of local taxation, with transfer of national charges to the exchequer; (10) regulation of motor traffic. It was also intimated that education and licensing would have to be dealt with, presumably on the lines hitherto favoured by Unionists.

Both Houses assembled for the autumn session on Monday, October 12; and statements were at once made on the crisis in the Near East. In the House of Lords information was invited by the Marquess of Lansdowne, who incidentally commended Sir Edward Grey's speech at Wooler (p. 200) as "dignified in tone and appropriate in substance"; and Lord Fitzmaurice repeated Mr. Asquith's declaration as to the Protocol of 1871 (*ibid.*). He also expressed his satisfaction that both parties were united in their attitude, and emphasised the compatibility of the support given to the new *régime* in Turkey with the promotion by Great Britain of Macedonian reform. A similar but shorter statement was made by the Prime Minister in the Commons in reply to Mr. Long.

Meanwhile the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Isvolsky, was conferring with Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office (Oct. 9-16), and on Friday, October 16, an authoritative statement was issued to the effect that a complete agreement had been reached between the two Powers as to the measures needed to deal with the situation in the Near East. A conference was necessary, but it should deal only with questions arising from the recent

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violation of the Treaty of Berlin. Provision must be made for effectively compensating Turkey, and for effectively strengthening the new *régime*, and it was to be hoped that compensation would also be given to the smaller Balkan States, though it must not be at the expense of Turkey. The Cretan question would probably be dealt with, though provisionally excluded from the scope of the Conference as a matter primarily to be discussed between Turkey and the four protecting Powers. An informal exchange of ideas among the Powers on these views was requisite. The Dardanelles question would not be submitted to the Conference. It was a question primarily between Russia and Turkey, and Russia entered the Conference as one of the disinterested Powers.

This seemed to indicate the removal of the chief obstacle to the Conference; but the publication by the Havas Agency of a programme which seemed to be, but was not, official, caused some irritation in Austria-Hungary and Germany, and the Conference seemed no nearer at the end of the year. (See Foreign History, Chapters III. and IV.)

Throughout the Eastern crisis it was understood that France was acting with Great Britain; and a minor link in their bonds was forged by the visit of a delegation of French Trade Union officials, sent over by their Government to study labour conditions in Great Britain, who were entertained by Mr. Lewis Harcourt, M.P., on behalf of the Government, at the Whitehall Rooms on October 15. The President of the Board of Trade presided.

The visit was at an anxious time. At Manchester, on October 14, Mr. Churchill had referred to the grave dispute in the cotton trade (p. 194), and on the previous day had given a deputation of the unemployed his sympathy, but intimated that there would be no time for legislation during the autumn session; and the general problem of unemployment, mainly of unskilled labour, had become more and more threatening. On Saturday, October 10, at a demonstration in Trafalgar Square promoted by the Social Democratic Federation, menacing speeches had been delivered, and Mr. Will Thorne, M.P. for South West Ham, had advised his hearers to "rush the bakers' shops" rather than starve, for which, on October 23, he was bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. As in 1886, some of the unemployed attended various London churches on the following Sunday, and collections were made for them. Resentment (which was reflected in a protest from the Dockers' Union) was felt at the expenditure of time on the Licensing Bill instead of on the "unemployed problem"; and on the resumption of the Committee stage (Oct. 15), Mr. Grayson (*Colne Valley, W.R. Yorks*) moved the adjournment in order to discuss unemployment, declaring that while people were starving in the streets he refused to be bound by the guillotine resolution (p. 167) which forbade such motions on days appropriated to the Bill.

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Persisting, he was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms at the Speaker's direction; and, renewing his efforts next day, he was again removed, after a scene, and, on the motion of the Prime Minister, suspended for the rest of the session. But the manner of his attack and his demonstrations of contempt for the House, both inside it and outside, drew strong condemnation from other Labour members. A similar scene had been created by Mr. Frank Smith at the London County Council on October 13.

The militant women suffragists had exploited the unemployed agitation by issuing a handbill inviting aid in a new effort to "rush" the House of Commons on Tuesday, October 13, at 7.30 P.M. All that afternoon Parliament Square was full of expectant sightseers; and, at a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union at Caxton Hall at the hour named, a resolution was passed demanding facilities for the passing of Mr. Stanger's Bill (p. 47) in the current session; and a deputation of twelve volunteered to take it to the House of Commons. They were stopped by the police at the corner of Great Smith Street, and, attempting to force their way onwards, were arrested, as were other ladies who subsequently left the meeting to assist. The crowd sympathised with the suffragists, and though there was no actual rioting at Westminster, some slight disturbance took place near Charing Cross among the unemployed—who were more carefully shepherded by the police. In all, twenty-four women and thirteen men were arrested in Parliament Square, and either bound over or sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, three of the men being convicted of assaulting the police. An attempt to get the women treated as first-class misdemeanants was unsuccessful. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond, arrested on warrants for inciting to a breach of the peace by issuing the handbill, had surrendered at 6 P.M. on the 13th, but their case was adjourned. A more startling incident was the sudden irruption of a lady (Mrs. Travers Symons, late secretary to Mr. Keir Hardie) during the debate on the Children's Bill, crying out "Leave off discussing the children's question and attend to the women first." She was at once carried out by an attendant, and it was stated that she had been moved by a sudden impulse to leave her introducer when viewing the House through the door, as was the custom with lady visitors on their way to their gallery.

This agitation by one suffragist organisation diverted attention from a more serious movement participated in by the rest. A letter to the Prime Minister signed by Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Despard, and other leaders, welcomed his promised acceptance of a women's suffrage amendment in the coming Franchise Bill (p. 110) and asked the Government to introduce that measure in 1909, and to take up the amendment and undertake to maintain it against the Peers. They also asked for some indication of the proposed franchise qualification, and thus seemed to indicate that they would not necessarily insist

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on the suffrage being granted to women on the same terms as men.

The opening of the session was marked by some Ministerial changes. Lord Tweedmouth had resigned the Presidency of the Council at the end of September owing to ill-health; he was replaced by Viscount Wolverhampton, who was succeeded as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster by Lord Fitzmaurice. The Under-Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs vacated by the latter was filled (Oct. 19), somewhat to the general surprise, by the transfer of Mr. McKinnon-Wood from the Education Department (p. 81); his post was filled by Mr. Charles Trevelyan. The Marquess of Ripon closed a long and useful public career by resigning the office of Lord Privy Seal, which was taken by the Earl of Crewe in addition to the Colonial Secretaryship. The Marquess of Ripon, it may be mentioned, was entertained by the Eighty Club at a complimentary luncheon on November 24, and described himself as "no less Radical, but much more respectable" than at the outset of his career.

The first business of the House of Commons on its reassembling was the consideration of the Children Bill, which had been amended in the Standing Committee. An unavailing attempt was made by Lord Robert Cecil to recommit the measure to a Select Committee with a view to reconsideration of the clauses directed against juvenile smoking; but Mr. Herbert Samuel relied on the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration and other authorities and the motion was rejected by 164 to 44. A clause making it penal to give intoxicants to any child under five except under medical advice (which had been defeated in Grand Committee by one vote) was moved by Mr. Wedgwood, left to the House by the Government, and passed by 123 to 103. Another clause, making it penal to leave children under seven in a room with an imperfectly protected fire, was opposed but passed by 177 to 30. The clauses aimed at juvenile smoking excited considerable opposition, Mr. Balfour, among other members, declaring that to make the practice illegal in public places would merely encourage boys to defy the police. They were, however, defended by Mr. Herbert Samuel and Mr. Gladstone, the former of whom appealed to well-known Reports of Royal Commissions, the King's Regulations, and foreign legislation to show that juvenile smoking was injurious; and the clauses making it penal to sell cigarettes or cigarette papers to any one apparently under sixteen, allowing policemen or park-keepers to seize cigarettes found on juvenile smokers, and providing against the obtaining of cigarettes by children from automatic machines, were retained by substantial majorities.

On October 19 the Bill was further amended on report, chiefly by verbal and explanatory alterations, and was then read a third time without a division, but after a protest from Mr. Lupton. A few divisions had been taken on amend-

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ments moved unsuccessfully by Mr. Rawlinson (*Cambridge University*).

The Licensing Bill, however, was to be the chief feature of the autumn session (p. 163); and its consideration was resumed on October 14, at the second clause. In view of its eventual fate, the Committee stage hardly needs description in detail, and only a few of the leading amendments discussed can even be mentioned here. The Opposition usually met each clause in the first instance with an amendment assailing its principle; when this was rejected, other amendments introducing large modifications were proposed and debated for the remainder of the time allotted. A few Liberal amendments were also discussed, and some modifications were made by Ministers; but, as a rule, the debates were mainly concerned with the principles of the Bill. Thus the second clause, allowing local option on new licences, was met by Earl Winterton with a destructive amendment, which was rejected by 261 to 99; among the subsequent amendments, one, which obtained some Liberal support, was proposed by Mr. F. E. Smith and aimed at empowering the inhabitants to require the grant of new licences as well as to prohibit it; but though supported by him and by Mr. Balfour as "truly democratic," it was rejected by 257 to 98. Another so restricted the veto as only to prevent an increase in the existing number of licences, so that a licence might still be transferred to a better building or to a public-house trust. This was rejected by 230 to 72. An amendment, moved by Mr. Leif Jones, substituting parishes or urban areas for the licensing districts as the divisions for the purpose of local option, was accepted by the Government, somewhat to the surprise of the House, and carried by 275 to 108. After further proceedings, the clause was carried under the guillotine by 315 to 117. The third clause, embodying the time-limit for compensation and providing for full local option on its expiry, was met with a destructive amendment by Mr. Courthope, which was eventually rejected by 313 to 117. The Opposition speakers advanced the usual arguments; Mr. Asquith defended the principle of the time-limit, declaring that monopoly value, as in the Act of 1904, meant the value a licensed house would fetch if used otherwise than for a monopolised trade. The time-limit had been inserted to meet the expectation of renewal created by practice; and it had been admitted in principle by Mr. Balfour, who had declared that the licence-holder had not a freehold. Mr. Balfour, replying, admitted this; but he argued that, while the State might tell licence-holders that after a term of years their rights were exhausted, it had no right to exact compensation during the term and then take away their property. He specially insisted on the sacrifice of goodwill, the creation of personal management. Sir T. Whittaker (*Spen Valley, W.R. Yorks*) replied that the fundamental issue seemed to be the amount of security of the licence-holder. In 1891 the Licence Insurance

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Corporation, backed by 350 brewers, had issued a prospectus insisting on the insecurity of licences since Sharp *v.* Wakefield, and offering to insure against loss from non-renewal. There was no bargain with the State that the licence should continue beyond twelve months. The State had no more parted with its property than a landlord had when he granted an occupation lease. Among subsequent speeches, new matter was added to the discussion by Mr. Sherwell (*Huddersfield*), an authority on the question, who declared that the time-limit was not necessarily the best solution, but was inevitable after the Act of 1904, and that the liquor trade in England was undertaxed by 7,000,000*l.* to 14,000,000*l.* annually; by Mr. Robertson (*Tyneside*), who incidentally mentioned that 60,000,000*l.* worth of licences were insured in the Licence Insurance Corporation; and by Mr. J. M. Henderson (*Aberdeenshire, W.*), who cited cases showing that many houses then receiving compensation were not paying expenses. The amendment was rejected by 313 to 117. Subsequently (Oct. 16) unavailing attempts were made by Mr. J. F. Hope (*Central Sheffield*) to get leaseholders exempted from the time-limit, and by Mr. Bottomley (*Hackney, S.*) to extend the time-limit to twenty-one years, on the ground that fourteen years was too short a period in which to make up capital value. The Opposition, while protesting against the time-limit in principle, contended that it must at least allow of writing off the market value of the licence; some Liberals thought any time-limit too long; others, like Sir J. Dickson-Poynder, held that no excuse should be given to the Lords to throw out the Bill. Mr. Asquith so far satisfied these scruples as to promise a provision that, for a short period after the fourteen years expired, the regrant of an old licence should not carry with it as a condition the surrender of the monopoly value or a compensation levy—a concession regretted by some temperance advocates. Licences, however, might still be refused by magistrates at their discretion, or prohibited after a popular vote. A Ministerial amendment also included off-licences in the time-limit, though not (as explained subsequently) under liability to local veto.

The next week saw further changes. The third clause included a provision that, after the termination of the reduction period, local option should become exercisable as Parliament might determine both as to prohibition and limitation of the number of licences; but Mr. Harcourt (Oct. 17) moved an amendment prescribing that a two-thirds majority should then be necessary to make local option effective. Mr. Balfour found in this proposal and in the treatment of off-licences an indication of the confusion in the views of the Government, and various protests were made from both sides both against discussing the complicated issues raised in the time available, and against binding a future Parliament. Mr. Harcourt, in a short reply after a lengthy debate—which had mainly dealt with

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the general question of local option—said that he believed that after the reduction period Parliament would have to give much larger power over the trade to the people; at present the Government were giving the trade fair warning. Eventually the amendment was carried by 295 to 135, and the clause as amended by 301 to 131.

It is hardly necessary to specify the amendments moved unsuccessfully (Oct. 20 and 21) to the clauses [4 and 5] preserving the discretion of the licensing justices as to the extinction of licences, and extending to new off-licences the provisions relating to new on-licences of the Licensing Act of 1904. These clauses were passed respectively by 318 to 125 and 314 to 118; but it was incidentally stated that Clause 4 would be further amended on Report to mitigate possible cases of hardship. On Clause 6, requiring the licensing justices to prepare schemes for reduction before April 1, 1909, a wrecking amendment was defeated by 228 to 68, but an extension of time subject to the discretion of the Licensing Commission was granted by an amendment moved by the Solicitor-General. The clause was eventually passed by 302 to 120, and clauses 7 and 8 (as to giving effect to the scheme of reduction) were slightly amended at the instance of the Government and passed by nearly similar majorities.

The debate on October 22 was more exciting. The ninth clause treated Wales and Monmouthshire exceptionally by allowing a further reduction beyond that enacted by the Bill, or even a total extinction of on-licences (except those granted under the Act of 1904), to be carried into effect if sanctioned by a popular vote and by the Licensing Commission to be established by the Bill. The Solicitor-General explained that rural and urban areas (p. 207) would be substituted, here as elsewhere, for licensing districts; prohibition would require a two-thirds majority, reduction only a bare majority; off-licences would not be included. The claim of Wales to exceptional treatment was defended by Sir Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) in view of the repeatedly expressed desire of the people and the success of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. Mr. Balfour, in an effective debating speech, attacked the claim as unfair financially to England, and maintained that the Act in question had not diminished intemperance. Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) replied that Lord Balfour of Burleigh's and Lord Peel's commissions had testified to the success of the Act; Wales was ripe for the change, England was not; the principle of a local veto Bill for Wales was affirmed by the House when the Unionist majority was 150; the financial injustice would at worst be trifling. Large areas in Wales were then without public-houses, owing to the action of the landlords. If such deprivation was not tyranny, why should deprivation by local option be so?

Mr. F. E. Smith argued that Wales, in spite of Sunday closing and fewer licences, was shown by statistics to be more

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drunken than England; and later, Mr. W. Abraham (*Rhondda, Glamorgan*) said that Sunday closing in Wales had stopped Sunday drunkenness and the Sunday opening of clubs had revived it—an admission loudly cheered by the Opposition. After other speeches, the wrecking amendment moved by Mr. Cave, which had occasioned the debate, was lost by 239 to 93, and another, deferring Welsh local option till 1916, was also negatived by 131 to 66, the Solicitor-General pleading that Wales had made a passionate appeal for local option. Later, an amendment excluding Monmouthshire from the operation of the clause was rejected by 272 to 103, after a historical defence by the Solicitor-General of the practice of coupling that county with Wales; and the clause as amended was accepted by 272 to 104.

The tenth clause, dealing with compensation, was dealt with on October 24 and 27. The debate was highly technical; but substantially the issue was whether the compensation for disturbance should be computed on the basis of the excess of the annual value—as estimated for Schedule A of the income tax—of the premises if used as a public-house over their value if used for other purposes—which was the Government proposal—or whether the actual profits of the trade in liquor carried on in the house should also be directly taken into account, in accordance with the interpretation put on the Licensing Act of 1904 by a judgment of Mr. Justice Kennedy (*in re* Ashby's Crown Inn, Cobham) in June, 1906. Incidentally, Mr. Samuel intimated that the clause would have to be further amended at the Report stage to obviate an injustice involved by it as it stood—an admission of defective drafting which was loudly cheered by the Opposition. Only one amendment, which attacked the proposal of the Government in principle, was discussed; and some interesting particulars, which, however, were questioned, were given on October 27 by Mr. A. C. Edwards (*Denbigh District*) of the refusals of brewery companies to allow tenants the goodwill of the premises which these tenants had themselves increased in value. Eventually the amendment was rejected by 313 to 129, and after the passing, without debate, of some Government amendments, the clause was added to the Bill by 314 to 128. Clause 11, dealing with the division of compensation money, was accepted with slight amendments.

Meantime a small Committee of the Cabinet had considered the unemployment problem on Saturday, October 17, and Mr. John Burns was summoned to Sandringham to give information on the subject to the King; and on Wednesday, October 21, the Prime Minister, according to promise, made a statement in a crowded House, an opportunity being made by a question from Mr. A. Henderson, the leader of the Labour party. Mr. Asquith began by intimating that in 1909 the Government would make a beginning with legislation dealing with the permanent causes of unemployment. At present they had to

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deal with an emergency; there was a temporary dislocation, not wholly nor mainly in Great Britain, of the machinery of production, though there were faint signs of an early revival. The Government had foreseen the emergency months before, and the President of the Local Government Board had throughout the summer been successfully urging local authorities to accelerate or begin useful public works. The loans for such works sanctioned between August and October would give these bodies 1,500,000*l.* more than in the corresponding periods of the three previous years; and works already sanctioned would be pushed on, *e.g.*, the new Water Board reservoir, the Wandsworth infirmary, and London County Council work. The works would be permanently beneficial, not merely undertaken to meet the crisis. The Local Government Board would assist local authorities by contributing from the central fund voted by Parliament sums roughly representing the difference between contract labour and unemployed labour. The estimated difference varied in different places from 5 to 40 per cent. Locally the loans had been supplemented by large voluntary contributions. The suggestion that a rate of 1*d.* in the £ to employ unemployed labour should be permitted had been rejected. No local authority had asked for it, and much more money would be got by loans. In twenty-four large boroughs, taken together, it would produce 63,000*l.*, whereas the loans applied for in the last four months were 602,000*l.* The Post Office was taking on 8,000 men at Christmas at 25*s.* (instead of 20*s.*) per week; the War Office could take 24,000 recruits in the Special Reserve during the winter—involving an expenditure of 200,000*l.* At the dockyards 2,100 men would be specially engaged for repair work; tenders for nine destroyers had been accepted, and tenders for five unarmoured cruisers were due in November. This work had been advanced in date and meant an expenditure of 2,500,000*l.* The Central Unemployed Fund would be increased, the amount spent in 1907 (150,000*l.*) being doubled, and the conditions as to the work aided made more drastic. The special conditions under which the grants were administered would be relaxed in two ways; so as to allow employment to be given in proper cases to those who had received outdoor relief within the preceding twelve months, and so as to remove the disqualification of persons employed under the Act during the preceding two years.[1] Landowners and others might also do much by taking up projected work at once. He ended by reaffirming the hope that during the current Parliament the Government would deal with the permanent causes of unemployment.

[1] In a circular to the Distress Committees, the Local Government Board interpreted these changes to mean merely that one or other disqualification might be waived, not that both were removed; but, on Mr. Henderson moving the adjournment of the House to debate the subject (Nov. 12), Mr. Asquith explained that his language bore the second meaning, and the motion was withdrawn.

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This programme, which was understood to represent a compromise in the Cabinet, was well received by the House and in the country generally, though the Labour party declared the proposals inadequate, and the Socialists ridiculed them as worthless; and the continuance of the agitation was marked by the demand for troops to keep order at Bradford on the occasion of a speech by the Postmaster-General (Oct. 26) and by violent speeches at a Tower Hill meeting on October 28. The London County Council expedited the public works it contemplated, though not sufficiently to please the extreme Progressives (Oct. 20); and Mr. Burns, in a speech at the cutting of the first sod of the new East Molesey Reservoir (Oct. 24) urged that public bodies should compress their works as far as possible into the dull parts of the year, as they had been doing on his advice. He condemned relief works *per se*, and said that if the 150 millions of Imperial and the 150 millions of local expenditure were regulated on the lines he had indicated, no more than 2 or 3 per cent. of the workers need ever be out of work.

One day only was devoted to discussing Mr. Asquith's statement; the occasion was made on Monday, October 26, when a resolution was moved by Mr. Percy Alden (*Tottenham*) and seconded by Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Tyneside, Northumberland*) welcoming the recognition of the national importance of unemployment and approving the Ministerial proposals. A Labour amendment, moved by Mr. Keir Hardie, declared these proposals inadequate, and blamed the Government for neglecting to provide for conditions which had been clearly foreseen. Before the debate began, questions were asked as to the numbers and chief localities of the unemployed, and in reply to Mr. Balfour the Prime Minister stated that the districts chiefly affected were the Clyde, the North-East coast, the Potteries, and, among the large towns, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Sunderland, the Hartlepools, Coventry, Sheffield, Leeds and Bradford. The trades chiefly affected (putting aside the cotton trade; p. 220) were shipbuilding, engineering, building, pottery, and, in some districts, dock labour. An additional day for the debate, demanded by Mr. Balfour, was refused in view of the Licensing Bill.

Mr. Alden, whose attempts to refer to the unemployment existing in protected countries were ruled out of order, suggested better registration of the unemployed, and hinted that an amendment of the land laws was a necessary element in the solution. He deprecated awaiting the Report of the Poor Law Commission. Mr. Keir Hardie, in moving the Labour amendment, derived the right to work from the right to live, which the State would one day be forced to assume. He estimated the number of unemployed, with their dependants, at 6,750,000. Of the Government proposals, that of antedating work was twenty years old, and the Post Office was following its regular practice. He hoped the expenditure of the central fund would

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be taken out of the hands of the Local Government Board, which he assailed on other grounds. If the unemployed were placed outside the law, they could not be expected to obey it. Mr. Crooks, seconding, joined in the attack on the Local Government Board, and urged the Government to organise employment and to push on their Town Planning and small holdings schemes.

Mr. Burns defended energetically the "transient policy" of the Government. They had no right to adopt any scheme likely to be disagreed with by the Poor Law Commission. No distress committee or responsible authority had complained of being deprived of the necessary money and aid. West and East Ham had considerable unexpended balances. The situation was worse than in 1906 or 1907, but not than in 1905. The American depression, the shipbuilding and cotton trade disputes, and the collapse of shipbuilding, were contributory causes. The building trade had provided two-thirds of the registered unemployed. Overbuilding, the competition of other trades for capital, dear money, and changes in the method of construction, were among the causes. They had favoured relief by loan work, and he estimated that by March next 5,000,000*l.* would have been "brought into fruitful development." The local authorities had been chosen to do the work, both because it was undesirable to resort to the State pending the Report of the Poor Law Commission and because they commanded resources for exceptional work better than a Government department. After referring to the steps promised by the Prime Minister (p. 211) and repeating that a liberal interpretation would be given as regards the character of the work aided, he said that in London, "the storm centre of the unemployed movement," fifteen of its thirty-one Boards of Guardians had less pauperism than in 1907. True, certain parishes in the East-End, "the Mecca of social reformers," had an increase, and in them 52 per cent. of the people had been disqualified by indiscriminate charity for old age pensions. He had studied for himself the demoralisation worked by such charity. After emphasising the waste of money in drink, he outlined what was being done in London in the parks, by the Water Board, and the County and Borough Councils, laid stress on the number of old soldiers and reservists among the unemployed, and mentioned that [under the Reserve Forces Act of 1906] 10,000 ex-soldiers and reservists had been permitted to reside outside of the United Kingdom, and 6,300 were in the Colonies now.

Mr. Long expressed the surprise felt at this last announcement, and condemned the scanty time allowance for the debate. He thought the distress was under-estimated, but on the whole supported the Government. Mr. Haldane mentioned that the Reserve was 17,000 in excess of its normal strength of 117,000, so that there was no danger in the new arrangement; and Mr. Harold Cox condemned the proposals of the Government as giving a preference to inefficient workers. Later, Mr. Balfour

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complained of the scanty information and time allowed, and remarked on the grudging approval of the Ministerial policy exhibited among the supporters of the resolution. He denied that there was anything novel in the proposals of the Government, and argued that the action of the Post Office, the Admiralty, and the War Office, would not make much difference. He thought it was rash to alter the Local Government Board regulations of 1905, making those who had received poor relief eligible for unemployment; and he asked why, if local authorities might carry out works by loan, was not Rosyth to be so carried out? He feared that relief works might not be suited to the special trades of the men unemployed, and declared that the Government, inconsistently with orthodox Free Trade principles, were making the ratepayers and taxpayers buy the worst goods in the dearest market. He believed Fiscal Reform, though not abolishing trade oscillations, would produce steadiness of employment; and he blamed the Government for shaking capitalist confidence and so contributing to the depression.

Mr. Asquith made a spirited reply. He characterised Mr. Balfour's points as largely topics of prejudice, and remarked that what he meant by fiscal reform was an inscrutable mystery. Unemployment was not confined to this country, and had been worse, according to the trade-union figures, in 1879 under Lord Beaconsfield and in 1887 under Lord Salisbury. It was childish to attribute fluctuations of trade to the actions of particular Governments. He answered *seriatim* Mr. Balfour's criticisms, and pointed out to the Labour members that 800,000*l.* from Imperial sources would be spent on unemployment. He again explained the position of the Government as to the policy of works loans, and ended by laying down the propositions to which the House was asked to assent: first, that there was an exceptional amount of unemployment; next, that the dividing line must be maintained between unemployment and pauperism. He claimed that in the tentative measures proposed by the Government these restrictions were carefully preserved, and that the measures were subject to reconsideration in detail.

Mr. Henderson, the leader of the Labour party, described the Prime Minister's speech as most disappointing, and after other speeches an Opposition attempt to adjourn the debate was defeated, by 293 to 70. The debate was then closured, and the Labour amendment defeated by 236 to 68, the minority consisting of 30 Labour members, 22 Unionists, 9 Liberals, and 7 Nationalists. The resolution was then carried (at 1.50 A.M.) by 196 to 35.

The Suffragists had received less satisfaction. The prosecution of the leaders of the militant section (p. 205) was diversified by the summoning of Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Gladstone, who had been in the crowd on October 13, as witnesses for the defence. They were very cleverly examined

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(Oct. 21) by Miss Christabel Pankhurst who aimed at showing that no violence was intended or was probable; but subsequently the evidence as to the pacific character of the crowd was cut short by the magistrate and the accused were sentenced to be bound over or go to prison—Miss Pankhurst for ten weeks and the others for three months. They chose imprisonment. On October 28 Mr. Asquith was repeatedly interrupted by Suffragists in opening a bazaar at Highbury; and in the evening the debate on the Licensing Bill was suddenly interrupted from the Ladies' Gallery. A placard, headed "Women's Freedom League" and demanding "Votes for Women," was thrust through the "grille"; and the occupants shouted exhortations to the members to leave the Licensing Bill and give justice to women. The debate, however, went on; the police cleared the gallery, though, as two of the interrupters had chained and padlocked themselves to the grille, it was necessary to remove some of its panels. A man then threw a bundle of papers from the Strangers' Gallery, calling out "Justice for Women," and was promptly removed. A number of other members of the Women's Freedom League were charged on October 29 with wilfully obstructing the police outside the House, and all but one preferred a month's imprisonment to a fine. A mass meeting of women at the Albert Hall on the same evening, at which Mrs. Pankhurst was to have presided, protested against the "disgraceful action of the Government," and exhibited an intention to persist. It was announced that the National Women's Social and Political Union had collected 25,000*l.* as a "Campaign Fund."

Before returning to the work of the Commons, mention must be made of some of the subjects which exercised the critical and legislative activity of the House of Lords. The disorder in Ireland was debated on October 21. Replying to the Marquess of Londonderry and Lord Clonbrock, Lord Denman, as spokesman of the Government, admitted that in Clare, Galway, and Roscommon there was more disorder than at any time since they had taken office. The primary cause, however, he said, was congestion, with which the Government were about to deal. They would rely on the ordinary law. Lord Macdonnell, while desiring severer treatment for cattle-drivers, ascribed the disorder to the slowness of land purchase, and, in a speech of much detail, suggested that the Treasury should secure the continuance of the bonus to landlords by advancing another 6,000,000*l.* Coercion would merely exasperate. The Earl of Dunraven likewise urged the expediting of land purchase, and the debate closed with an attack on the Government by the Marquess of Lansdowne—who stated that disorder was prevalent in eight counties—and a defence by the Earl of Crewe, who said that, having undertaken to administer Irish affairs in sympathy with Irish ideas, the Government could not alternate between coercion and the ordinary law.

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On October 28 the Peers dealt with the Children Bill (*post*, p. 221) and with the Law of Distress Amendment Bill, which had been read a second time in the Commons on February 27, and eventually became law; and on the motion of the Earl of Halsbury, struck out a provision saving the property of under-tenants in the event of distraint by the landlord on the intermediate tenant. Subsequently they amended and passed Lord Ampthill's Nurses Registration Bill, regulating the qualifications of trained nurses and providing for their registration, which, however, the Commons had no time to take up. A rival and more stringent measure, introduced by Lord Balfour, had been rejected on May 6.

During this time the Commons had made good progress with the Licensing Bill. Clause 12, dealing with the compensation levy, was passed on October 28 by 300 to 114, after long debates on destructive amendments, and protests against the entrusting of taxation to a non-elective body and the unfairness of making sober districts pay for drunken ones. The debate was interrupted, but very slightly, by the Suffragist demonstration (p. 215) and next day the House was empty of strangers, other than the reporters and two visitors in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery. The composition of the Commission gave rise to considerable debate. An amendment that one member should be a barrister or a solicitor versed in licensing law was rejected; another, moved by a Liberal, excluding persons financially interested in the liquor trade, was met by a retaliatory Unionist proposal to exclude those financially interested in a temperance society. The two were combined; but the Solicitor-General deprecated the result as detrimental to the dignity of Parliament, and it was rejected by 237 to 71. After further unsuccessful attempts at amendment the clause was passed, as were the three following clauses, by majorities of nearly 200.

Subjects of more general interest were debated on October 30, when Part III. of the Bill was begun. Clause 18 proposed to limit Sunday opening outside London to one hour between noon and 3 P.M., and two hours to be fixed by the licensing justices, between 6 and 10 P.M.; to increase the "*bonâ fide* traveller" limit from three miles to six, and to apply the Welsh Sunday Closing Act to Monmouthshire. The usual destructive amendment was moved by Mr. George Gibbs (*Bristol, W.*). The Prime Minister, who followed, argued that Sunday closing had worked satisfactorily in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, without inconvenience and with excellent moral results; but total Sunday closing in England would go beyond public opinion; still, the arrangement of hours stated might be modified. Mr. Balfour, who followed, agreed that Sunday closing had been satisfactory in Scotland, Ireland and Wales, but doubted whether the change proposed would be beneficial. He was not a fanatical partisan of individual liberty, and he did not think religious feeling ought to come in; but he feared that Sunday closing

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would entail the purchase of Sunday drink beforehand, and so lead to the substitution of spirits for beer. Sunday visiting was increasing among the working classes; clubs provided alcoholic refreshment and workmen outside them ought to have facilities for it. The restriction, however, was supported by some Labour members, and also by Mr. Talbot (*Oxford University*), and a promise was given to extend it to London; and it was carried by 237 to 55. The exclusion of children from bars was carried without debate, but in a more rigorous form. The proposed interference with the employment of women and children in licensed premises was abandoned by the Government (Nov. 2), to the regret of many of its supporters; and Mr. Asquith promised a new clause closing public-houses on polling days in Parliamentary elections.

Clauses 21 to 34 were disposed of, mostly without debate, on November 3, the chief features of the proceedings being an unsuccessful Opposition attempt to permit the removal of a licence from one part of a district to another, and the introduction of a definition of monopoly value at the instance of the Government. Its assessment was transferred from the licensing justices to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, and it was to be taken as the excess of the value of the premises as estimated for income tax, when licensed, over their value when not licensed. This concession was not well received by the Opposition, partly owing to the scanty time allowed for its discussion.

The treatment of clubs was dealt with on November 4, 5, and 6. Mr. Asquith explained that the Government did not desire to interfere with genuine clubs, but only with those that were mere agencies for the sale of liquor, and that the principle of regulation was admitted by the Act of 1902 and the much more stringent Scottish Act of 1903. The Opposition (with the notable exception of Mr. Joynson Hicks) objected, on the whole, to further regulation of clubs, and the proceedings abundantly illustrated the difficulty of the problem. The registration of clubs was transferred from the licensing justices to the stipendiary magistrates; a Labour attempt to confine the power of objecting to the renewal of registration to the chief constable of a county or borough, on the ground that vexatious objections might be made by private persons, was defeated; and modifications were made in the powers of the police to enter clubs.

The action of the Government disappointed some of its supporters; but it was probably due to the feeling among another section that the Bill was overloaded. This view had found expression in a leader in the *Daily Chronicle* of October 29. Moreover, other difficulties were multiplying. The municipal elections of November 2 showed considerable Unionist gains, notably at Devonport, Liverpool, Manchester, Crewe, Nottingham, Carlisle, Blackburn, Leeds, Huddersfield, and Sheffield,

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At Liverpool a local Liberal organ frankly admitted that the education controversy had had much to do with the election.

Again, the amazing so-called "interview" with the German Emperor published by the *Daily Telegraph* on October 27 (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter II.), though in fact mainly a condensation of the Emperor's table-talk at Highcliffe Castle in 1907, had an unfavourable effect on the whole on English feeling towards Germany. Some Liberals at first regarded it as an "olive branch" held out to Great Britain; some Opposition papers, however, shared the view unjustly entertained in Paris that it had been published during a European crisis to sow discord between Germany and France. Though its publication was only permitted through the error of an official, and produced disclaimers of hostility to England in Germany, yet some features of its reception in that country intensified the fears of English Germanophobes, and stimulated the cry for an increase of the Navy and universal military service. Other and less adequate means were also resorted to for these ends—notably another "German spy scare," early in November, this time in the Isle of Wight.

On the other hand, the Imperial Message issued to the Princes and peoples of India on the fiftieth anniversary of the transfer of its Government to the Crown tended to increase Ministerial prestige. It was described by *The Times* as one of the most stately and eloquent documents that had ever emanated from the British Crown; and its style was thought in other quarters to indicate Lord Morley as its chief author. It was, indeed, eminently calculated to allay apprehension on both sides of the House and to confirm the hopes entertained of the Indian Secretary's policy.

The speeches of Ministers at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9 likewise tended to reassure the alarmists. Mr. McKenna (who had already emphasised the need of a strong Navy at Glasgow on Oct. 17) said that Constitutional requirements compelled him to postpone till the presentation of the next Navy Estimates any statement of the naval programme of the Government, but that we had naval supremacy to-day and meant to maintain it for all time. Mr. Asquith, in a brief reference to the efforts in progress to mitigate unemployment, declared that the existing economic depression need not be lengthy, provided the peace of the world was maintained. He heartily congratulated the Turkish Ambassador and his fellow-countrymen on the success of their amazing and beneficent revolution, and said that, as to the events following that movement, the British Government had taken its stand on the position affirmed at the London Conference of 1871, that treaties could not be altered by one of the parties to them without the consent of the rest. Subject to this they would do their utmost to promote a general agreement and a return to normal conditions. He affirmed emphatically that they had no prejudice

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against direct negotiations between the States primarily affected by recent events, but that any alteration of the Treaty of Berlin must be countersigned by the signatory Powers. He laid stress on the beneficial effect of the Anglo-Russian Convention, especially in regard to Persia, paid a tribute to the moderation of the Russian Government in maintaining a policy of non-intervention, and mentioned that England and Russia had urged the Shah to fulfil his promises, to include Tabriz in the Constitution and to grant an amnesty. Mr. Asquith went on to say that the Government had no desire to see Europe divided into separate groups; they were in complete sympathy with France, they had been equally frank in their communications with Germany and Italy, and had taken up an entirely disinterested attitude. With Germany, Great Britain wished to deal in the spirit of the Kaiser's declaration in that hall a year before. There should be no talk of isolation, hostile groupings and rival combinations, among the Powers who were joint trustees of civilisation and its greatest safeguard, the peace of the world. Nothing would induce Great Britain to falter or fail in any engagement, to be disloyal or unfaithful to the spirit of any lasting friendship. But they had neither animosities to gratify nor selfish interests to advance, and would grasp any hand extended in goodwill and good faith. He ended by an assurance, with which for the moment he hoped the country would be content, that nothing would be left undone to keep the Navy fully abreast of our national and Imperial necessities. Apart from all political changes, the British people held that the maintenance of our command of the seas afforded the best safeguard for our existence as a nation and for the peaceful intercourse of mankind.

This speech was praised by *The Times* as "not unworthy to rank for wisdom and courage with those of some of Mr. Asquith's illustrious predecessors"; and the almost simultaneous relaxation of the Franco-German tension regarding an unfortunate incident at Casablanca (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter II.) helped to encourage the hope that peace might be maintained in Europe. The believers in a strong Navy as its safeguard were encouraged by the Prime Minister's reply to Mr. Lee in the House of Commons on November 12—that the two-Power standard meant a preponderance of 10 per cent. over the combined strength in capital ships of the two next strongest Powers. This was cheered from both sides; but its omission of the customary qualification "in Europe," which was confirmed a few days later, alarmed Liberal advocates of retrenchment.

The visit of the King and Queen of Sweden in the following week (Nov. 16-21) in return for that paid by the King and Queen in the Spring (p. 120) was another contribution towards the strengthening of the position of Great Britain in Europe. The Royal pair were entertained at the Guildhall and presented with the usual address of welcome in a gold casket on Novem-

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ber 18, and the King, in reply to the toast of his health, declared that the secular bonds of friendship and sympathy between the two peoples had their source in the freedom which had always reigned in the two countries. The visit of the King and Queen of Norway a fortnight later was private and domestic in character.

Reverting to the domestic situation a grave difficulty had been overcome several days earlier. The reduction of wages in the cotton trade decided on in July and enforced by a lock-out on September 21 (p. 194) had been the subject of inconclusive negotiations during October, and at length, by the good offices of the Mayor of Salford, an agreement was signed on November 6, for a reduction of wages by 5 per cent., subject to the Brooklands Agreement, from the first pay-day in March, 1909, instead of in January as originally proposed. The unemployment crisis in general was also, to some extent, mitigated by the Ministerial palliatives and there was considerable enlistment in the Special Reserve.

The hopes of the Liberals were further revived by Mr. Asquith's reply to a deputation from the Proportional Representation Society headed by Lord Courtney of Penwith, on November 10, asking for an inquiry into the value of various schemes suggested for improving the system of Parliamentary representation. Under existing conditions, a member might be returned by a minority of the constituency, *e.g.*, in consequence of a split between the Liberal and Labour parties; and the majority in the Commons was admittedly out of proportion to the strength of parties in the country. Mr. Asquith, in his reply, fully admitted these defects, and enumerated the possible improvements suggested—the alternative or transferable vote, the second ballot, proportional representation, and the referendum. He promised an inquiry, but expressed some doubt whether a Royal Commission was best suited to undertake it; but such a body was subsequently appointed (Dec. 21). The first two of the suggested changes, under the existing political conditions, seemed most likely to find favour, and would on the whole have been most conducive to a continuance of Liberal and Free Trade preponderance. It may be added that an experimental election held by the Proportional Representation Society in December showed that the "transferable vote" was a workable scheme.

It was noteworthy that Lord Lansdowne, addressing the Junior Constitutional Club on November 11, dealt only with the domestic policy of the Government, commenting especially on their restrictions on free discussion in the Commons, on their attacks, not yet followed by action, on the House of Lords, and on their weakness in Ireland, especially their permission of the traffic in firearms, on their Licensing Bill and on their projected unfair treatment of the payers of direct taxation. The attack so far as regarded Ireland was followed up

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by Lord George Hamilton, a Free-Trade Unionist, at Acton on November 12; but he condemned the attacks on Mr. Balfour, and cautioned Tariff Reformers against excessive promises to reduce unemployment and against such alliances with the forces of Labour as had marked the Unemployment debate (p. 214). At the same time a revival of Liberal activity was exhibited by the opening of fresh campaigns in the country in favour of Disestablishment and Home Rule, of which, however, little more was heard during the year.

The Home Rule Campaign was announced at Manchester by Mr. Redmond on November 13. The Disestablishment Campaign was opened on the previous day by Mr. Birrell at the City Temple, and he was greatly interrupted by women suffragists. But their cause was not prospering. Only twelve women were candidates at the municipal elections, and only two were returned. One Lady Mayor was elected (Nov. 9), *viz.*, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, at Aldeburgh, with which town her father's family had long been connected; and Miss Dove was rejected at High Wycombe. A similar fate had befallen a lady candidate for the London County Council—Miss Balkwill—at a bye-election at Hampstead on October 24.

In regard to Ireland a curious incident occurred in the House of Lords on November 4. The attacks on Lord Ashtown (p. 77) had gained support for him amongst the Irish Peers; and it was announced that he and Lord Farnham had received an equal number of votes for the seat as their representative vacated by the death of Lord Kilmaine. Under the Act of Union, the two names were placed in a glass receptacle on the table, and one was drawn by the Clerk of Parliaments. It proved to be Lord Ashtown's, and he was declared elected. This was the first "tie" since the Union.

To return to legislation; the Children Bill had passed its second reading in the House of Lords on October 28, amid a chorus of approval, tempered by some deprecation of the clauses directed against juvenile smoking, which were defended by the Bishop of Ripon, while the Archbishop of Canterbury confessed to a primary impulse to "laugh the matter out of Court," but pleaded for careful consideration in view of the conclusions of the Committees on that practice. The Marquess of Lansdowne also feared that the clauses would make for the defiance of authority, and the Earl of Crewe replied that the children of the poor should be at least as well protected as those of the rich. In Committee (Nov. 4), and on Report (Nov. 12), some amendments were introduced, slightly modifying the provisions affecting juvenile smokers and those for the supervision of juvenile offenders, and a new clause moved by the Lord Chancellor, and providing that a woman convicted of the murder of her infant might be sentenced to some less punishment than death, was negatived by 42 to 36. In such cases, the death sentence had for many years been in-

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variably commuted, and reformers had long maintained that its formal pronouncement merely inflicted unnecessary terror.

The Commons, meanwhile, had passed (Nov. 10) the schedules of the Licensing Bill by substantial majorities. The Opposition had complained that the provision for graduated reduction of licences according to density of population would reduce the facilities for working-class social intercourse; but the reply was that Mr. Bruce's Bill of 1871 had proposed a more drastic scale. On a later amendment, however, the Government promised to modify the scale where population had increased substantially since the previous sentence. Incidentally, Mr. Long declared that the Lords were generally expected to reject the Bill. The time-table for the Report stage (p. 167), allowing a total of five days, was passed without a division on November 11, after some sarcastic remarks from Mr. Balfour, who remarked that only 170 of the 988 lines of the Bill had been discussed in Committee and that the Government were attempting too much. The Port of London Bill was dealt with in Committee on that day and the next. Unsuccessful attempts were made by Mr. Bonar Law to alter the composition of the representative body, and by members for the riparian counties to obtain representation for them; but it was provided that one of the members appointed by the London County Council should represent Labour. An attack on the scheme was made by Mr. Lough next day, but he obtained only scant support.

The Licensing Bill was discussed on Report on November 13 and on four days during the succeeding week, the amendments usually embodying Ministerial concessions promised in Committee. The only clause debated on the first day was that providing for the sale of liquor with meals and for non-intoxicating refreshments during prohibited hours on Sundays, which might otherwise have been barred by the regulations as to closing. It was adversely criticised from both sides as facilitating an evasion of these latter provisions, but was eventually passed by 205 to 88. A new clause was also passed under the guillotine, closing public-houses during Parliamentary pollings. The rejection of the time-limit clause (p. 207) was moved by Mr. P. White (*Meath, N.*), a Nationalist, who denounced it as theft, but it was passed by 287 to 96. The monopoly value of off-licences was reserved for the State after seven years beyond the expiry of the compensation period (Nov. 16). The extension of the compensation period by three years was agreed to by 293 to 97, after severe criticism of the whole scheme of a time-limit by the Opposition and some Liberal members. There was a long debate on the Sunday clauses (Nov. 18), in which, however, the Opposition leaders did not take part, and the hours of Sunday opening were extended to four by 294 to 73. The definition of monopoly value was also attacked without avail, as were the regulations for the registration of clubs, and various minor

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amendments were made at the instance of the Government (Nov. 19).

The third reading was moved by Mr. Asquith on Friday, November 21, in a speech described as one of the most effective defences of the measure yet made. After reminding the House that six full Parliamentary weeks had been devoted to its discussion, and paying a tribute to the services of the Solicitor-General and Mr. Herbert Samuel, he referred to the deliberate misconstruction of the Bill in the country as a blow at the foundations of property and a hypocritical and futile pretence at promoting temperance. He again insisted that the reduction of licences needed acceleration, and that a licence could not, in view of the Act of 1904, be regarded as a freehold, since compensation for it was not paid out of public funds. No greater disservice had ever been done to the interests of property in Great Britain than by the attempt to establish an analogy between its interests and those created by licence. He reviewed the position of the trade as it would be during the fourteen years and the further seven years covered by the Bill, and then dealt with the resumption by the State of the monopoly value. People seemed to think this meant that the State would take possession of the trader's premises, or at least his goodwill and profits; but, assuming that the assessments for income tax on land and houses were made properly, the State would be unable to take anything to which it was not strictly entitled. Personal goodwill it could not touch; in local goodwill some elements should be considered for assessment. No alternative definition of monopoly value had been found. The provisions affecting clubs would enable a clear distinction to be drawn between those which were legitimate and those which were merely drinking haunts, and these provisions now commanded almost general acceptance. The Government had expected the hostility displayed, and he thanked the Ministerialists for their loyal aid, due to their recognition that the Bill was the first solid attempt made in our time to advance the cause of temperance reform. He would not predict its fate in the House of Lords; the good sense and considered judgment of the Commons of England were on his side.

Mr. Salter (*Basingstoke, Hants*), moving the rejection, said: So much the worse for the Commons of England. The Bill was rooted in injustice and oppressive even in its machinery; it sanctioned unwarrantable interference with reasonable individual liberty; it was dishonest, and it would fail as a social reform. He declared that it was encouraging Socialism. Other speakers against it were Earl Winterton, Mr. F. E. Smith (whose speech gave a good deal of offence) and Mr. Bonar Law, who were very bitter against the measure, while Mr. Simon and Mr. A. Henderson, the latter speaking for the Labour party, supported it. Mr. Herbert Samuel wound up with a brief, spirited speech, imputing "dilatory tactics" to the Oppo-

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sition, and declaring that the resistance to the Bill was based on the cry of "property." The division was taken amid excitement, and the third reading was passed by 350 to 113. Four Liberals and seven Nationalists were in the minority.

The hostility of the trade had been exhibited afresh at the annual Conference of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations held at Cardiff on November 19, at which each delegate received a card printed in scarlet stating that, if the Unionist leader in the Lords yielded to the pressure of certain Peers [believed to be Lords St. Aldwyn, James of Hereford and Balfour] and let the Licensing Bill go through, thousands of Unionists would never vote for the party again.

The Conference, however, denounced the Bill as retrograde, and the time-limit as dishonest; and it was harmonious on all subjects save women's suffrage, and notably so on the fiscal question. On this Sir R. T. Hermon-Hodge declared that the party had been united since the Birmingham Conference of 1907; and a resolution, moved by Mr. Bonar Law, expressed hearty support of the policy then declared by Mr. Balfour. Incidentally, Mr. Law referred in uncomplimentary terms to the recent publication of a memorandum on Free Trade written by Mr. Alfred Marshall, the well-known economist, for Ministerial use during the fiscal agitation of 1903, and published by Mr. Lloyd-George as the source of certain figures challenged by Mr. Bonar Law. Among other subjects of resolutions were Ireland, the Patents Act, and national defence; and on the second day, after some opposition, the Conference pronounced in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to municipal women voters.

On November 19 Mr. Balfour addressed an evening meeting of 4,500 men in the Drill Hall, from which women, except a select party, were excluded. He referred briefly to foreign policy and national defence as outside party conflict, and remarked that the Government had an insatiable appetite for legislation, but were careless as to its preparation. They were bringing in their fourth Education Bill, and contemplating Welsh Disestablishment, which would block social reform. He denounced the Licensing Bill both as being on wrong lines and as inconsistent, since it neither abolished off-licences nor prohibited clubs—though he did not believe either course practicable. Referring to Mr. Birrell's attack on the Lords, he said the campaign was suspended; the Lords were as safe as if they were cattle-drivers at work. The Government also had acted inconsistently with the Free Trade resolution of 1906 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 53 *seq.*). The Merchant Shipping Act of 1906 imposed the same regulations on foreign shipping as on British, and thus ignored the consumer. If its motive was humanitarian, would they shut out the product of sweated labour? Professing to look after the consumer, they were paying the unemployed out of the rates for work for which they were unfit and which was

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not wanted. Fiscal Reform was no remote ideal. He ended with an eloquent panegyric on its prospects, which, though as little specific as any of his previous speeches, was cordially welcomed by the party Press.

The streets of Cardiff, however, were paraded by sandwichmen whose placards asked, "Is Mr. Balfour a Tariff Reformer? Who knows? Will he tax coal and ruin Cardiff? Will he tax bread?—wool?—meat?" These questions were sent him by registered letter and telegram from the Free Trade Union, but he made no reply.

Mr. Balfour had set foreign affairs outside party, and Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Scarborough on the same evening, mentioned that he had special reason to know the value attached on the Continent to Opposition assent to the foreign policy of the Government. In foreign affairs, as in business, the impression of stability was also an impression of strength. The recent debate in the Reichstag on the Kaiser's letter (Foreign History, Chapter II.) had contained no expression of hostility to England or any other country; he hoped this attitude would be reciprocated in England. He heartily welcomed the Turkish revolution as one of the most wonderful and beneficent changes in history, reminding sympathisers, however, that the reformers had had the Army on their side, and he bespoke public sympathy for the new *régime* if difficulties should arise. Feeling, he said, was stirred in England not by racial animosity, but by ideas and causes, and we had never been against the Turkish people. So long as there was no reciprocal belief in ill-will, diplomacy could dispose of even the worst difficulties without trouble. Half the difficulties of foreign policy arose from the ingenuity of the Press in different countries in imputing motives to each other's Governments. Governments really lived very much from hand to mouth, and had no deep plans. Our naval supremacy must be assured—there was no half-way house between complete safety and absolute ruin—but it was purely defensive. He was hopeful as to the prospects of a Conference.

The Liberal wing of the Unionists held its annual meeting at Manchester on November 20. One resolution advocated the direct representation of Unionist labour in Parliament, a proposal endorsed in a letter from Mr. Balfour; others expressed dissatisfaction at the character of the Ministerial old age pension scheme and at the meagreness of their shipbuilding programme.

An evening meeting in the Free Trade Hall was addressed by Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Austen Chamberlain. The former, remarking on the European situation, argued from the disregard recently shown of the Berlin Treaty that compacts limiting the strength of armaments could not be enforced; but it should be possible to create a serener international atmosphere, which would enable us and other nations to diminish our "insensate expenditure on armaments." He made brief references to Ireland, the Licensing Bill and the pending education compromise,

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contrasting the policy of Mr. McKenna's Education Bill with that of the Irish University Bill, and, touching on unemployment, condemned the "right to work" demand, and hoped for an improvement in elementary education, to include drill and discipline. But more employment could only be got by new openings and increased confidence, and the Government had produced a feeling of uneasiness unprecedented within his own recollection. The country had prospered because it had been immune from violent revolutions and confiscatory legislation; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had only the mediæval plan of extorting money from the capitalist classes. Our financial situation was forcing on Tariff Reform; and he hoped that the party would support it cautiously and considerately, but with a united front.

Meanwhile hopes had increased of a settlement of the wearisome education controversy so nearly closed in 1906. Towards the end of October various papers had stated that negotiations were proceeding between the Education Minister and the Primate, the latter being also in communication with the Bishops, and the former with leading Nonconformists; and on November 4 *The Times* stated that the Church asked for a universal "right of entry" for denominational teachers into council schools, and was prepared, though reluctantly, to agree that if it were granted the head teachers should be debarred from giving such teaching; but that influential Nonconformists desired that the right should be at the option of the local education authority. On November 9, Mr. Runciman gave an account of the negotiations to about 100 Nonconformist members of Parliament, substantially in accordance with this statement, and added that contracting out must remain for the sake of Roman Catholics and Jews. He received a vote of confidence, a few members dissenting; and a strong desire was expressed for educational peace. A "plea for peace" followed (Nov. 11) signed jointly by the Bishop of Southwark and the President of the Wesleyan Conference; but the Roman Catholic Education Council and a section of the supporters of "Cowper-Templeism," represented by the Northern Counties Education League, were adverse; and Viscount Halifax, the Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Wace) and Lord Hugh Cecil sent round a petition to the parochial clergy, attacking the reported terms of the compromise. Several Bishops condemned this circular and forbade pulpit references to it; but it received 114,000 signatures, including those of 2,000 rectors or vicars.

On Thursday, November 19, the Prime Minister announced that the proposals would be embodied in a new Bill, not as the ideally best scheme, but as a satisfactory compromise. He claimed no right to bind either the Church or the great Nonconformist bodies, but the latter had given assurances of support for the plan, though not necessarily for certain details still open.

A memorandum explaining the new Bill was issued late in

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the afternoon of Saturday, November 21. It explained that rate aid would be confined to "provided schools," and in these there would be no tests for teachers nor obligation on them to give religious instruction. "Cowper-Temple" instruction would be provided during the first three-quarters of an hour of each school day for children whose parents desired it; no fees (save in special cases with the consent of the Board of Education) might be charged in provided schools, and free accommodation in them must be adequate for all children within their area whose parents desired it. Denominational instruction might be given [in the religious instruction time] twice a week for children, if desired by their parents, but not at the cost of the local authority. Assistant teachers might volunteer to give this instruction if permitted by the local authority, as might also head teachers of voluntary schools transferred under the Act, while holding their existing appointments, or, if in other situations, for five years after the passing of the Bill. Permission might only be given if the teachers could be spared from other work, and the authority was to be repaid for their time. A non-provided school might be recognised as public elementary schools and share in the Parliamentary grant, if it (1) was not the only school in the parish, (2) had thirty children, (3) satisfied the conditions of the code, (4) was equally efficient as to staff, premises and secular instruction with provided schools. Non-provided schools would be grouped in associations, denominational and co-extensive with England and Wales. Grants were to be paid to these associations for each school in their charge, varying from 55*s.* per child in small schools (30 to 50 children) to 46*s.* 6*d.* in schools above 1,300 children; but the inference was that the associations would distribute the grant in accordance with the needs of the schools. Existing voluntary schools might be transferred by agreement from their trustees to the local education authority, for use as public elementary schools. The transfer might be absolute, conditional (the trustees having the use of the building on Saturdays and Sundays) or limited (for the hours necessary for public education). Local authorities were to establish religious instruction committees to decide on questions arising as to the religious syllabus provided by the authority. The opportunity was taken of extending the existing provisions on another subject—the instruction of blind or otherwise defective children.

The negotiations were somewhat hampered by an accident which temporarily crippled the Primate (Nov. 18); but correspondence between him and Mr. Runciman, published November 24, indicated the way in which the concessions had been reached, and closed ominously with an intimation from the Primate that the terms for contracting out, and possibly for transfer, were unsatisfactory. However, a general desire was expressed for a settlement, and a committee formed for this end under the auspices of Mr. George Macmillan, Professor

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M. E. Sadler and others received many adhesions both from Churchmen and Nonconformists.

Other subjects, however, divided public attention. In the House of Lords on November 23 Earl Roberts, speaking as usual from the cross-benches, alleged the possibility of a German invasion. His audience was almost wholly Unionist. He called attention to a favourable statement regarding the Territorial Army made by Lord Tweedmouth on May 18, and moved that the defence of the British Isles demanded, besides a powerful navy, a strong army sufficient to prevent the most formidable foreign nation from landing; and also that in view of the altered strategic conditions in the North Sea the Government should state the results of a recent inquiry held by the Committee of Imperial Defence. He earnestly argued that the command of the sea was not enough, though "it would be all right if the enemy gave six months' notice"; but the Territorial Army was inadequate to its task. Disclaiming hostility to Germany, he stated that it had been ascertained that transport for 200,000 men would be always available from North German ports; that the new military service law would enable them to be collected quietly, that the railway facilities and their constant practice would admit of their being embarked much more rapidly than Mr. Balfour had concluded in his statement as to the possibility of invasion from France on May 11, 1905 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1905, pp. 156-8); that the German ports were practically nearer than the French to the East coast, which would probably be selected; that the German State railways, and the control of the telegraphs and Press in a crisis, and the relatively fewer ships in the North Sea, would facilitate a surprise; that the Germans would mislead our fleet, that they would be aided by the 80,000 Germans in England, and that Germany could effect her purpose with a temporary command of the sea. He went in detail into the strength of the Territorial Army, and urged that Mr. Haldane's "admirable framework" should be filled. Our lack of preparation and German activity presented one of the strangest spectacles in history. Let them take care to hand down to posterity the glorious heritage they had received. His warnings were emphasised in various ways by Lord Lovat, by the Earl of Cromer, who adhered expressly to his warning of July 20 (p. 172) but demurred to the demand for a statement on the German invasion, and by Viscount Midleton. The Earl of Crewe hoped there would be no misunderstanding outside; he proposed to say as little as possible, and stated that the country would spend without limit for the protection of its shores, and that the General Staff had worked out a scheme of home defence which facilitated bringing the largest possible force to any point endangered. The Government were fully convinced of the necessity of an organised home defence, but did not accept Earl Roberts's conclusions. After a speech from Lord Grenfell, pressing the need of compulsory service as advocated by the Duke

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of Norfolk's Commission of 1903, the Marquess of Lansdowne said that the problem of invasion had undergone great changes since 1905, and some general statement as to the change should be made. It ought not, however, to be pressed for, but the earlier part of the resolution should be accepted by the Government. The Earl of Crewe said that, among other objections to this course, the resolution involved a vote of censure. Viscount Milner supported the motion as a protest against the "eternal shilly-shally" of the Government on the question of the adequacy of our land forces for national defence; and eventually the resolution was passed, amended by the omission of the demand for a statement, and an addition treating it as giving practical effect to the resolution unanimously agreed to on July 10, 1905 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1905, p. 185).

The anxiety felt regarding the Navy was expressed next day in the same place. Earl Cawdor asked what steps the Government proposed to take to maintain an absolute two-Power standard with a margin for contingencies against any possible combination of foreign Powers. He welcomed Mr. Asquith's recent declarations (p. 219), but insisted that Great Britain must be superior to any two Powers whatever, and repudiated such qualifications as that suggested by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman when he ridiculed the idea of a Franco-German combination against Great Britain (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 195). It took two and a half years to build a first-class battleship, and we must have guns and gun mountings ready for the ships. Then there were accessories, *e.g.*, destroyers, stores and docks. Exceptional steps must be taken to meet an exceptional programme. Detailed replies were given by the Earl of Granard and, at a later stage, by Lord Lochee of Gowrie (p. 81). The former repeated Mr. Asquith's assurance as to an absolute two-Power standard, but declined to anticipate the naval Estimates of 1909, and corrected an error as to the new destroyers, whose speed would be twenty-seven knots, not thirty-three. The latter gave details of the existing conditions, which are best reproduced in tabular form:—

	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	U.S.A.
Battleships under twenty years old	52	24	20	20
Tonnage of do.	753,900	282,700	230,200	340,006
Armoured cruisers	38	8	20	15
Tonnage of do.	468,400	78,500	185,000	186,000

Thus Great Britain was well above the two-Power standard, but unforeseen circumstances might completely alter its definition. He regretted also the maintenance by the Hague Conference of the international rule permitting the capture and destruction of private property at sea, which he regarded as the main cause of large navies. Among the other speakers, Lord Leith of Fyvie and Viscount Midleton emphasised the need of docks, Lord Eversley deprecated the inclusion of the United States and suggested that money might be saved on other heads of naval ex-

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penditure, and Lord Brassey declared there was nothing to warrant a scare. There was no ground for the belief that all ships earlier than the *Dreadnought* were obsolete; and, were new types of vessels devised for the inshore squadron, *e.g.*, armoured destroyers, the building of large ships might be checked. We were far above the two-Power standard in manning, we had made a great advance in gunnery and training at sea, and we had a chain of naval stations, a vast mercantile marine, and great industrial dockyards. But the policy of adequate laying down of ships was commendable for political reasons, as checking discussions unfavourable to friendly foreign relations. Lord Muskerry and the Earl of Ellenborough urged that aliens should not be allowed to qualify as officers in the British mercantile marine, and dissatisfaction was expressed by the Earl of Meath at the official reply given by Lord Hamilton of Dalzell—that they only numbered 2 per cent. and that their exclusion would lead to retaliation.

It may here be mentioned that the Prime Minister's announcement regarding the two-Power standard on November 12 (p. 219) had caused some disquiet among his supporters. A memorial for the reduction of armaments, signed by nearly 150 Liberal members, was sent to him on November 24; and the signatories had proposed sending a deputation to him to invite further explanations. In reply to Mr. Murray Macdonald, however, on November 23, Mr. Asquith said that his statements of November 12 and March 2 (p. 54) were "under existing conditions identical in meaning and effect," and on December 17 he promised a further statement when opportunity offered. It was understood that the Liberals had been given reason to believe that this declaration would prove reassuring. Still, the obvious moral of both debates was pointed by Lord Rosebery at a Territorial Army prize-giving at Leith on December 4. While defending the discussion of the feasibility of a German invasion and yet deprecating foolish and lawless talk imputing such a design to the German Government, he urged that the country should be defended against all risks, if only to avoid panic, and therefore he commended the claims of the Territorial Force.

Possibly something was done towards clearing up international difficulties in the future by the International Naval Conference, promised in the King's Speech (p. 10), which assembled at the Foreign Office on November 4 and was welcomed by Sir Edward Grey. As he explained, its object was to construct a body of law to be administered by the Hague Prize Court; but its deliberations had not concluded at the close of the year.

While the Lords were discussing the two-Power standard (Nov. 24) Mr. Birrell was introducing a complicated and contentious Irish Land Bill to expedite land purchase. He referred to the bargain between landlord and tenant embodied in the Act of 1903, and to the progress made towards carrying it out by ten successive issues of Irish land stock, at prices ranging

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from 92 to 84¾ amounting to 33,201,000*l.* He mentioned that the completed transactions represented 52,000,000*l.*, those pending 52,000,000*l.*, and that 180,000*l.* would be needed in all instead of 100,000*l.*, as expected in 1903. The annual charge to meet deficiencies would take 100,000*l.* from the Irish Development Grant and 660,000*l.* from the rates. The Government would take this charge off the ratepayers, but would issue at a loss only stock sufficient to raise 5,000,000*l.* annually, which would involve a yearly loss of 20,000*l.* Landlords having pending agreements might take all or part of the purchase money in stock at market price subject to a minimum of 92. For future transactions the Bill gave power to issue a new stock at 3 per cent., and to increase the annuity accordingly. The bonus must be reduced at once to 3 per cent. The Government would increase the limit of 12,000,000*l.* and graduate the bonus, which would vary inversely as the number of years' purchase. Compulsory powers would be asked for in accordance with the Report of the Dudley Commission (*post*, Chapter VI.) to obtain possession of the grass lands. The Congested Districts Board would be reconstructed, its area enlarged, and its powers greatly increased, some, however, being transferred to the Department of Agriculture. He gave particulars as to the exercise of the compulsory powers, and, after other details, he eloquently commended the Bill to the House. It was well received by Mr. Redmond, though both he and Mr. Wyndham criticised various points in it, and Mr. O'Brien condemned the delay in introducing it, while Mr. Long and Mr. Butcher questioned the policy of breaking up the grass lands. On its second reading (Dec. 8) it was met with an adverse resolution by Mr. Wyndham, who objected that it would stop voluntary purchase and multiply State interferences: but this was negatived by 233 to 62. The Bill, however, was of necessity dropped.

The next day the Scottish Education Bill (p. 91) passed its third reading by 195 to 48. The Report stage (Nov. 10) had been marked by an unavailing attempt to get the grants to Roman Catholic and Episcopalian schools increased to 10*s.* per child, an increase to 6*s.* from the existing figure of 4*s.* being, however, promised; and by some amendments. An attempt by Mr. Lamont (*Buteshire*) to get the teaching of Gaelic paid for out of Government funds was negatived by 192 to 109, and the cumulative vote was retained in School Board elections. The Bill met with no difficulties in the House of Lords though there was some discussion of amendments (Dec. 9), and it became law.

Earlier on November 24, Mr. Redmond, under the ten minutes' rule, had moved for leave to introduce a Bill to remove Roman Catholic disabilities and to alter the words in the coronation oath offensive to that Church. The Bill would have formally legalised monasteries and religious processions, and enabled Roman Catholics to hold the office of Lord Chancellor

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or Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It was strongly opposed by Mr. McArthur (*Kirkdale, Liverpool*), but leave was given by 233 to 48, many of the minority being Liberals. Of course it got no further; but some satisfaction was offered to the Roman Catholics in the other House on December 8, when the Earl of Crewe, in reply to Lord Braye, intimated that the alteration of the oath was under consideration.

But in the last week of November the conflict between the Houses became acute. On Tuesday, November 24, some 250 Unionist Peers met at Lansdowne House by invitation and decided by an overwhelming majority to support an amendment to be moved by the Marquess of Lansdowne condemnatory of the Licensing Bill. The number of dissentients was variously stated at from eight to thirty. The Earl of Lytton led the minority, which comprised the Earl of Carlisle, Viscount St. Aldwyn, Viscount Milner, and Lord Balfour, all of whom spoke. It was stated that other peers would have favoured a second reading, but feared that the amendments they thought necessary would be treated by the Commons as breaches of privilege. The result of the debate was, therefore, a foregone conclusion.

In moving the second reading on Wednesday, November 25, the Earl of Crewe referred sarcastically to the peculiar difficulties placed in its way by the sitting their Lordships had held "not in this Chamber, but in a famous house in a famous square," and at the "closure without compartments" which had then been adopted, though the House was supposed to be deliberative. Still, he went through the chief heads of the Bill, remarking that joint-stock enterprise had been a curse both to the liquor trade and the shareholders; he wondered whether, if street book-making and money-lending had been carried on by companies, they would have excited the Peers' sympathy. He defended the Bill in conclusion from the charges of hasty preparation and scant discussion, remarked on the independent support given to it, and ended by fearing that its rejection would hasten the control of the State by the trade.

The Marquess of Lansdowne defended the meeting by the precedent of that called by Mr. Gladstone when the Home Rule Bill was before Parliament in 1886. New legislation, he admitted, might be open to consideration, but this Bill was a combination of the "somewhat motley proposals" of temperance advocates. It dealt mainly with the alleged redundancy of licences—which was a matter for local experts; it left aside the question of "humanising" and improving the public-houses, did not deal adequately with clubs, and neglected off-licences, which conduced greatly to secret drinking. He contrasted it, to its disadvantage, with the Act of 1904, condemning its "cast-iron scale" of reduction, the erection of new tribunals, and especially the definition of monopoly value, which he described as a "strange farrago." The proposals were confiscatory, and the Peers' objections were to the fundamental principles of the Bill.

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The Government would not accept their amendments, and would interpret the doctrine of privilege adversely; straightforward rejection was therefore best.

Later the Bishop of London, "as an old temperance worker," called attention to the frightful drink bill of the country and to its effects, and admitted that he should like to see stronger measures against clubs and off-licences. The Act of 1904, he believed, would not shut up 30,000 public-houses in 100 years. He urged the House to pass the Bill with amendments, otherwise reform would be dropped, a licence would become a freehold, and the trade impregnable.

After other speeches, Viscount St. Aldwyn expressed his opinion that the Bill would not promote temperance reform. Many of its provisions were valuable and might be reintroduced, but the real question was the reduction of licences. He thought the scale might be revised, but he objected to the fresh interference proposed with local authorities, and he condemned the proposals regarding compensation, the time-limit, and local option, which last had better have been left alone. He did not think the Government would make concessions on these points, and, without assurances that they would do so and would not press privilege, he felt compelled to vote against the second reading.

The Archbishop of Canterbury resumed the debate next day, November 26. He believed that the main principles of the Bill were sound, though he suggested modifications in detail. He contrasted effectively the way in which reduction of public-houses was looked at by the Peers—whom, however, he did not wish to censure—and by workers in parishes, hospitals, prisons, asylums, whom the rejection of the Bill would profoundly sadden and disappoint. He remarked on the strength of the opposition to the Bill, and on the unworthy suggestions that subscriptions to charities would be stopped if it passed; and he mentioned that much simple, genuine, and touching correspondence had reached him from people who believed that they would be injured by the Bill, but who, sometimes, on his asking for their reasons, sent a draft letter from the secretary of their association or brewery company. The great increase in the facilities for obtaining intoxicants during the last 200 years in England called for a remedy. Excessive drinking came from excessive temptation, and the man who just stopped short of drunkenness was the publican's best friend. The State should recover the power of acting with freedom. No compensation was given in 1807 when the slave trade was abolished, though it was when property (the slaves) was directly taken away. He hoped part of the Bill might be saved; asked the House to consider the nature of the forces on each side; and regretted that there was to be no detailed discussion.

The Earl of Halsbury held that the Bill was not a Bill to promote temperance, but to enlarge the area of taxation. He

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attacked it as confiscatory and unjust, and incidentally declared that beer was an important part of the food of the working man.

The Earl of Rosebery would vote, without the slightest doubt, for the fundamental principle underlying the Bill. To some of the details he took exception, but he thought all these were points at any rate for negotiation. The great principle emphasised in voting for the second reading was the time-limit. He thought that the feeling of the country was shown, not only by the temperance party, but by the attitude of the Bishops and the clergy of all the Churches. Were he a Socialist, there was nothing at which he would rejoice so much as the identification of the cause of property with that of the annual licence. The State, by its negligence or apathy, had allowed the interest in licences to grow up; in strict logic it should pay the compensation, but it could not afford it; nor would the temperance party permit it; they therefore fell back on the principle of the time-limit. He did not much trust analogies, but if squatters long tolerated on an estate were given a twenty-one years' time-limit, they would be liberally treated. The trade had had notice in 1904 and subsequently that the Liberal party would resume the rights of the State. The Bill was the first step to temperance reform; the value was given to the licence by the State, and, if the State did not control the trade, the trade would control the State; it was already poisoning the sources of political and municipal life. He looked forward, not to a cessation of temperance legislation, but to a series of efforts on both sides, which would embitter the cause of temperance and disturb the trade, and would be settled at last by compromise. The Opposition had an opportunity for settling the question, and if they missed it, the nation would insist on an agreement, he hoped not long hence. Among other speakers, Lord Robertson condemned the Bill, Lord Faber defended the interests of the debenture holders, and the Bishops of Birmingham and Hereford advocated the second reading, the last-named insisting that there was a popular mandate for the Bill.

On the third day the debate was opened by Lord Balfour, who, in a general review of the question, referred to the difficulties raised by extremists, thought that the Act of 1904 had been a bad bargain for the State, and regretted that the Bill was not to be discussed in Committee. Among subsequent speakers, the Bishop of Southwark supported the second reading, saying that the argument from property had been pushed too far; the Earl of Lytton criticised the Bill, and expressed a desire to amend it in Committee; Lord Fitzmaurice sarcastically remarked that the Peers were giving it a first-class funeral, commented on the number of habitual absentees then present, and laid stress on the great power of the trade. The case for the Bill was summed up by the Lord Chancellor, who said that since the Reform Bill of 1832 the House had seldom, if ever, refused a measure of first-class importance a second reading

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when the Commons had passed it by a large majority. It was impossible for him to correct the many misapprehensions about the Bill; but he illustrated, by a few forcible examples, the enormous economic and moral burden imposed by the drink trade, vigorously contested the argument that the parts of the Bill generally approved should be rejected for fear of privilege, and defended its provisions for reduction, compensation and the time-limit. He knew its fate was decided, but no Government would lose in the long run by standing to what it believed to be honest and right. The rejection would be the triumph of a trade over the community, the victory of wrong over right.

The House divided at 7 P.M. and the motion for the second reading was rejected by 272 to 96. The Marquess of Lansdowne's amendment was then agreed to. The two Archbishops and ten Bishops voted, and four Bishops paired, for the Bill. Lords Milner, Balfour, Peel, Carlisle and Lytton were also in the minority.

While this result was bitterly resented by Liberals and philanthropic workers, and even *The Times* and the *Morning Post* expressed a desire for some compromise, the Liberals comforted themselves with the reflection that the Peers had estranged large sections of the Church and the independent public, and that the liquor interests might be dealt with in 1909 by the drastic taxation recommended by some temperance advocates, which could not be touched by the Lords except by rejecting the whole Budget. As the probable deficit was estimated in the Press at from twenty to twenty-five millions, this taxation would aid the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his difficulties. The first Member of the Government who addressed a public meeting after the rejection, Mr. Samuel, said that the veto of the Opposition leaders had now replaced that of the Crown, and denied in advance all rumours of a dissolution. The next, Mr. Birrell, at Warrington (Nov. 28), said that the Peers had thrown out the Bill because they thought they might obtain better terms from this or a future Government; the House of Lords was now a purely Tory organisation, a Second Chamber that had abdicated its functions. Ministers would prosecute the Licensing Bill by every means in their power; they were confident that they had forces behind them (including the Labour party) which no City syndicate could control, no unity of debenture-holders interfere with; they relied on the forces of the nation, and would give the people an opportunity of exhibiting its feelings at the polls. However, the Mid-Essex (*Chelmsford*) election on December 1, with its decline of the Liberal and increase of the Unionist vote, at least showed no general indignation against the Peers, and was also claimed as a victory for Tariff Reform. Again, the Parliamentary Labour party, on which Mr. Birrell had relied for help in the struggle, had its financial basis gravely compromised by the decision of the Court of Appeal in Osborne *v.* the Amalgamated Society of Railway

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Servants (Nov. 28) that a Trade Union could not legally levy contributions on its members towards Parliamentary representation.

Under the shadow of the Lords' impending decision the second reading of the new Education Bill had been moved by Mr. Runciman on Wednesday, November 26. He referred to the general desire, of recent origin, for a compromise, and, after touching on the points in dispute, said that on three matters there appeared to be general agreement, the undesirability of a purely secular system, the value of simple Bible teaching, and the possibility of adjusting differences, while principles were safeguarded. The proposals now made were not ideal either from the Nonconformist or the denominational standpoint; but they carried out the Liberal pledges, and advanced considerably towards a really national system. He dealt in some detail with the provisions as to transfer, and described contracting out as educationally most objectionable, but unavoidable, and restricted as far as possible. The financial arrangements he regarded as generous, and he said that the right of entry was now balanced by the surrender of the rural Church schools, and safeguarded from risks of administrative confusion and tests for teachers. He appealed for public acceptance of the settlement. Half the time of the most capable officials of the Board of Education was spent on religious disputes. The compromise was an agreement, not a victory. His speech produced a decided impression; but the rejection of the Bill was moved and seconded by two Nonconformist Liberals, Mr. A. E. Hutton (*Morley, W.R. Yorks*) and Mr. A. C. Edwards (*Denbigh District*), who apprehended that it would continue and greatly magnify the religious difficulty, the latter denouncing the wickedness of introducing this difficulty into the Council schools. Sir William Anson and Sir George White approved of the Bill, Mr. T. P. O'Connor appealed earnestly for the Roman Catholic schools, which the Bill would expel from the national system, and Lord R. Cecil and Mr. Yoxall condemned the Bill, the former as a Churchman, the latter from the Liberal, educational and Nonconformist standpoint. Lord Edmund Talbot said the Bill was wholly unacceptable to Roman Catholics with the exception of Clause 3, providing for the creation of new voluntary schools; and Mr. Joynson Hicks, speaking for the Church schools of Lancashire, spoke most bitterly of the course taken by the Primate, and demanded concurrent endowment. Dr. Macnamara defended the Bill; Mr. Ramsay Macdonald opposed it as educationally bad, as continuing a make-believe religious instruction.

Next day the debate was resumed by Mr. Balfour, who had not been consulted during the negotiations. Speaking for himself alone, he denied that the measure could be final; whom did the treaty bind? The Nonconformist divines who approved it regarded it as a mere step towards a national system; the majority of the Church clergy were, he believed, already con-

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sidering how it could be modified, and the Roman Catholics were opposed. How did the Government stand as regarded the Archbishop? would he be bound to discourage all future attempts at altering the compact? Churchmen, who had spent 1,000,000*l.* since 1902 on their voluntary schools, and parents of children in them, could not but feel the transfer a hardship, and contracting out would only set up fresh difficulties. Until equality for all denominations was secured there never would be peace.

Mr. Asquith expressed his profound disappointment at Mr. Balfour's conclusion. The Bill was not a ratification of a treaty; the Government thought the parties had got near enough to each other to justify them in putting down proposals which might command general agreement; contracting out was recognised by the Roman Catholics in Scotland, and here the average grant would be larger. He summarised the gains and losses under the Bill respectively to Churchmen and Nonconformists and maintained that it contained the basis of a reasonable settlement. He added that it could not be treated in committee as if each part were separable and independent, or they would upset the equilibrium and destroy the settlement.

Among subsequent speakers Mr. Dillon regretted that the Bill of 1906 had not been reintroduced in a form acceptable to the Roman Catholics: Mr. Lough, late Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, severely criticised the Bill; and the settlement was approved by (amongst others) Mr. Butcher, though he desired better terms for the Roman Catholics, Sir R. Perks, a Nonconformist, and Sir John Kennaway, a Conservative Evangelical. Mr. Trevelyan (p. 206) deprecated the fear of tests for teachers, and the second reading was passed by 323 to 157. In the minority were Mr. Balfour, Mr. Akers-Douglas, Mr. Long, Mr. Wyndham, 70 Nationalists, several Liberals, and nearly all the Labour party.

A guillotine resolution moved next day by Mr. Asquith allotted six days for Committee, two for Report, and one for third reading. An Opposition amendment entrusted to Mr. Forster urged that a settlement by general agreement was much needed and could only be attained by full discussion. It was rejected by 194 to 71; but two additional days were given for Committee. Incidentally, Mr. Balfour intimated that his party regarded closure by compartments as now established, and would adopt it when in office.

The Committee stage began on Monday, November 30. The Opposition maintained that it was unadvisable to pass Clause 1—which provided for the transfer to the local authorities of all schools which did not forego rate aid—until the terms of the compensation to be given to the denominationalists had been agreed on; and an amendment destroying the clause was moved by Mr. Hunt (*Ludlow, Shropshire*). Mr. Balfour, backed by Lord Edmund Talbot and Mr. Lyttelton, pressed for a clear state-

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ment as to the position; Mr. Runciman repeated that the Bill was not a treaty, and that an agreement had been reached on principles; but the Opposition were not satisfied, and Mr. Harold Cox attacked the withdrawal of rate aid from Roman Catholic schools unless with adequate compensation. Eventually the amendment was rejected by 211 to 117; an amendment by Mr. Dillon, aiming at the reintroduction of Clause 4 of the Bill of 1906 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 161), was opposed by the Government, and rejected by 226 to 159; and the first clause was carried by 238 to 144. The discussion of the second (Dec. 1 and 2) showed that the Unionists apprehended interference with the "right of entry" on the part of hostile local authorities, while the extremer Nonconformists objected to it altogether, as disintegrating the schools by dividing the children into "sheep and goats" and giving a great advantage to the Church; and an amendment was moved by Mr. Hutton (*Morley, W.R. Yorks*) that it should not extend to the Council schools, but was defeated by 273 to 56. Efforts were also made from the Liberal side to abolish the privileged position of Cowper-Temple teaching and to leave the permission of denominational teaching at the option of the local authorities; and an attempt by Mr. Mildmay (*Totnes, Devon*), a Unionist, to get denominational teaching permitted daily was defeated by 269 to 109.

A crisis was reached, however, on December 2, when the financial resolutions necessitated by the Bill came up for debate. Mr. Redmond demanded larger grants for the contracted-out Roman Catholic schools; even at 50*s.* per child the deficit on those schools would be 120,000*l.* annually. Mr. Lyttelton, on behalf of the Church of England schools, quoted a letter (issued that evening) from the Primate to Mr. Runciman to the effect that the proposals in the schedule of the Bill, both as regarded the rent to be paid for transferred schools, and as regarded the contracted-out schools, were utterly inadequate, and would take away what the Bill was supposed to give. The letter gave figures, hastily obtained from schools in various parts of the country, and concluded that, in the case of contracted-out schools, there would be a deficit of 14*s.* 6*d.* per child, and that the grants must be increased by 7*s.* per child and rise automatically each year with the educational expenditure of the country. Unless these essential matters were conceded, the settlement would be impracticable. Hereupon Sir George White, a representative Nonconformist, intimated that he would oppose the increase of the grant by 7*s.*; and, after Mr. Dillon had emphasised Mr. Redmond's complaint, Mr. Runciman questioned the figures supplied both by the Roman Catholic and the Church authorities, mentioning that in some cases capital expenditure, maintenance expenditure, and charges falling on the local authorities had been inextricably mixed, and arguing that the State was providing 50*s.* per child out of the 60*s.* which the

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Department calculated to be necessary. Eventually the resolution was carried by 241 to 119.

Meantime, however, the extremer Churchmen, some professed educationists, and the Roman Catholics, had vigorously agitated against the Bill, and next day (Dec. 3) at the Representative Church Council there was a revolt of the clergy and laity against the Bishops. The Primate still hoped for a compromise, and urged the Council to accept a settlement on the basis of the "right of entry." However, a resolution declaring inability to accept the terms embodied in the Bill was moved by Sir Alfred Cripps, K.C., and seconded by the Bishop of Beverley, and an amendment moved by the Bishop of Salisbury, recognising the Bill as an advance towards a reasonable settlement, was rejected by 187 to 116—the Bishop of Southwark speaking in its favour, and the Bishops of Manchester and Birmingham, Lord Hugh Cecil, Dean Wace, and Viscount Halifax against it. The resolution was then put, and received 189 votes against 99, but was declared lost, "the Houses being divided." In fact only three Bishops out of twenty-one supported it; and an amendment appealing for a postponement of the Bill till after Christmas, submitted by the Bishop of London, was shelved by the "previous question."

The Committee proceedings were postponed on that evening, and on Saturday morning, December 5, further correspondence was published between the Primate and Mr. Runciman which sealed the fate of the Bill. The Primate in his letter still hoped and pressed for a compromise, but asked for delay till further figures could be obtained; Mr. Runciman replied that the Government had always intended that the number of the contracted-out schools should be as small as possible, and had thought the Archbishop agreed with them; but that the meeting of the Representative Church Council had altered the whole situation, since even its most moderate members had insisted on increased demands. The Government therefore were forced to conclude that the Primate had been unable to obtain adhesion to the terms of the proposed settlement. The correspondence eventually closed with hopes of a settlement in the future.

Accordingly, the Bill was withdrawn, regretfully, by Mr. Asquith on December 7, in view of the action of the Church Council, which precluded treating it as an agreed Bill. He eloquently commended the efforts both of Mr. Runciman and of the Primate, and described the failure as the heaviest disappointment of his public life. Mr. Balfour condemned Ministers for proceeding without making sure either on the agreement of the Churches or on the financial questions, and at the diplomatic errors which had led to a waste of Parliamentary time.

The Settlement Committee, however (p. 227), which had received adhesions from eminent men of all stations and callings, held a public meeting at Caxton Hall on December 9 to consider the situation and to establish itself on a permanent basis. The

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Earl of Cromer, who presided, deprecated a secular system, but feared that the country would drift towards it in despair, and paid a cordial tribute to the efforts of the Primate and Mr. Runciman. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P., Sir Edward Clarke, the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, a leading Nonconformist minister, and the Dean of Lincoln, spoke to the resolutions proposed; and a Committee representing many shades of Church and Nonconformist opinion was appointed to collect information and report to the general body. Provision was also made for the formation of local committees. The National Society also appointed a sub-committee with similar functions. It had previously laid down the principle that all forms of religious teaching are equal before the State, and reasserted its claim for parental rights.

The hopes of some advanced Liberals, however, were raised in another direction by the victory of the cause of women's suffrage, championed by Mr. Lloyd-George, over the misguided efforts of its most militant supporters. At the Albert Hall on December 5 the Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed a meeting held under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Association to advocate women's suffrage. For two hours he was persistently interrupted, chiefly by women, some of whom had chained themselves to their seats, while one defended herself ineffectively with a dog-whip. They were successively ejected with regrettable but excusable violence; and he was able to say that they were ruining their cause, to repeat the Ministerial promise (p. 110) and to express his own strong support of women's suffrage. The Government, he said, were divided on it, and therefore could not themselves incorporate it in their Franchise Bill.

In the midst of the Education crisis (December 3) had appeared the lengthy Report of the Select Committee on the reform of the House of Lords which had been the outcome of the debate on Lord Newton's Bill (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 114). They proposed to distinguish between Peers and "Lords of Parliament" or Members of the House of Lords; and recommended that, except in the case of a Peer of the Blood Royal, a peerage should not entitle to a seat in that House. The hereditary Peers, including those of Scotland and Ireland, should be entitled to elect 200 representatives to sit in that House for each Parliament, the election being conducted by a form of cumulative voting. The Archbishops should hold seats as of right, the Bishops should elect eight representatives. The Committee would gladly see representatives of the other great Churches in the House, but could formulate no recommendation. Official representatives of the great self-governing Colonies might be introduced into the House without the danger of involving the Colonies in British party politics; as to the representation of India, they could formulate no specific recommendation, but thought its interests would be secured by the presence of ex-Viceroys and other qualified persons in the House. Besides

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the elective Peers, any Peer should be entitled to sit in the House who had been a Cabinet Minister, Viceroy of India, Governor-General of Canada or Australia, High Commissioner for South Africa, or Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, or who had held any of certain Colonial Governorships or high offices or had been Lieutenant-General or Vice-Admiral on the active list, or had sat for a certain period in the Commons. This recommendation would add about 130 Peers to the House. The Crown should be empowered to summon four life Peers annually, the total not to exceed forty. The Lords of Appeal in Ordinary would still be Lords of Parliament. This would give a House of somewhat less than 400, as against an existing number of considerably over 600. Among many other interesting items the Report stated that proposals had been discussed to admit elected representatives from County Councils and Municipal Corporations, whether Peers or not, but that the Committee, being almost equally divided, made no recommendation.

These suggestions threw no light on the actual situation. The Ministry had still a large unfulfilled programme before it; but many of its supporters felt that the policy of "filling up the cup" before appealing to the electorate would again bring disaster. Great interest, therefore, attached to the speech to be made by Mr. Asquith at the complimentary dinner given him at the National Liberal Club on Friday, December 11, by some 200 Liberal members of Parliament, in appreciation of his conduct of the Licensing Bill. An address sent him earlier on that day reminded him that Mr. Gladstone in his last speech in the House (March 1, 1894) had insisted on the need of a solution of the conflict between the Houses; and it begged the Government to "translate Gladstone's words into action at the earliest possible moment." Two hundred and twenty-three members had signed this memorial; twenty-five had preferred a form replacing the last five words by a promise of "unswerving aid in the prosecution of the work." In response to the toast of his health, proposed by the Chairman, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Asquith, after summarising the achievements of the Ministry, remarked that they were then met to celebrate a failure possessing a pregnant meaning. The Licensing Bill had been fully considered by the country and the House, and accepted by unbroken and unexampled majorities; yet before its provisions had been explained to the House of Lords its fate was sealed by a private gathering summoned by the Opposition leader at his own house. This was closure by caucus; the second reading debate was a farce; the weight of argument and authority was in favour of the Bill, but a majority, mostly of unknown individuals, was whipped up to secure the most powerful and pernicious of vested interests. After contrasting the treatment given by the House of Lords to the Liberal and the Unionist Education and Licensing Bills, he said that the decision as to which Bills should pass was at the caprice of an

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assembly which in one session had passed the Trade Disputes Bill and rejected the Plural Voting Bill. He invited the Liberal party to treat the Lords' veto as the dominant issue in politics. [Prolonged cheering.] But to advise the King to dissolve would admit the right of the Lords to dictate the occasion and time of a dissolution, a claim historically untenable and practically absurd, which would spend the whole life of a Liberal Government in a series of general elections. As to the work of next session, he received advice daily, and deputations three days a week, each demanding preference for some special measure. If asked what the King's Speech would contain, he could only give a negative answer; but a colourless programme would be a confession of Liberal humiliation and impotence. Their first need was simplification of issues and concentration of purpose. Finance must absorb much of the session; the task before the Chancellor of the Exchequer was exceptionally severe; the Budget would stand at the very centre of their work, and would again raise the question whether the funds needed for social reform were to be provided by Free Trade finance, or the "impoverishing fallacies of Protection." He concluded by again emphasising the need for a constitutional change exhibited by the rejection of the Licensing Bill.

Meanwhile the Government had been striving to wind up the business of the session. The Prevention of Crime Bill (p. 133), which had gone to a Standing Committee, had been considered on Report on November 24, when an effort had been made by Mr. Atherley-Jones and Mr. Belloc to get rid of the indeterminate detention of habitual criminals. When the debate was resumed on December 7, the Home Secretary announced that, in substitution for the indeterminate sentence, he would propose that the court might order the detention of a prisoner for not less than five years or more than ten, power being also reserved to the Home Secretary to shorten the sentence. This concession was strongly supported by Mr. Lyttelton; other members, however—mostly Liberal—were not satisfied, and Mr. Pickersgill (*Bethnal Green, S.W.*), pointing out that as the Bill stood, three years' penal servitude must precede the detention, and that the operation of the measure was not confined to dangerous or hardened criminals, moved that penal servitude should not be a condition precedent to the detention. Mr. Gladstone, however, emphasised the difficulties of mixing freshly-convicted prisoners with those undergoing reformative treatment, and cited Colonial precedents; and eventually the amendment was rejected by 164 to 95. The Home Secretary's amendments were agreed to and the Bill was read a third time without a division, but after an earnest protest from Mr. Belloc against putting into practice the speculations of a certain school of criminologists, and increasing the sufferings of prisoners by adding the element of anxiety. The Bill passed its second reading in the House of Lords without a division on December

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10, the Primate cordially welcoming it as a hopeful experiment and, after some further Ministerial amendment, it became law.

The Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, which had been amended in the Standing Committee, had been discussed on Report on December 9, 10 and 11, and had aroused much opposition, not among Unionists alone. On a destructive amendment, moved by Viscount Castlereagh (*Maidstone*), Mr. Balfour predicted a great rise in the price of coal, and asked the Labour members whether the miners would acquiesce in a reduction of wages, whether where they now worked six and a half hours they would work eight, and whether they realised the impending restriction on their freedom. The Home Secretary promised further amendments, and apprehended no great rise in price and no great decrease in accidents; Mr. Keir Hardie contended that the Bill would increase both safety and output, and the amendment was rejected by 267 to 94. Next day unavailing attempts were made to modify the Bill, by limiting the eight hours to actual working time, by excluding intervals of rest, and by making the time forty-eight hours per week (so as to admit of a week-end holiday); and Mr. Ridsdale (*Brighton*) moved an amendment permitting contracting-out, which was eventually rejected by 232 to 55 after a long discussion. On the day following there were also long debates, chiefly as to the length of the period during which the windings should not be counted in the eight hours. Originally five years, the Standing Committee had made it three, and the Home Secretary, on December 9, had announced his intention to make it five again. Mr. Beck (*Wisbech, Cambs*) now moved an amendment which would have left the decision to a future Parliament, and it was argued that the inclusion of the windings would cause their speed to be dangerously increased, and that the treatment of the matter by the Government must disturb the industry. Mr. Samuel, however, explained that during the five years arrangements obviating danger could be made in the winding machinery, and the amendment was rejected by 207 to 50. A proposal by Mr. Russell Rea (*Gloucester*) to reach the eight-hour day by three stages instead of two as proposed by the Government was resisted by Ministers and also by Mr. Balfour and rejected; and the exclusion of the two windings for five years instead of three was carried by 240 to 47. A Government amendment was also inserted, giving mineowners in Northumberland and Durham six months in which to adjust their undertakings to the new conditions. A number of other amendments were discussed, and the Bill occupied the House for nearly ten hours. It was read a third time on December 14. Meetings of protest had been held on that day by the Coal Consumers' League and the London Chamber of Commerce, at which alarming predictions were made as to its effects on the railways, the price of gas, and manufacture. Mr. Gladstone, Home Secretary, in moving the second reading, remarked that

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the Bill had not been guillotined, and contended that provision had been made against the anticipated increase of danger, and that any disturbance in the organisation of the mines or the price of coal would only be partial and temporary. The measure was not a mere discharge of political obligations, but was intended to give the miners fresh hope and confidence and reduce disputes between employer and employed. Its rejection was moved by Lord Robert Cecil, who described it as class legislation, having only lukewarm support from the Government, and seconded by Viscount Castlereagh (*Maidstone*). Speeches in support of the Bill were delivered by three Labour members, Mr. Edwards (*Hanley*), who ridiculed the prediction that the cost would be increased by 3*s*. to 5*s*. a ton; Mr. Walsh (*Ince, Lancs, S.E.*), who urged the need for shorter hours for the youths employed, and Mr. W. Harvey (*Derbyshire, N.E.*), who pointed out that the Conservatives had previously supported the Bill, and that under modern conditions of labour in mines there was a great increase in nystagmus and night blindness among miners, which made reduction of hours a necessity. Of speakers against the Bill, Mr. Beck (*Wisbech, Cambs*), a Liberal, feared that the Bill had done much to destroy the chances of his party at the next general election. Mr. Balfour remarked that the Bill was not to come into operation for five years, by which time the Government prophesied that new inventions would have justified certain of its provisions. How did they know? The Bill would tend to create unemployment, would unjustifiably limit the liberty of workmen, and was inconsistent with Free-Trade principles. "The big and little coalscuttle" would be an appropriate election cry. The Bill had all the disadvantages of extreme Protection without any of its advantages. Mr. Herbert Samuel made a spirited reply. He did not know whether Mr. Balfour opposed the Bill as a Free Trader or as a Fiscal Reformer. There was no ground for expecting an appreciable and permanent burden on the consumer. Mr. Balfour's argument was double-edged; if the Government were obliged to oppose this Bill because they opposed a tariff, then if Mr. Balfour supported a tariff he must support the Bill. A large percentage of the collieries were working slack time, so that the argument that under existing conditions there must be a great reduction of output fell to the ground. He denounced the "mendacious" Coal Consumers' League, and added that the Opposition were always prophesying ruin and disaster, apparently with glee, but their predictions were seldom fulfilled. He defended the Bill as securing leisure for the miners as a means towards improving their lives. After further attacks from both sides, the Bill was read a third time by 264 to 89.

After Mr. Balfour's speech it was rather a surprise that the House of Lords next day accepted the principle of the Bill. Earl Beauchamp moved the second reading, and recapitulated the main points of the case in its favour; Lord Newton, chair-

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man of the Coal Consumers' League, moved the rejection. He said that the success of his motion might assist the Government; but principles were more than tactics. The support of the Bill in the past by some Unionist leaders made no difference to him; Mr. J. Chamberlain, however, had proposed to give local option, which would practically have killed it. It was absurd to put 3,000 pits, no two exactly alike, under the same cast-iron rule. As to the rise in price, leagues always exaggerated, especially at elections, but an increase of even 1*s.* per ton would be serious. The miners were only pushing forward the Bill because they were disunited. There was no argument for it except political expediency. The Bill was strongly attacked also by the Earl of Cromer, who mentioned that competent authorities estimated the amount of British capital seeking investment as 250,000,000*l.* annually, and argued that its non-investment in British industries was partly due to the policy and legislation of the Government and partly to the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would vote against the Bill to help to restore the confidence of the investing class. If he thought there was an effective public opinion behind it he would withdraw his opposition, but the evidence was the other way. Lord St. Davids supported the Bill and made light of Lord Newton's arguments; and the Marquess of Lansdowne, while admitting that he shared the misgivings expressed, and laying stress on the danger and suffering incident to a rise in the price of coal, accepted the more optimistic view of the situation put forward by the Government. To reject the Bill would whet the miners' appetite and set up a prolonged struggle, and the responsibility for its enactment would rest with the Government. But amendments were necessary, partly to meet the cases of special mines, and partly to prevent dislocation of the industry five years hence. Subsequently the Marquess of Londonderry and other coal-owning Peers strongly condemned the Bill; but Viscount St. Aldwyn, who examined the arguments against it in principle and in detail, said that it was really too late to object on Free-Trade grounds. Mining was materially different from other industries, and the predictions of a rise in price due to his own imposition of an export duty on coal had been falsified. He thought that the Bill needed amendment, but supported it as tending to raise the miners to a better life. The debate was wound up effectively by the Earl of Crewe, and the second reading was carried by 121 to 44.

The Port of London Bill, as amended by the Joint Committee, had been considered in the Commons a month before (Nov. 11 and 12), when unsuccessful efforts had been made to revise the composition of the Port Authority and to give separate representation to the various riparian counties; a representative of Labour, however, was to be among those appointed by the London County Council. A small body of members, headed by Mr. Lough, was still hostile; but Sir Hudson Kearley incident-

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ally explained that, after providing for the interest on Port stock, there would be a surplus of 9,000*l.* annually, and 750 acres of undeveloped land, acquired for nothing, were worth 1,500,000*l.* The Government expected a large eventual increase of surplus income. On December 4 the President of the Board of Trade had moved a new clause substituting the Board of Trade for Parliament as the body which should have power to authorise new works and the compulsory acquisition of land for them, provisoes, however, being inserted limiting the area within which land could be acquired, and bringing the operation under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts. This was strongly objected to by Lord Robert Cecil and other members; and eventually Mr. Churchill promised a further amendment providing for a prior public inquiry and other mitigations of the clause. The Ministerial aim, as explained by Mr. Lloyd-George, was to avoid the cost incident to procedure by Private Bill. An amendment establishing procedure by provisional order (which might be nullified by Parliament) was moved by Mr. Guinness (*Bury St. Edmunds*), but defeated by 185 to 36. On December 9, other amendments were made, but one moved by Mr. Renwick (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) limiting the dues charged on goods imported or exported coastwise to one-fourth of those charged on foreign exports or imports was negatived by 90 to 11. The Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords on December 16, on the motion of Lord Hamilton of Dalzell. The rejection was moved by Lord Ritchie of Dundee, who challenged the accuracy of the valuation of the dock property, and condemned the measure as binding London to an antiquated dock system, for the support of which those who did not use it were to be taxed. The Bill was an Old Age Pensions Bill for the Docks. He was strongly supported by Lord Leith of Fyvie, who had retired from the Joint Committee on the Bill as disapproving its proceedings, and still more strongly by Lord Avebury, on behalf of the Corporation, the short sea traders, the London Manufacturers' Association, the lightermen and barge owners, the Thames Conservancy, and the counties of Kent and Essex. The Bill, he argued, attacked private enterprise, and was Socialistic; the docks, indeed, were being paid for too highly, but the substitution of public for private enterprise had increased cost in the case of the telegraph and telephone systems and the London water supply, and the Bill would make the port more expensive and drive away trade. On the other side, Lord Swaythling, the Earl of Cromer, Lord Desborough and Viscount Milner supported the Bill, partly on the ground that further delay would be costly, and the Marquess of Salisbury declined to oppose it, though complaining of the short time allowed for its discussion, and criticising it unfavourably. Lord Fitzmaurice, in replying for the Government, said that most of the discussion had been done in the Joint Committee. In Committee, however, an amendment moved by the Earl of Darnley

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giving Kent and Essex a representative apiece on the Port Authority was carried, after some debate, by 90 to 47, and the provisions as to the acquisition of land under the authority of the Board of Trade were somewhat modified on the motion of the Earl of Camperdown. These amendments, however, were disagreed with by the Commons (a small concession being made in regard to the latter) on December 18; the Lords gave way and the Bill became law.

The Children Bill had been read a third time in the House of Lords on November 30. The provision regarding the children of vagrants had been so modified as to allow gipsies and other itinerant traders who travelled only during the summer to take their children with them from April to October, provided the latter had attended school 200 times in the previous five months; and a clause had been transferred from the unfortunate Licensing Bill excluding children from the bars of licensed premises except during closing hours. Few changes were made on the consideration of the Lords' amendments (Dec. 15), many of which, as Mr. Herbert Samuel pointed out and Mr. Balfour emphasised, were inserted on the initiative of Ministers. The amendment empowering constables to search boys under sixteen found smoking was agreed to; the exclusion of children from bars set up a good deal of opposition; Mr. Fell (*Great Yarmouth*) moved to disagree with it on the ground that excursionists with children might be unable even to take refuge from the weather; and Mr. Collings denounced it as class legislation, but it was maintained, Mr. Samuel pointing out that children might be taken to any place in licensed premises except bars, and some modifications were made in the rigour of the clause. Incidentally, on a point dealing with finance, Lord Robert Cecil ironically denounced the Government for accepting a Lords' amendment which he described as a dodge to infringe on the privileges of the Commons resembling that adopted on the Education Bill in 1902 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1902, p. 234). When the Bill was returned to the Lords, these alterations were agreed to with trifling amendments, and the measure became law.

The Hops Bill, a Government measure intended to relieve a distressed industry (pp. 22, 105) by prohibiting the use of hop substitutes in brewing, and the importation of hops except in bags properly marked, was less fortunate. Introduced on December 8 and read a second time next day, it was opposed by some extreme Free Traders and temperance reformers, and was therefore dropped on December 17 for lack of time.

In accordance with recent custom, some hours were devoted to discussing points raised by the Report of the Committee of Public Accounts (Dec. 16), among them the power of the Treasury to sanction changes in the application of the sums voted by Parliament, on the need of the maintenance of civilian control of expenditure at the War Office, which was erroneously supposed to be threatened in consequence of a change in the

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title of the accounting officer, and on the practice resorted to in 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 85, 187) of overriding a statute by the Appropriation Bill. It was also mentioned by Mr. Bowles (*Norwood*) that the total expenditure of the nation in 1906-7 was 166,986,719*l.* and that no single account presented to Parliament even professed to state it accurately.

The promised statements on Indian affairs were made in both Houses on Thursday, December 17. In the Upper House Lord Morley of Blackburn said that discussion had been undesirable, pending the study of the papers issued that day and the next [which gave full details of the proposed changes] and the reception of the proposals they contained in India, which a debate might influence. Instead of asking for a Parliamentary Committee of investigation into the government of India, he had first, in concert with the Indian Government, "opened the chapter of constitutional reform," and had next appointed a Royal Commission whose report would appear in February or March, and would involve further careful inquiry. After a tribute to the intrepid coolness of the Viceroy, he described the state of affairs existing in Calcutta. There was no fear of a general rising, but the terrorism of the anarchists might set up a general panic, which would greatly increase the danger. Quite early in his career at the India Office pressure had been put on him to repeal the regulations of 1818, under which persons were being deported without trial or charge. He still said that he declined to deprive the Government of any weapon. There were two paths of folly; one, to treat India as if it were Great Britain or Ireland; the other, to think, as had been suggested in print, that all that was necessary was to blow a certain number of men from guns. He had no illusions; he did not ignore the risks involved in admitting arbitrary personal discretion or in summary procedure; but he thought the situation justified taking the risks, and he would do his best to support the Government of India. It would be argued that repression should arrest reform, but reforms had been announced, adopted, and worked out for more than two years, and to persist in them was simply "standing to your guns." To drop them would forward the aims of the irreconcilables, and conflict with the views of all the expert authorities. To abolish freedom of the Press would entail shutting up all the schools and colleges, and forbidding the possession of a copy of Milton or Burke. Such a policy would produce a mute, muzzled, lifeless India; no English Parliament would permit it, and the last man to acquiesce in it was the Governor-General. After cordially endorsing the past attitude and actions of Lords Lansdowne and Ripon, and mentioning that he himself and Lord Minto were in cordial agreement, Lord Morley stated that a Bill would be introduced into Parliament in 1909 to enact a series of reforms. At present the maximum number of the Legislative Councils was fixed by statute, and there was no election properly so called. They

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would ask for power to increase the numbers and introduce election alongside of nomination, so as to have representatives of different classes. They would propose to repeal the prohibition of resolutions or divisions of the Council in financial discussions, and to empower Legislative Councils to discuss matters of public importance and to pass recommendations, which would not bind the Government. The existing power of appointing a member to preside would be extended; the numbers of the Bombay and Madras Executive Councils would be doubled, and the Lieutenant-Governors would be given Executive Councils. A majority of officials would be retained in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, but would cease to exist in the Provincial Councils, the danger being met with the power of veto. This course would be inconsistent if they were setting up a Parliament in India, but this he would never desire to do. An Indian member would be appointed on the Viceroy's Executive Council, and in this Lord Minto fully concurred. The appointment of native members on the Council of India had been a great success. He proposed also to appoint at least one native member on the new Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras, and in at least four other provinces. The Government believed these reforms would strengthen the British power. They needed, not military strength, but moral strength to guide and control the people of India. Though not what was called an Imperialist, he felt that the task was a great national honour and one of the most glorious ever confided to any country.

The Marquess of Lansdowne referred in cordial terms to the absorbing interest of Lord Morley's statement, and generally agreed with it, though he urged stringency as to Press offences; and Lord Macdonnell also approved broadly, but questioned the appointment of native members on the Viceroy's Council, and strongly urged that the blunder of the partition of Bengal should be undone. In the Commons, a similar statement was made by Mr. T. R. Buchanan, Under-Secretary for India, who described the problem as the greatest and most difficult problem of government with which our race had ever had to contend, and appealed earnestly for unity and spontaneity in the reform. No discussion followed; but the rapid passing of the Summary Jurisdiction Bill in India and the deportation of Nationalist leaders caused acute misgivings among Liberals in England.

The chief remaining item of Parliamentary interest was now the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, to which amendments were moved in the Lords on December 17: (1) by Viscount St. Aldwyn, permanently excluding the two windings from the statutory eight hours, which was carried by 136 to 37; (2) by Lord Newton, striking out the concession made to the mine-owners in Northumberland and Durham; and (3) by Lord Avebury, providing that the Bill should not become operative until January 1, 1910. In the Commons next day the first of these amendments was accepted by the Government—to the disappointment

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of the Labour members—and the other two disagreed with; the Lords gave way, and the Bill became law.

A few minor measures, however, deserve brief mention—an East India Loans Act giving power to the Secretary of State to borrow in England for railway or general purposes in India, which became law, but was adversely criticised by Dr. Rutherford, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Keir Hardie and other advanced Liberal members (Dec. 7), who objected chiefly to burdening the natives for railway development; the Poisons and Pharmacy Act, which somewhat extended the facilities for obtaining poisonous preparations used in agriculture, and required chemists having two or more shops to place qualified managers in each; an Incest Act, making that sin criminal; a Tuberculosis (Ireland) Act and a White Phosphorus Matches Prohibition Act, the outcome of an International Conference at Berne, and designed to check one of the worst diseases of industry. Among the Government measures, the Housing and Town Planning Bill had shared the fate of the Irish Land Bill (p. 231); but the Housing of the Working Classes (Ireland) Bill had passed after some amendment in detail in both Houses. So had a private members' Bill enabling local authorities to make regulations for the admission of the Press, and (in its final form) to exclude them by a bare majority. Mention must also be made of a product of the Suffragist agitation, the Public Meeting Bill, introduced by Lord Robert Cecil on December 10, and imposing penalties for disturbing meetings. Condemned by some Liberals as likely to stop "heckling" and the pointed interruptions often so effective at public meetings, it yet passed both Houses, and an amendment moved by the Earl of Donoughmore was inserted by the Lords, making it punishable by imprisonment to break up an election meeting between the issue of the writ and the polling day. The Suffragist agitation had also caused the appointment of a Select Committee on the admission of strangers to the House of Commons, which reported (Dec. 16) that visitors should be admitted by ticket and pledged to behave properly, and that disorderly conduct should be made punishable by imprisonment, the decision as to prosecution resting with the Speaker. Among other suggestions it advised the admission of both sexes to the Members' Gallery. The Suffragists, however, gloried in their conduct, and welcomed the "martyrs" of October 13 at a demonstration on December 22.

Parliament was prorogued on Monday, December 22, till February 16, 1909. The very lengthy King's Speech, read by the Lord Chancellor, referred with great cordiality to the visits of the French President and the King and Queen of Sweden, to the Treaty of Arbitration with the United States and that for regulating differences between the United States and Canada, to the North Sea Agreement and the Berlin Copyright Convention (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter II.); it took a hopeful view of the Near Eastern outlook, mentioned that negotiations were

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pending with the Belgian Government for the safeguarding of the treaties affecting the Congo Territory in consequence of its transfer to Belgium; and touched on Indian affairs, the Quebec celebration, the visit of the American fleet to Australia, the South African Federation Convention, the Army and Navy, and the chief legislative measures of the session. The failure of the Licensing and Education Bills was referred to in a colourless paragraph, and incidental mention was made of "several Acts of unusual scope and comprehensiveness for consolidating existing enactments in various departments of law."[1] The Speech concluded thus: "I thank you for the zeal which has characterised your protracted and arduous labours, and I pray that they may be rewarded by the blessing of Almighty God."

On the day of the prorogation Mr. Lloyd-George addressed a large meeting at the Sun Hall, Liverpool, in connection with the annual meeting of the Tariff Reform Union. No women were admitted; but the militant suffragists made themselves faintly heard through a megaphone from a house opposite. He attacked the Peers, insisting that their House was purely a Tory assembly, but he did not state clearly how the Liberals meant to deal with the situation. He said that Ireland, where the House of Lords had had full play for generations, was an object lesson of the effect of its unfettered action on property and credit; that Wales had for forty years been denied religious equality by it, and would refuse to continue paying tithe or education rates; referred to Charles I., and declared that the Government would no longer stand the "usurpation of Lord Lansdowne and his Royal Consort in the Commons." They had to fight, and the first necessity was to challenge a direct issue on finance. Should social reform be paid for by Free Trade finance or by Tariff Reform? And here Mr. Lloyd-George fell upon a speech delivered by Mr. Wyndham in the same place at a Tariff Reform demonstration on December 9, in which he had complained that British business contained too large an element of banking and commission agency, and had promised a 2*s.* tax on wheat, and a tax on timber with a preference to the Colonies, and had made various grotesque mistakes in statistics and otherwise about British trade. Mr. Lloyd-George's own speech, however, was not entirely accurate in these matters, and was somewhat extravagant in style for a Cabinet Minister.

The National Reform Union favoured prompt abolition of the Lords' veto, but not necessarily by an immediate dissolution; and the general belief was that the issue would be joined over the Budget of 1909.

Outside Parliament, two incidents of the latter part of December call for notice. On December 15 the Earl of Cromer delivered an address before the Eighty Club on the position in

[1] These were: the Agricultural Holdings Act, a similar Act for Scotland, the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, the Companies Consolidation Act, the Statute Law Revision Act, and the Post Office Consolidation Act.

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Egypt, which was in essence an argument for delay in granting a Constitution, on the ground that it must take in all the inhabitants of the country and that any effective scheme was at present barred by the capitulations; there was scope for progress, however, in the development of provincial councils. On December 23 a remarkable memorandum was published, addressed to Sir Edward Grey, signed by Peers, Church dignitaries, Nonconformist leaders, members of Parliament, mayors, editors, and chairmen of Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies, expressing cordial satisfaction at his recent communication to the Belgian Government, in which he had insisted on the need for guarantees of the native communal rights in land and produce.

This was a reminder that further difficulties might arise in connection with this subject in the coming year; but there were more immediate causes for apprehension in regard to the Near East and Central Europe. The expectation of eventual friction with Germany had been sedulously intensified by the naval and military alarmists; and in Vienna unfounded suspicions were expressed as to supposed British intrigues. But the domestic situation was ominous of a crisis. Mr. Lloyd-George's speeches, notably that at Swansea (p. 198), had caused disquiet; and a casual remark of his in the Committee on the Old Age Pensions Bill (June 29)—"I have no nest-eggs; I am looking for some one's hen-roost to rob next year"—was seized on as a compendium of Ministerial designs on property, and used as a fresh argument for Tariff Reform. It was understood that the struggle would centre on finance; but a heavy programme of legislation was also before Ministers, comprising Poor Law Reform, further measures dealing with unemployment (promised afresh to a deputation by Mr. Asquith on Dec. 15), the postponed Irish Land Bill, and electoral reform. True, the Opposition had but few able debaters, and some of these were Peers. But it was not clear when or how the Ministry meant to come to close quarters with the House of Lords; and, though most of their supporters preferred a postponement, a minority regarded it as an exhibition of weakness foreshadowing ultimate disaster.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

I. SCOTLAND.

IN Scotland, more than in the other divisions of the United Kingdom, the dominant interest of the year was economic. The bye-elections of April and May (pp. 100, 111) showed that the electorate, unlike that of England, had not abated that support of the Ministry which was so marked at the general election of 1906. The more advanced character of Liberalism

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north of the Tweed was seen at the meeting of the Scottish Liberal Federation in October, which passed resolutions in favour of Disestablishment, Women's Suffrage, and Home Rule for purely Scottish affairs, and deplored the excessive outlay on armaments, though not without an emphatic protest in the name of the younger members of the party. But the second rejection by the House of Lords of the Small Landholders Bill in March (p. 61) and the alteration and consequent abandonment of the Land Values Bill (p. 159) were not followed by any visible wave of popular indignation, and Lord Dalmeny was the only Liberal member censured by his constituents for his opposition to the Ministry on them; and towards the end of the year it was believed by Unionists that the great efforts made to organise a propaganda in favour of Tariff Reform, coupled with the grave industrial distress, were tending to alter the current of political feeling. Unemployment was serious, especially in Glasgow, and the disturbances in September and the demonstration during the visit of Prince Arthur of Connaught (p. 195) indicated the activity of the Socialist party. The speeches in October of Mr. Balfour at Dumfries and of Mr. Asquith at Kirkcaldy and Leven (pp. 199, 201) were not predominantly concerned with Scottish issues, and some effort was made earlier in the year to win Scottish sympathy for the English Licensing Bill. A more comprehensive measure was promised for Scotland by the Prime Minister (p. 198), but the great legislative feature of the year was an Education Act (p. 231) containing several provisions much in advance of the English law. Another notable Act affecting Scotland consolidated its agricultural law.

One episode of the land question attracted much attention in Parliament. The case of the Vatersay crofters, which had been going on since the spring of 1906, was set forth by Mr. Balfour in his speech at Glasgow on January 17 (p. 3) as a proof that the Crofters Act, the principles of which it was proposed to extend to the Lowlands, had utterly failed to check congestion. Lady Gordon Cathcart, the landlord of Barra and other islands of the Hebrides, had multiplied small holdings, but had not thereby permanently relieved congestion; and eventually, in June, 1906, a number of the inhabitants, impatient at the non-fulfilment of hopes which they believed to have been held out to them by the agent of the Congested Districts Board, invaded the island of Vatersay, which together with Sandray was leased to one tenant, put cattle on it and subsequently built huts for themselves. It was questioned if the island was suitable for small holders; however, Lady Gordon Cathcart reluctantly offered to let them remain, but suggested that the Government should purchase the island, and should compensate the tenant in any case; the Scottish Secretary, however, treated the settlement as a matter for the landlord, and refused to put the Trespass Act in force against the squatters. Interdicts had been served on

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them, but not respected; and eventually, in June, ten were sentenced to two months' imprisonment for breach of interdict. The case was debated in the House of Lords (March 31), when several Peers, among them the Earl of Rosebery, strongly attacked the Scottish Office, and in the Commons (June 25, p. 149); but early in July a compromise was arranged, small holdings were promised, and, at Lady Gordon Cathcart's request, the men were released, she paying their fares home. In August, however, the Scottish Secretary had to warn some of the applicants who had threatened to seize the land; and the situation had been further complicated by the seizure of Sandray by rival squatters from Mingulay, thus reducing the area available for the original intruders.

The Commission under the Churches (Scotland) Act published a comprehensive statement in February of the allocation of Church funds between the United Free Church and the Free Church, but its labours were still unfinished at the close of the year. In March the provision of 3,000*l.* a year previously made for the maintenance of a Free Church College was capitalised by the allotment to that Church of 92,308*l.*—a heavy deduction from the educational resources of the larger body. It was stated that in the Highlands, where the "Wee Frees" were strongest, the United Free Church was erecting churches and manses, and that the Free Church, despite the sums allotted to it, was experiencing some pecuniary strain. The Church of Scotland, at its General Assembly, found itself unable to revise the Confession of Faith (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 262); but it decided to confer with the other Presbyterian Churches with the aim of promoting closer union; and the General Assembly of the United Free Church responded favourably by an almost unanimous vote.

The appointment was announced on July 31 of a Treasury Committee to inquire into the revenue and financial position of the Scottish Universities, which was possibly a preliminary towards measures of reform. The election to the Lord Rectorships of Edinburgh and Glasgow (Oct. 24) were notable victories for the Unionist candidates, Lord Curzon of Kedleston and Mr. George Wyndham, over Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd-George. It was also notable that Mr. Keir Hardie received 122 votes at Glasgow. The appointment of a Committee, with Sir Herbert Maxwell as Chairman, to make an inventory of Scottish historical monuments from the earliest times to the year 1707, was welcomed as a first step towards legislation which would secure their maintenance.

A Scottish National Exhibition of high merit and interest—more particularly on its historical side—was opened at Edinburgh by Prince Arthur of Connaught in April. Among other non-political items may be mentioned Mr. Carnegie's institution of a hero fund (*post*, Chronicle, Oct. 29), and the restoration by Sir Donald Currie of Dunkeld Cathedral.

A return on the housing of the people, issued at the end of

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March, showed a steady decrease in overcrowding since the census of 1861. Between that year and 1901, the percentage of the population living more than two in a room had fallen from 56·57 to 45·68; that living more than three in a room from 33·83 to 22·91; that living more than four in a room from 18·67 to 9·56. The vital statistics, 1907, gave an estimated population of 4,776,063, or 2,331,907 males and 2,444,166 females. The birth rate was the lowest yet recorded, though the number of marriages was above the average for the preceding ten years.

The proposed Forth and Clyde Canal was pressed on the attention of the Government by the Glasgow Corporation (Oct. 22), and the Inverness Town Council similarly urged the enlargement of the Caledonian Canal on the lines adopted before the Waterways Commission.

Throughout the year there was grave industrial depression. On the Clyde the shipbuilding trade, which had reached the maximum output on record in 1907, fell to the level of the year 1894. The total for Scotland was 680 vessels of 400,194 tons with engines of 528,702 i.h.p., against 757 built in the previous year, of 675,173 tons and 742,299 i.h.p. On the Clyde four vessels of over 10,000 tons each were built, the P. and O. liner *Malwa* and three large Orient liners; the output also included other large steamers, among them the *Otaki*, the first example of that combination of triple and turbine engines which was to be rendered more familiar to the British public by the new White Star steamer *Laurentic*. In the eastern ports the previous overbuilding of steam fishing vessels caused slackness, but on the Tay, owing partly to the launch of a large steamer for a Liverpool firm, there was an increase. The depression naturally affected the steel and iron trades, which suffered from other causes. The cotton spinning and weaving trades were also seriously depressed, the woollen manufacture less seriously; the jute trade was agitated, but unprofitable, and suffered severely, as did the linen trade, from the depression in the United States. The building trade suffered in Scotland, as elsewhere. The year closed, however, with hopes of an all-round revival, though in the opinion of some skilled observers there was little reason to expect their early fulfilment. The harvest season throughout the greater part of Scotland was described as prolonged, expensive and disappointing.

II. IRELAND.

Though legislation for Ireland was not the dominant feature of the lengthy and laborious session, the year was marked by several measures of very high importance. The Irish Universities Act (pp. 75, 101, 174) at last disposed of a problem fertile in difficulties to English Ministries for forty years by a settlement satisfactory to Irish Roman Catholics, and not imposing an undue strain on the mass of British Liberal opinion.

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The two new Universities in Dublin and Belfast were respectively named the National and the Queen's University, and the close of the year saw the organisation of both of them actively in progress, though the election of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin as Chancellor of the former suggested that its denominational character was likely to be more marked than had been expected by the English and Scottish supporters of the Bill. At the close of the year an agitation, promoted by the Gaelic League and endorsed by the Nationalist leaders, was in progress for the inclusion of the Irish language as a compulsory subject for matriculation, and up to the point where students would be allowed to specialise their studies. The Queen's University in Belfast was organising a Faculty of Commerce. Other important Irish measures were a Housing Act to facilitate the housing of the urban working classes in towns, an Evicted Tenants Act (p. 150), and a Tuberculosis Prevention Act. Under the Evicted Tenants Act compulsory powers were obtained for the acquisition of 1,800 acres of the Clanricarde Estate in County Galway, and with this and a voluntary settlement on the Lewis Estate, the long-standing question of the restoration of the evicted tenants was in a fair way to receive a complete solution. In connection with the campaign against tuberculosis, promoted by the Irish International Exhibition of 1907, and facilitated by the bill passed during the year, two travelling exhibitions visited sixty towns in the north and south of Ireland respectively and were attended by some 700,000 people. Catholics and Protestants, Nationalists and Unionists, joined in aiding the movement, and steps were taken by various local authorities to promote the treatment of the disease by modern methods, while in Dublin a supply of pure milk for infants was organised and efforts were made to facilitate the effective nursing of consumptive patients at their homes. The Lord-Lieutenant and the Countess of Aberdeen actively aided the movement. The Old Age Pensions Act was also of great benefit to Ireland, though the figures published early in the new year suggested that many of the beneficiaries had in fact no claim to pensions. The success of the Home Rule resolution (p. 73) encouraged Nationalist hopes, which were further strengthened by Mr. Winston Churchill's avowal at Manchester (p. 84), and in November preparations were made to renew the agitation in Great Britain (p. 221). The unity of the Nationalist party was restored in January and Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. Healy returned to the main body. In the autumn, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Devlin and Mr. J. Fitzgibbon visited the United States to collect funds for the support of their cause, and addressed a Convention at Boston.

The Nationalists, however, were threatened by the progress of the Sinn Fein movement, and, though a Sinn Fein candidate was defeated in North Leitrim by nearly three to one on February 22, his poll of 1,100 votes was unexpectedly large. The

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report of the Sinn Fein Executive (Aug. 26) stated that there were 115 branches of the association in Ireland, and that the movement was spreading.

Unhappily, the state of portions of the southern and western counties—eight in all—steadily grew worse owing to the campaign against the grazing industry and the prevalence of cattle-driving and boycotting. An official return showed that whereas in the nine months ending December 31, 1907, the number of cattle-drives was 390, in the following nine months, to September 30, 1908, it was 517; and there were serious cases of boycotting, that of Mr. Persse, a Galway grazier, being specially brought to the notice of the English public. At the end of the year a Unionist organ, the *Irish Times*, said: "The year has witnessed nearly 700 cattle-drives, nearly 600 agrarian outrages, nearly 100 cases of firing into dwelling-houses. Twenty Irish counties are involved in the present disorders. Eight have been officially proclaimed, and are maintaining 750 extra police at a cost of nearly 50,000*l*." The Ministry repeatedly refused to make use of the Crimes Act of 1887, declaring it to be an ineffective and improper weapon; but late in the year, Mr. J. P. Farrell (*Longford, N.*) was sent to prison by the Court of King's Bench for newspaper articles and speeches, under an Act of Edward III. The Government contended that the evil could only be cured by facilitating land purchase, the delay in which was bitterly complained of by the Irish Landowners' Convention in September, but the Bill for that purpose, introduced in the autumn session, was necessarily postponed till 1909 (p. 231).

The report of the Earl of Dudley's Commission on Congestion, issued May 24, made drastic recommendations. It advised that the area of the Congested Districts Board, whose work it strongly commended, should be shifted so as to include Connaught, Donegal, Kerry, Clare, and four rural districts in West Cork, and that the Board should have exclusive control over land purchase in this area. Outside it, the relief of congestion should be entrusted to the Land Commission and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The enlargement of small holdings within the area would involve a large scheme of migration and the acquisition not only of untenanted land but of parts of some large holdings, to a value represented by 450,000*l*. annually. It favoured on economic grounds the distribution of the grass lands in small holdings, and mixed farming rather than grazing, and urged that provision should be made against sub-division and consolidation of small holdings. It demanded compulsory powers of acquisition. It also recommended the assistance of the small holders by the promotion of agricultural co-operation and rural land banks, and by the development of fisheries, and it proposed to reconstruct the Congested Districts Board by the inclusion of nine representatives elected by the County Councils within the new area.

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There were to be four ex-officio members of the Board, together with three paid members appointed by the Crown, and four other Crown nominees. The elected members were to hold office for six years. Nothing was done to give effect to the report by legislation, and the landlord interests condemned its proposals.

The mystery of the loss of the Regalia of the Order of St. Patrick, including the Irish Crown Jewels, early in July, 1907, remained unsolved. A Commission of Inquiry appointed on January 6, consisting of County Court Judge J. J. Shaw, Mr. R. F. Starkie, R.M., and Mr. Chester Jones, a London police magistrate, found that Sir Arthur Vicars had not exercised due care and diligence in the custody of the key of the safe in which the jewels were kept, and were of opinion that the safe (which, in breach of the statutes of the order, was not kept in the strong room) had been opened with one of his keys, or with a copy of it made by a skilled workman. But there was no evidence against any one, and they did not consider it their duty to discover the thief. Sir Arthur Vicars and his counsel refused to take part in the inquiry on the ground that it was to be private and that witnesses could not be heard on oath or compelled to attend, but his statements, made to the police, were before the Commission, and it examined witnesses. He was removed from his office as the result of the finding (Jan. 31), and replaced by Colonel N. R. Wilkinson; but he and his half-brother, Mr. Pierce O'Mahony, once a Nationalist M.P., protested vigorously against the action of the Commission and the Government, and he stated that he had refused to anticipate removal by resignation. Subsequently Mr. Birrell dealt in Parliament with an absurd rumour as to the alleged thief (p. 77).

The meeting of the British Association in Dublin in September proved very successful. The development of tourist traffic was facilitated by the improvement of the Rosslare and Greenore services, on each of which a new steamer was placed, and the removal of the London and North-Western steamers from the North Wall to Kingstown (p. 78) attracted fresh visitors to Wicklow.

Strikes of the Dublin gas-workers in January and the dockers in July were settled by the intervention of Sir Antony Macdonnell, and that of the Dublin carters in December by the Lord-Lieutenant, after attempts by the Archbishops and the Lord Mayor. In the administration the event of the year was the retirement of Sir Antony Macdonnell from the Permanent Under-Secretaryship and his elevation to the Peerage as Lord Macdonnell of Swinford. He was succeeded by Sir James Dougherty, who had been Assistant Under-Secretary, and whose immediate successor, Mr. Edward Ennis, was shortly afterwards killed in a car accident, and succeeded by Mr. E. O'Farrell.

In January the appointment of Mr. M. Bodkin, a member of the staff of *Freeman's Journal*, to be County Court Judge of

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Clare was questioned by a writ of *quo warranto* moved for on behalf of a labourer who was a defendant in civil proceedings before him, on the ground that he had ceased to practise as a barrister and was therefore disqualified. The Attorney-General opposed the grant of a conditional order on the ground that the warrant of appointment could not be questioned in proceedings raised by a private individual; but the applicant made a second affidavit repudiating his first, and the case therefore broke down, so that the interesting constitutional question raised was not pursued further.

The report of the Registrar-General published in August showed that the rates of births, deaths and marriages were practically stationary, as were the deaths from tuberculosis. The emigrants during the year numbered 39,082, 21,124 being male and 17,958 female.

In trade and industry the year was generally gloomy, though a striking exception was presented by the great shipbuilding yards at Belfast. The total tonnage output was 156,826 tons against 138,260 in 1907, and five steamers were launched by Messrs. Harland and Wolff exceeding 14,000 tons. They were the *Rotterdam* of 23,980 tons, and the *Lapland* of 18,565 tons, for the Holland-Amerika and the Red Star (Antwerp) line respectively; the *Laurentic* and *Megantic*, the former with combined triple-expansion and turbine engines, for the White Star Canadian service, and an Atlantic Transport liner. The other great shipbuilding firm, Messrs. Workman, Clark and Co., also launched large steamers for Italy, New Zealand, and the Holt (Far East) line, besides large "fruiters" for service in the West Indian trade, two for Dutch and three for American owners, a speciality of the firm. The other staple trades of Belfast suffered seriously, chiefly through the depression in the United States. The Irish flax crop generally was very poor, owing to unfavourable weather conditions; the linen trade was in very low water for the first three months, but there was then a recovery, and a hopeful view was taken of the prospects for 1909. The whisky trade was affected, partly by the attack on the patent-still product, a Belfast staple, before the Commission, which, however, declined to refuse it the name of whisky, and partly by the Licensing Bill. The potato crop was a record, and almost wholly escaped disease. Hopeful results were given by the experimental culture of tobacco. A considerable trade had arisen between the South of Ireland and England in wild fruits—blackberries, bilberries, crab-apples and sloes—and the Congested Districts Board thought it worth while to issue instructions as to careful packing.

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SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

Finance and Trade in 1908.

In 1908 trade followed the course forecasted by those who had studied its movements in recent years. After nearly three years of steady expansion a decline was apparent in the second half of 1907 and continued unchecked throughout the year just closed. The reaction was marked and was observed in varying proportions in practically all industrial countries, and at home was disclosed in an unmistakable way by such tests as the Clearing House returns of the London banks, traffic earnings, insurance premiums, and statistics of foreign trade. In the United States financial conditions steadily righted themselves from the state of chaos into which they had fallen in the previous autumn; excellent crops were harvested in both Americas, and assisted largely in the recovery, but though commerce received encouragement from the election of Mr. Taft to the Presidency in November, trade generally was very dull. In Germany almost all forms of industry were marked by depression without the occurrence of any great disasters. Australia and New Zealand were affected by the lower values received for their products, but in South Africa several of the industries of the different colonies made progress and the note at the end of the year was one of cheerfulness. In China the import trade was crippled by currency troubles; exports however showed some increase. But if 1908 has no claims for remembrance as a time of expansion, there are very good reasons why it will stand out as a notable year at home. Unfortunately, its history was marred by two great labour disputes (pp. 194, 220) resulting from the necessary slackening of machinery and the stand made by the workers against the consequent reduction of wages. The strike in the North of England engineering yards affected all works dependent on the shipbuilding and engineering trades on the north-east coast, and lasted seven months before the men yielded. The lock-out in the cotton trade extended for seven weeks and really was not unwelcome to the spinners, who found the stoppage of work a useful means of reducing the stocks of cotton goods with which, as a result of a too rapid increase in the rate of mill-building, the market was over-supplied. The point for which the masters had held out, namely, that as wages were advanced in good years so they should be reduced when bad times occurred, was maintained, and the operatives postponed until March the reduction of wages by 5 per cent. which the masters had originally insisted should take effect in September.

Direct results of these troubles were the formulation in October of a profit-sharing scheme by Sir Christopher Furness (see *post*, Chronicle, Oct. 7), accepted by the workmen in his company's shipbuilding yards, and, later, the very important

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formation by the Board of Trade of a Court of Arbitration to which labour disputes will in future be submitted (p. 194). Another important feature of the year was the tendency towards combination and elimination of unnecessary competition among the great railways. A far-reaching agreement was come to between the Great Central, Great Northern and Great Eastern Companies and was followed later by an announcement that the London and North-Western and Midland Companies proposed also to obtain Parliamentary powers for a working agreement. In Scotland, the Railway Shareholders' Association was active in making its influence felt upon the direction of railways, and south of the border the formation of a Shareholders' Association has probably had not a little to do with the infusion of new energy into the solution of railway problems. Other examples of the movement towards combination are found in the amalgamation of colliery companies, the most important fusion of the kind being in South Wales, where the Cambrian Colliery Company acquired a controlling interest in companies which should enable it before very long to control an output of over 5,000,000 tons. As followed naturally from the state of trade money was liberated in the manufacturing districts and was in abundant supply, and members of the London Stock Exchange, building on the principle that slack trade is good for the City, expected great things from investment and speculation in stocks. To a certain extent business improved and would have been able to give a much better account of itself but for certain influences which will be referred to later when some of the principal movements of prices are noticed. The production of gold in the Transvaal mines and the reduction of working costs made great progress; the total amount we received from South Africa was 31,814,000*l.*, though the bulk of it did not stay in this country. Prices of commodities which reached a very high level in the preceding year showed an almost general decline, but exports of coal—usually one of the last of the commodities to feel the effects of industrial expansion or contraction—mark only a very slight falling off in volume and value.

Returns of foreign trade compare with figures for an exceptionally good year and were affected by lower prices, but the total value exceeded the 1,000,000,000*l.* dealt with for the first time in 1906. Compared with 1907 imports declined by 52,667,219*l.* or 8·2 per cent. to 593,140,723*l.*; exports of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom declined by 48,815,504*l.* or 11·5 per cent. to 377,219,579*l.*; and the re-exports of foreign and colonial merchandise declined by 12,276,515*l.* or 13·4 per cent. to 79,665,569*l.* In the imports, 72 per cent. of the reduction was in raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured, shipments of various textiles and of iron ore being considerably lighter, while in the exports over 92 per cent. of the reduction was in articles wholly or mainly manufactured, and of this reduction more than half was accounted for by textiles. Dur-

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ing the year all manufacturers in the Kingdom received from the Board of Trade schedules in connection with the Census of Production Act of 1906, and when the schedules are returned with the details required for the year 1907, there should, for the first time, be material available for trustworthy calculations as the real value of our home trade.

Although abundance of money was one of the features of the year, January opened with an abnormally high Bank rate in force in London. The 7 per cent. rate which had been imposed in November as a consequence of the crisis in the United States was continued until January 2, but a reduction was then made to 6 per cent. and by the end of the month the official minimum stood at 4 per cent. The rate remained at this figure until March 5 when it was reduced to 3½ per cent., and on March 19 a further reduction was made to 3 per cent., and finally at the end of May the rate was lowered to 2½ per cent. All this time money had been very scarce in Germany, but by the end of April the Reichsbank rate had slowly descended from 7½ per cent. to 5 per cent., and on June 18 a 4 per cent. rate took effect. In the United States confidence was quick to return; gold, which many of the banks had found impossible to obtain in the autumn, was put into free circulation and large issues of bonds were made —principally for railroad requirements—and were readily absorbed. In France the position was altogether exceptional. The Bank received enormous supplies of gold through this country, which had the effect of building up its reserve to a record figure; the phenomenon created a certain amount of discussion, but the large additions to the Bank's vaults really represented metal which France had lent to this country and the United States in the past years, a large proportion of which had been allowed to remain here for years and had been interrupted in its return during 1907 by the exceptional events of the autumn. In spite of the heavy imports of gold to this country and the remarkable decline in the Bank rate, these liberal repayments had the effect of leaving the reserve of the Bank of England in a rather weaker condition than it had been twelve months before.

On the Stock Exchange, as has already been hinted, business hardly justified those prophets who looked to see money flowing back at once from trade for investment in stocks and shares. In the first place, this process did not act very quickly, and then in the second half of the year when the public had at last begun to take an active interest in markets, politics in the Near East interfered and prices dropped badly. In certain departments, however, very substantial advances were made, but Consols, which only rose $\frac{5}{16}$, were a notable exception; they were undoubtedly depressed by the influence of home politics, for the recognised difficulty of providing the means for old age pensions, the probability of a large issue of Irish Land Stock, the falling off in revenue, and, lastly, the competition of other gilt-edged securities, were all points which tended to keep the price down.

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Home railways were scarcely affected by the proposals for co-operation, and, with traffics against them, were generally quite out of favour, but a rise of 7½ in Central London Deferred and of 4½ in Metropolitan District are signs of increased traffics due to the Franco-British Exhibition and of the greater use made of the many facilities for underground travelling in London. Foreign Government bonds, which can be bought to yield 5 per cent., offer very fair security, and are easily negotiable, have come into fashion, and the tendency in this market was generally upwards. Great increases of capital were made during the year, a large proportion of which were for foreign Governments, foreign railways and other enterprises. Loans much discussed, but not issued until after the close of the year, were a big Russian issue (55,580,000*l.*) and one for 15,000,000*l.* by the San Paulo Government in connection with its coffee valorisation scheme. The American market, in spite of bad trade, was very strongly supported, and such advances were made as 64⅝ in Union Pacifics, 44¼ in Chicago, Milwaukee, and 32¾ in New York Central. Grand Trunk securities fell, and until the Licensing Bill was rejected nearly all Brewery stocks were greatly depressed.

Some interesting insurance developments occurred, and among them was the settlement by the British companies of claims connected with the earthquake in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1907. After a judgment had been given by the Privy Council the companies agreed to pay 85 per cent. of the claims, which, with law costs, amounted to about 1,000,000*l.* Several of the offices announced their intention of issuing policies to cover indirect loss following fire—a useful class of business hitherto only conducted on a very small scale. Marine underwriters, together with shipowners, experienced a most disastrous year, and shipbuilding was greatly curtailed (p. 259).

Prices of commodities, which began to decline in May of the previous year, generally continued to fall in accordance with the lessened demand. In the metal group an exception was Cleveland pig-iron warrants, which closed a few pence higher, but Scotch warrants opened at 57*s.* 6*d.* and closed at 55*s.* 3*d.*—the lowest price touched in the year. Copper and tin, subject to great speculation, closed higher, but silver—also largely manipulated—was unusually weak, partly owing to a great falling off of the Indian demand. Cotton and wool showed substantial falls and prices of coal were no exception to the general rule. In foodstuffs English wheat was lower by over 2*s.* per quarter and Canadian 4*s.* lower; slight advances were marked in maize and English barley, but oats declined. This general downward tendency from the very high level reached in the early part of 1907 well indicates the slackening of industrial activity throughout the world. At the end of the year depression was general; but some observers expected early signs of an active revival.

CUTHBERT MAUGHAN.

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FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THOUGH the year 1908 was much less troubled than its predecessors by religious or social disturbances or attempts at civil war, yet it was not less marked by a general strain in the structure of parties and in their grouping. The Radical-Socialist party, having come into power, kept a firm hold on its position, and continued, thanks to reciprocal concessions, to rally former antagonists round its standard; the two extreme wings of the malcontents tended more and more to break up. The Catholics became more clearly distinguished from the Monarchists; the Socialists began to understand where alliance with trade unionism becomes disastrous. In spite of shocks which steadily became less sensational in character, France made great and visible progress in learning to use her political freedom.

The sudden death of the Minister of Justice, M. Guyot-Dessaigne (Dec. 31, 1907), necessitated a reconstruction of the Ministry. On January 6, M. Briand was appointed Minister of Justice and of Public Worship, this latter post being separated from that of Minister of Public Instruction, in view of the generally recognised necessity of leaving the conduct of politico-ecclesiastical matters in the hands of the Minister who had dealt with them so ably for three years past. M. Doumergue, the Minister of Commerce, gave up his post to M. Cruppi, and took up his quarters on the opposite side of the Rue de Grenelle as Grand Master of the University and Minister of Fine Arts. His appointment was a concession to the Southern Radicals, and served as ample compensation for their loss by M. Sarraut's resignation in the previous summer. In the same Cabinet Council that arranged these changes a decree was signed at the instance of the Prime Minister and Minister of War, appointing General d'Amade to the command of the expeditionary corps at Casablanca in the place of General Drude.

The Chambers met after the recess on January 14; their Presidents were re-elected without opposition. Next day the

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news came that General d'Amade had advanced as far as Settat; M. Jaurès at once gave notice of an interpellation on the policy of the Government in Morocco, but the debate was postponed till January 24, as the majority of the House was beginning to be weary of the Socialist leader's recurring "incursions and alarms." The order of business was settled as follows: First, the discussion of the projected income tax, then the reform of courts-martial in time of peace; thirdly, the discussion of the Bill dealing with private secondary education; and Fridays were set apart, as before, for interpellations. The Senate, after nominating the Committee to deal with the steps necessary for dealing with ecclesiastical property, discussed a Bill diminishing the number of days of service required from the Reserve and the Territorial Army. In spite of the efforts of M. Waddington, General Langlois, and M. de Freycinet it was passed with some alteration on February 6.

Meanwhile the Chamber had resumed (Jan. 20) the general discussion on the Income Tax Bill, interrupted in July, 1907, by the close of the session. M. Caillaux's plans had gained nothing by lapse of time. The opposition to the proposed inquiry into income increased as the details of the reform were revealed. Two members of the advanced section of the majority, MM. Aimond and Desplas, subjected it to a severe criticism (Feb. 27), the effect of which M. Camille Pelletan strove in vain to attenuate. It begun to be felt that the discussion would end in a mere acceptance of the Bill in principle, and that the Chamber was wasting its time.

It wasted time also in discussing the interpellation on Morocco. Three lengthy sittings (Jan. 24, 27, 28) were devoted to alternate criticism and defence of French policy in North Africa. A profound impression was produced by the great speech delivered by M. Delcassé (Jan. 24), who broke the long silence he had imposed on himself since his resignation in 1905, and ended by advising France to strengthen her friendships and her alliance and to maintain an Army adequate to her engagements. The debate closed with an order of the day, passed by 436 to 51, repeating the assurances regarding the application of the Act of Algeciras which had so often been formulated before.

But that persevering Socialist orator, M. Jaurès, did not regard himself as beaten. During February he took advantage of every incident of the joint intervention of France and Spain at Casablanca to harass the Government with questions or to ask leave to introduce an interpellation. The Chamber, however, was mainly occupied with the Income Tax Bill. The debate on the measure as a whole came to an end on February 17, after a masterly statement of the case against it by M. Ribot, which took up two sittings. The Chamber then considered—but only to reject them—the rival projects and adverse resolutions set forth by the opponents of the Ministerial scheme. On February 25 the examination of the Bill clause by

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clause was begun. On the first clause, an amendment was proposed by M. Aimond, to the effect that before suppressing the four direct taxes, the Chamber should indicate what it proposed to substitute for these ancient imposts; and the Prime Minister was constrained to meet the proposal by making its rejection a question of confidence.

It was not only the Chamber that showed but a moderate enthusiasm for some of the Ministerial ideas. The Senate attacked the Minister of Marine; and serious irregularities were revealed by the interpellation of M. Fleury-Ravarin (Jan. 27) on the circumstances under which the orders were given for boilers intended for the battleships of the Danton type. The question of old age pensions next came up. The Chamber had passed the Bill; the Committee of the Senate had been startled by examining into its possible financial consequences. The President of the Committee, M. Cuvinot, showed that the burden entailed on the State would be more than twice the amount indicated by the Government; and, in spite of the protests of MM. Caillaux and Viviani, the Ministers of Finance and Labour, the Committee supported him. M. Barthou, the Minister of Public Works, had a controversy of his own with the Upper House as a result of the interpellation of M. César Duval on the traffic difficulty (Feb. 14). In short, the strength of the Cabinet lay mainly in its chief; the Prime Minister was repeatedly compelled to intervene personally to save a colleague in difficulties. The inauguration of the monument erected to M. Scheurer-Kestner in the garden of the Luxembourg (Feb. 11) gave M. Clemenceau the opportunity of delivering a speech containing a magnificent eulogy of Alsace. Its tone indicated the great change that had taken place within a few months in the attitude of France.

Speech was followed closely by action. General d'Amade (March 2) received a reinforcement of 4,000 men for the organisation of the Shawia territory; General Lyautey was summoned to Paris (at the end of February) and received precise instructions regarding the western frontier of Algeria, and the suppression of the disturbances brought about by emissaries of Mulai Hafid in the extreme south of the province of Oran. Fresh interpellations in both Chambers (March 5, 13) ended with the passing of brief and decided resolutions strengthening the Government. An Amnesty Bill (introduced March 16) had been promised for those convicted or implicated in connection with the disturbances of the preceding year in the South; but M. Clemenceau absolutely refused to extend it to the anti-militarists recently condemned by the Assize Court. Hence arose an incident which had a series of unforeseen results. After repeated delays, the Chamber had passed a Bill restoring M. Joseph Reinach to the rank of captain in the territorial army, of which he had been deprived in connection with the Dreyfus case. A similar satisfaction had been given to officers of the

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reserve who had suffered for similar reasons. A rival Bill, introduced by M. Constans and supported by M. Berteaux, had provided for the restoration of ex-officials of the Civil Service who had been dismissed for political reasons. This had passed the Chamber; the newspapers announced that the Government would ask the Senate to reject it. M. Berteaux asked the Prime Minister for explanations; the latter made the rejection a question of confidence and obtained a majority of 222 (March 14). The Socialists were equally unsuccessful in their attacks on the Government, which, towards the end of March, were renewed in every sitting of the Chamber, and carried on by a series of public meetings in the great towns. The most disquieting symptom of weakness showed itself during the debate on the Amnesty Bill. Had not M. Clemenceau's energetic intervention induced the Chamber to exclude the anti-militarists from the benefits of the Bill (March 30), a number of amendments would have been passed extending it to offenders of all descriptions. Members were keen to outbid each other for support at the polls. On the other hand, the teachers' unions, which continued to exist in spite of Ministerial circulars, took up an attitude which threatened the party in power; and the Ultramontanes were organising vigorously in view of the impending municipal elections. It became necessary to clear up the situation. The opportunity was afforded on April 6, by an interpellation of M. Jaurès on the general policy of the Government. The Prime Minister, amid the applause of the Chamber, exposed the inconsistencies of the Socialist leader, and a resolution was carried which was moved by M. Dubief, representing the Radical-Socialist Left. It expressed confidence that the Government would effect without delay the purchase of the Western Railway, and establish old age pensions and a progressive income tax—that is to say, three only of the seventeen items enumerated by M. Clemenceau in the programme he had laid before the Chamber when his Ministry first presented itself, on November 5, 1906. The Chamber supported the Government, but gave it a warning.

The Senate went beyond warning; it showed by more than one division that the Ministerial Bills, even after one or more revisions in the Chamber, often reached it in a very imperfect state. Thus, it considerably amended the law determining the succession to the property of the parochial organisations (*fabriques*) and the dioceses; the Amnesty Bill was cleared, in spite of the protests of M. Briand, of all the additions made to it, through tenderness to poachers or defrauders of the State. True, a Bill passed by the Chamber for the conversion of the Marseilles police into a State force was adopted without alteration, as was the vote of 35,000 francs for the transfer of M. Zola's remains to the Pantheon. Still, when the Chambers adjourned on April 10, to reassemble on May 19, having completed half the allotted term of the eighth legislature of the third Republic,

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the general impression left was not satisfactory, and the most thorough-going partisans of the established order were distressed to note that very few of the promises made to the electors had been fulfilled.

Nevertheless the municipal elections (May 3 and 10) were favourable to the Radical party. They passed off generally without disturbance, except in some places in the South, in the Hérault and the Haute Garonne. The results were specially unfavourable to the Socialists, who lost several seats in Paris, and were entirely eliminated from the Councils of several large towns which they had previously controlled, notably Toulouse, Brest and St. Etienne. The Nationalists kept their seats in Paris; but they lost ground in the provinces, and failed to hold the great city of Nantes, their fortress at the gates of Brittany.

This check precipitated the crisis which had for some time been approaching in the Conservative party. The Monarchists decided to separate their cause from that of their allies hitherto. Recruits came to them from the world of letters, and as the result of energetic propagandism among the students. A number of students of the Sorbonne had travelled in Germany during the Easter vacation under the guidance of Professor Andler; the Neo-Royalist leaders seized on this pretext to mobilise their forces and create demonstrations which on May 7 and for several days following kept the Quartier Latin in a ferment.

The Chambers reassembled on May 19, and on that day M. Caillaux introduced his Budget. It exhibited a considerable increase over the estimates of the current year, and the expenditure indicated amounted to 3,973,000,000 francs (158,920,000*l.*). But, as will be seen later, this figure was to be considerably exceeded. To meet the expenditure demanded, he was constrained to resort to what was virtually a loan. The discussion in the Committees of the Chamber was arduous and lasted a whole week. It ended in the appointment of a Budget Committee in which the Extreme Right and Extreme Left were unrepresented; only one Socialist was a member, and he belonged to the independent group. It elected M. Berteaux its President and M. Doumer its Reporter. These two selections, though expected, were not calculated to please the Government. The debates in both Chambers soon raised problems of exceptional difficulty. The Chamber went on with the interminable debate on the Income Tax Bill. The discussion of it, clause by clause, had reached the most critical point—the notorious third section of the new clause 16 which established a tax on the revenue derived from personalty. The question was whether French Rentes should still remain exempt from taxation; and again MM. Aimond and Ribot so sharply attacked the Finance Minister that M. Clemenceau had to intervene to obtain an affirmative vote. Numerous amendments, however, were at once handed in, and MM. Joseph Reinach, Jules Roche, and Aynard, tried to recover piecemeal the privileges of creditors of the French

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nation. Most of these amendments were rejected by the Chamber, it being understood that the Senate would give fresh consideration to the clauses which had met with disaster.

This not over-creditable calculation was perhaps mistaken. This view is supported by the history of the discussion of the Bill for the purchase of the Western Railway system by the State, which had begun on May 26. M. Waddington, who opposed the scheme, had shown its hazardousness, and the debate in the Senate, which lasted a month, was wound up by a remarkable speech from M. Rouvier, summing up all that could possibly be said against the financial consequences of the Bill. But M. Clemenceau once more intervened to make the question one of confidence in the Government. The occasion was a motion to adjourn the debate on Clause 1 for three months, proposed at the instance of the Committee on the Bill. During this interval negotiations were to be resumed with the Western and Orleans Companies for the purchase of parts of their systems. This motion was defeated (June 25) by 128 to 125; this success at the outset disconcerted the opponents of the scheme, the first clause was passed by a majority of 35, and the Bill as a whole was accepted next day, June 26.

During these debates in the Upper House other incidents gave the Chamber material for impassioned discussion. On June 3 a strike of the men employed at the sandpits at Vigneux and Draveil near Corbeil suddenly underwent a tragic development. The gendarmes, attacked by the strikers, defended themselves, and shots were exchanged. Next day (June 4) at the Pantheon—during the ceremony of transferring the remains of M. Zola—a Nationalist journalist, M. Gregori, fired at Major Dreyfus. The commotion made by the shot was out of proportion to the injury inflicted; but two days later the General Confederation of Labour at the St. Paul Riding School (June 6) provoked a sanguinary riot. An interpellation was a matter of course; and on June 11 MM. Argeliés, Dalimier and Wilm, three "Unified" Socialists, called the Government to account for the blood spilt at Draveil. M. Clemenceau emphatically declared that the responsibility for these disorders lay with the Socialist deputies and not with the Government; and he was supported by 429 to 63.

While discussing these questions of the hour, the Chamber made it its first business to give at least apparent satisfaction to the supporters of constitutional and judicial reforms. The Secret Voting Bill, already passed by the Senate, was also passed by the Chamber, but with amendments necessitating reconsideration of the whole of its provisions. Another and long-expected Bill suppressed the death penalty, and considerably modified that of transportation, but the Committee declared adversely to it, as the result of a very marked movement of public feeling, which had been acutely stirred by a fresh outbreak of offences against the person in France. Another

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measure, standing in the name of M. Chaumié and already passed by the Senate, was adopted by the Chamber almost without debate; it amended the law governing the Press in such a way as to accelerate the procedure in case of prosecution for Press offences, slander, and libel. These votes exhibited notable activity in the legislature, the more so inasmuch as most of the sittings were taken up with the Penelope's web of the Income Tax Bill. Among the incidents of this debate may be mentioned the passing of two amendments, moved respectively by M. Reinach and by M. Puech, dealing with the method of levying taxation on commercial and industrial profits. M. Puech's amendment was vigorously opposed by M. Caillaux, which laid on the administration the burden of proof that the declarations of tax-payers were false; but it was carried against him by 311 to 231 (June 30). In spite of this rebuff, he remained in office, and had the offending clause redrafted. Next day a like mishap befel General Picquart, the War Minister. After almost endless delays, he had introduced a Bill dealing with the supply of officers, on which the debate had only begun on July 1. The day following, the centenary was celebrated at the Military Academy of St. Cyr of its establishment in the buildings originally erected for the pupils of Madame de Maintenon; and the General had expected to announce to his young comrades that they would be appointed sub-lieutenants at the close of the academic year. But the Bill was so vigorously opposed by M. Jaurès and M. Leygues that it was necessary to refer it back to the Committee. Further, M. Briand himself had an unpleasant experience of the nervousness of the Chamber, which clearly exhibited its desire to retain the death penalty in view of the spread of crime. The advocates of abolition were routed, and the postponement *sine die* of the discussion was only effected by the intervention of M. Viviani (July 8). It was only by holding both morning and afternoon sittings and by taking the days habitually devoted to work in the committees of the Chamber, that the Chamber was able to pass certain Bills of comparatively slight importance, among them one amending, in a liberal sense, the clause of the law on municipal government by which the Minister was able to dismiss mayors or suspend them. The Chamber was constrained to recognise the fact that there was not time to finish discussing the proposed income tax, and to vote as usual the "four direct taxes" which it would have replaced, and which form the mainstay of the Budget. The ordinary session was closed by decree on July 13.

The session ended amid a general feeling of unsettlement. In various ways the situation was critical. The great public works which had torn up Paris to a deplorable degree were being interfered with by strikes and lock-outs; the threats of a general strike appeared more and more likely to be realised, and at the end of July the building trades' federation ordered

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all the societies affiliated to it to cease work. At the same time the General Confederation of Labour decided to organise a demonstration on a large scale at Villeneuve St. Georges, and this peaceful locality was the scene of a sanguinary riot (July 30). The troops were stoned, and fired on the crowd; of the strikers, three were killed and twenty wounded, while the disabled among the soldiers were thrice that number. The Government decided to take severe measures. Three of the leading agitators of the Confederation were sent to the prison at Corbeil, whither the fiery orators arrested during the disturbance had preceded them; the general strike was limited to a stoppage of work in a few printing offices (on the evening of August 2), and to the interruption of the supply of electric light and power for two hours on August 6, by the employees of Paris, as a warning to middle-class society. M. Clemenceau called together the managers of the companies affected, and proposed to place men from the military engineer corps at their disposal, in order to allow them to dismiss the workmen concerned in the scheme; but, fearing wilful damage to their plant, they refused his offer. Gradually matters returned to their customary condition of armed peace. When M. Fallières returned to Paris on August 3, after the notable Northern tour in which he had been successively the guest of the Kings of Denmark and Norway, of the Tsar and the King of Sweden, order was almost entirely restored, and M. Clemenceau took his usual holiday to undergo a cure at Carlsbad.

It was notable that of the Departmental Councils nearly one-third met only as a matter of form and in obedience to the law, and adjourned till September (Aug. 17). Fewer of the questions discussed than usual bore upon general politics. Among the incidents which attracted most attention was the action by M. Combes at the Departmental Council of the Charente, in meeting an address of congratulation to Ministers by the previous question, on the ground that resolutions of a political character were forbidden by law. He had never noticed this when the compliment was paid to himself.

The Parliamentary recess is a season fertile in congresses. Attention was attracted at its opening to the Congress of Agricultural Workers' Unions of the South of France at Narbonne, which declared for the general strikes conditionally, and endorsed the anti-militarist propaganda (Aug. 19). Almost at the same time (Aug. 6) the General Council of the Miners' Federation decided to become affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, without, however, surrendering its principles or ideas: a reservation which set up impassioned controversy. It became a question, in fact, whether the powerful existing combination of revolutionary organisations was to receive a formidable reinforcement by the entrance into it of the strongest and most numerous of the French Labour organisations, or whether the influence and prudence of leaders like MM. Basly and Lamendin

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would not markedly weaken the spirit of violence which exclusively dominated the Confederation. Just before the Chambers reassembled, the Radical-Socialist party in Congress at Dijon decided, at the instance of M. Camille Pelletan, to restore the former coalition of the Left (Oct. 12); but in view of the attitude taken up by the Socialists, this resolution was destined to have no practical effect. The question of anti-militarism made an ever-widening breach between the Parliamentary parties that had formerly been united. The tragic series of accidents on war-ships—among them an accident on the gunnery ship *Couronne* on August 12 and the bursting of a gun on the *Latouche Tréville* on September 22—was, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to the disorganisation of discipline in all ranks of the service. The arrest of five deserters from the Foreign Legion at Casablanca, three of them of German nationality (Sept. 27; *post*, chap. ii.), abruptly brought French and German diplomacy under public notice, and showed the mass of the nation that any weakening of national sentiment brought democracy into the gravest danger.

The extraordinary autumn session began on October 13, the task of the Chamber was to continue the discussion of the proposed income tax and to vote the Budget; the Friday sittings, however, were reserved for interpellations, and the first was devoted to a debate on the naval disasters. The discussion was specially warm on October 19th, when M. Delcassé replied to M. Thomson's defence of his personal position by an acrimonious indictment of him which made a profound impression. A resolution adverse to M. Thomson was passed by 324 to 231; and the opinion of the Chamber was so manifestly unfavourable to him that he exchanged the seat he occupied as a Minister for that he had held as a member, and subsequently sent in his resignation. M. Clemenceau offered the post to M. Picard, a Member of the Council of State, and Chief Commissioner of the Exhibition of 1900, whose talent for organisation was well known. Next day, the "yellow" or anti-Unionist Deputy for Brest, M. Biétry, desired to address an interpellation to the Minister of Justice on the supineness of the legal authorities respecting the daily insults offered to the Court of Appeal by the Nationalist Press. The Chamber refusing to alter the order of its business, M. Biétry permitted himself to use language of such violence that the President of the Chamber was constrained to demand temporary expulsion. The Budget debate was then resumed. The absence of any general discussion was noticeable and was regretted. The Chamber seemed to be justifying the charges made against it of disregarding sound Parliamentary traditions. The Budget itself was faulty, the balance between revenue and expenditure being only effected by a disguised loan in the form of an issue of short-dated Treasury bonds. Moreover, it became clear in the discussion of the various Estimates that the desire for popular favour would increase the expenditure and reduce the receipts. This year's autumn session, in fact,

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was destined to surpass all its predecessors by the scandalous discrepancy between the number of members actually present at the debates and the number of votes cast, and by the abuse of proxy voting. Thus the debates on the Ministerial Income Tax Bill were carried on among empty benches; when the subject was only the Budget, special reasons were needed to attract members. However, the Government occasionally made itself felt, and exercised a drastic control over the faint desires for independence occasionally exhibited by the majority.

The Draveil episode and the attitude of the Government during the attempts at a general strike were the subject of more than one debate. On October 23, on interpellation on the measures contemplated by the Prime Minister to check the propaganda of anarchism led to a sharp contest between M. Paul Deschanel and M. Viviani, in which M. Clemenceau reinforced the latter; the Government obtained the huge majority of 264—324 to 60. A few days later, on an interpellation relative to the scandals in the telephone department, the Government likewise obtained an indemnity and a vote of confidence. It is true that this coincided exactly with the climax of the crisis set up by the affair of the deserters at Casablanca (chap. ii.). For a few days there was a truce in political warfare, and all sections of the Chamber and Senate promised MM. Clemenceau, Pichon, and Picquart their loyal support in foreign affairs. France held herself in readiness for war. The Paris Municipal Council, in a sitting which made a profound impression (Nov. 7), showed the same orthodox patriotism as the Parliament; and the speech of M. Faillet, a veteran Socialist, gave forcible evidence of the real feelings of the Paris working class.

The scare over, the Chamber speedily fell back into its bad ways; but it exhibited some disposition to deal with the gravest sores of the body politic. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Committee on the Bill for the reform of the Penal Code (p. 269) had decided to retain the death penalty; and, after ingenious manœuvring by the advocates of its abolition for postponement, the Chamber finished the general debate, which had been of a high order, and put off till the following month the discussion of an amendment retaining execution as the supreme expiation of crime. Solitary confinement was added to the list of penalties; and the Minister of Justice announced a Bill modifying criminal procedure, and leaving the penalty to the jury to decide (Nov. 16). Meanwhile M. Doumergue, the Minister of Public Instruction, again required the Maine et Loire Teachers' Union to withdraw from affiliation to the Angers Bourse du Travail (Labour Exchange); and the Paris Municipal Council—though only after a heated debate—approved the action of the Prefect of the Seine in having excluded the workmen's associations affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour from the Paris Labour Exchange and the list of unions subsidised by Government. On the other hand, the moderate parties complained of

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unfair treatment, especially in provincial France. An interpellation was addressed to the Government by M. Gourju, the Senator for the Rhône, on the cases of official pressure in that Department, denouncing its Prefect, M. Lutaud (Nov. 17). M. Clemenceau combated the charges with his customary vigour, but did not refute them. The Government, however, were victorious, and the Senator suffered for his action at their hands at the January election. Two other events helped to brand the Ministry with the usual charge of inconsistency which M. Clemenceau himself had stated the year before (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 275). The agreement between the State and the Messageries Maritimes, signed in the middle of November, was strongly attacked by the leading journals as a fresh concession to Collectivism. And in the official documents on Morocco published (Nov. 23) as a Yellow Book a most unfavourable impression was produced by the contrast between the programme and the promises with which it opened and the poverty of the results.

Even more startling was the discrepancy between the expenditure and the results obtained in certain Government departments, the Post Office, the telephones, and above all the Navy. The discussion of the Estimates for these services had been marked by criticisms as severe as they were well-grounded, and on November 25 the new Minister of Marine, M. Picard, had hard work to defend his administration. He had been obliged to make large promises, and admit the truth of a number of the charges made. Next day the Chamber, after a fashion, disposed of the Labour and Foreign Office Estimates; and M. Ribot took part, for the last time in the Chamber, in a debate on the relations of France and Germany. The debate on the Finance Bill was also very short—only two days in all. The Government was constrained to undertake to exercise a closer supervision over games of chance in clubs and casinos, and to promise to introduce at an early date a Bill absolutely prohibiting lotteries, with the exception of raffles. Ultimately (Nov. 28) the Chamber passed the first clause of the Budget—reserved, according to custom, to the last—which authorised a total expenditure of 3,989,208,772 francs, nearly 156,000,000*l*.

The most important innovation in the Finance Act in 1908 was a provision rendering illegal in contracts of *métayer* tenure any clause obliging the tenant to pay to the owner or the middleman a fixed annual sum whether as *impôt du colonat* (*i.e.*, over and above the portion of the produce payable as rent in kind) or otherwise. When the vote was taken M. Doumer, the Reporter of the Budget Committee, stated that the Budget had never been voted so early, and expressed a hope that the Senate would be able to pass it in good time.

In the Senate the reporters on the estimates for the various services had already begun their work semi-officially, under the direction of M. Poincaré, the Reporter-General. The Upper

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House judged the work of the Chamber with little favour, seeing that it had often to remodel its work completely. The Old Age Pensions Bill was a case in point. In a published letter M. Cuvinot, the Reporter of the Senate Committee on the measure, declared that the solution of the problem would not be effected either by the text passed or by the plan devised by the Government fixing the State contribution at 100,000,000 francs; the Committee, therefore, would work out a different Bill. A settlement seemed improbable during the life of the existing Legislature. Some days later the Senate passed through its first stage a Bill tending to secure for the labouring classes "homesteads" exempt from seizure.

Meanwhile the Chamber was declaring its views on various subjects of acute controversy. On December 8, by 330 to 201, it definitely decided on the maintenance of the death penalty, despite a formal warning from the Government. On the same day Admiral Bienaimé addressed an interpellation to the Minister of Marine on the removal of Admiral Germinet from the command of the Mediterranean Squadron for having expressed fears as to the supplies of the Navy in a published interview. M. Alfred Picard replied that the duty of telling the country the truth about the Navy belonged to the Government; and undertook to publish a statement in January showing how matters stood. M. Clemenceau had again to come forward personally; and he obtained a vote of confidence by 355 to 142. The Government then brought forward an important Bill for the increase of the Artillery, which set up a conflict between the partisans of the new organisation of batteries with four guns each and those who desired to return to the old system. These technical debates were interrupted by two noisy episodes in which the South attracted attention. M. Pierre Leroy Beaulieu had been elected deputy for the Hérault in 1906; his election had been annulled, and repeated amid astonishing scenes of disorder; at last he was definitively admitted; and M. Archaimbaud (senior), one of the deputies for the Drôme, proposed in vain that the increase in the pay of Senators and Deputies to 15,000 francs should be submitted to a popular vote. In contrast with these excited discussions, the general debate on the Budget began in the Senate on December 15 with an important speech by M. Riou and a luminous exposition of the financial situation by M. Raymond Poincaré, which was answered by M. Caillaux, Minister of Finance. The Upper House was compelled to rush through the examination of the separate estimates. Millions upon millions were passed in review with bewildering speed. Meanwhile in the Chamber an effort was made to restore the former coalition of the Left groups (*Délégation des Gauches*), the unified Socialists being excluded. The interest of politics lay elsewhere. The approaching Senatorial elections occupied the attention of many deputies desirous of escaping the inconveniences of popular election,

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and helped to empty the Chamber and even the Senate. On December 21 the Budget was passed as a whole and unanimously (255 votes being recorded), in spite of the severe criticisms previously uttered on the new habits of the Legislature in relation to finance. For three days the Finance Bill was bandied backwards and forwards as usual between the Chambers, until an agreement had been reached on disputed points, *e.g.*, the prohibition of the manufacture of absinthe of less than sixty degrees of alcoholic strength, the amount of subsidy to be allowed to volunteer firemen, the reduction below cost price of nicotine from State factories, and other questions of equally slight importance. At last, on December 26, the session closed.

On December 27 the *Journal Officiel* published the Finance Bill. The grand total was 4,005,000,000 francs (160,200,000*l.*). The exact figures were: expenditure, 4,005,224,676 francs; receipts, 4,005,445,069 francs. It was noted that in the estimates of expenditure of whatever kind the totals were no longer calculated with a rigorous accuracy extending to single centimes; almost all the main heads were given in round numbers. One more old-time tradition thus passed away. While Parliamentary life was suspended, and the Christmas holidays imposed a sort of truce on parties, the streets of the Latin Quarter, by an ominous contrast, were the scene of disturbances and riots, set up by the resistance of the medical men's unions and the student organisations to a new examination for the rank of *agrégé* in the medical faculty instituted by the Minister of Public Instruction. In spite of his reputation for vigorous action, M. Clemenceau was disconcerted by the character and firmness of the protesting parties; the Prefect of Police was thrown over, and the results of the examination were annulled. The check to the Government was as unexpected as it was complete.

II. ITALY.

Despite its geographical isolation and political subdivision, the Italy of the sixteenth century passed through the same economic and social crises as the other nations of Western Europe. The phenomenon was noted with surprise by Leopold von Ranke, the eminent historian of the Popes and the House of Valois; but it is so to-day, only, as is natural, in a more acute degree. The relations of Church and State in the schools are as prominent as in England and France; the burdens of armed peace, the antithesis between the necessity of maintaining the level reached by the army and navy and the needs of economic progress and social reform, strain the Italian people not less than its allies, or than its friends in the north.

The excitement caused early in January by the news of a raid by Abyssinian tribes into the Benadir Colony had scarcely been quieted by the arrangement (announced Feb. 12) between the Governor of Erythræa and the Abyssinian Emperor, when the question of religious teaching in primary schools set up im-

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passioned conflicts in many Municipal Councils and political associations, which were a prelude to a Parliamentary battle between the supporters and opponents of the Ministry. Sgr. Bissolati, one of the Socialist leaders, had given notice of a resolution demanding that the Government should formally prohibit religious instruction in primary schools. The Ministry, to end the difficulties set up by the obscurity of the Casati Act of 1859, had drawn up a body of regulations recognising the rights both of parents and of the Municipal Councils—an ingenious compromise which dissatisfied anti-Clericals and Catholics alike. The former demanded that the schools should be absolutely secular; the latter protested against their becoming "godless." The Municipal Councils of Rome and Milan passed resolutions demanding the prohibition of religious teaching in any form in public elementary school buildings; but at Turin a similar resolution proposed by the Socialists was rejected. Signatures were collected in vast numbers in all parts of the country to petitions for and against Sgr. Bissolati's motion; and on February 18 an excited debate began. Sgr. Salandra declared that the partisans of secularisation merely desired to form an anti-Clerical Parliamentary group; while some deputies of the Right, instigated by Sgr. di Andini, were led by their hostility to the Ministry to join the opponents of Catholicism. But after the ex-Governor of Erythræa, Sgr. Martini, had declared in favour of the motion, Sgr. Sonnino lent his support to the Government, and gave the Prime Minister and the Minister of Public Instruction, Sgr. Rava, the opportunity of disclaiming any policy savouring of intolerance. In brief, the Chamber, after disposing of an unusual number of divergent resolutions, supported the Government by 279 to 129 (Feb. 27). The Ministry emerged from the conflict with its strength notably increased.

The Chamber supported Sgr. Tittoni on the affairs of Benadir (Feb. 11-15), and Admiral Bertolini, the Minister of Marine, on Italian Merchant Shipping (Feb. 7); the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, at last completed the interminable Nasi trial. Sgr. Nasi, the ex-Minister of Public Instruction, was convicted of embezzlement and sentenced to eleven months and twenty-one days' imprisonment, only three votes being recorded in his favour; his secretary, Sgr. Lombardo, was acquitted (Feb. 24). The sentence roused indignation in Sicily, which had persistently remained faithful to its former representative; his partisans pointed out that the Government tolerated similar proceedings in other cases. Thus, at the beginning of March Sgr. Rubini, the President of the Budget Committee, resigned in order to disclaim responsibility for certain artifices in the Budget which concealed the excessive expenditure of the State railways. But the announcement that Austria had obtained the concession of a railway route through Novi Bazar to Salonika (*post*, chaps. ii., iii.) diverted and irritated

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public feeling. It was the subject of an interpellation by Sgr. Barzilai, who charged the Foreign Minister, Sgr. Tittoni, with failing to obtain support from the allies of Italy, and having therefore to seek it elsewhere. Sgr. Fortis, on whom some reflection was cast during the debate, declared that when in office he had been unable to resist Austria definitely because he had not the strength to do so. This unfortunate expression set up a storm in the Chamber. Next day (March 11) the Foreign Secretary delivered a great speech, which brought the discussion to a climax and completely routed the opponents of the Government. In the next sitting Sgr. Barzilai announced the withdrawal of his interpellation; and Sgr. Sacchi, speaking for the extreme Left, declared that in view of the international situation the democratic party understood the necessity of a military policy. Some days later Sgr. Rava, replying to an interpellation on the schools question, had no difficulty in showing that Italy was suffering from the same evil as many other European nations, due principally to the lack of good teachers, and to the actual poverty of the teaching staff. The low scale of salaries discouraged existing teachers and repelled the rising generation from a career offering scanty rewards. Schools in some cases could not be opened for want of teachers, and unqualified persons had at times been appointed of necessity in order to complete the staff. Encouraged by these signs of weakness in the official organisation, the Catholics redoubled their efforts to secure control of the schools, or at least to make their activity felt. A Catholic Congress at Genoa decided to uphold the freedom of teaching at all costs. The Clerical policy was concentration; instead of spending their energies wherever local conditions or influences invited, certain provinces—Cremona, Ferrara, Brescia—were chosen in which to test persistently and by all legal means the methods of action available for the Church.

While the Catholic party was manœuvring, the Extreme Left was trying to organise. A combined Congress to adjust the differences of the Socialists and the Republicans had been projected, but was unable to meet. Sgr. Turati, who some weeks earlier had retired from the post of editor-in-chief of the *Avanti* (the Socialist organ), but had retained his influence, declared that in his opinion the attempt was premature, and that public feeling was decidedly adverse to an amnesty for the railway men and those agricultural labourers who had been convicted for offences arising out of the recent strikes.

The Budget debate was the clearest of all the proofs of the strength of the Government. On the Army Estimates Sgr. Sonnino announced that he and his followers would support the Government irrespectively of differences as to domestic policy; and on the debate on the Navy Estimates he repeated this declaration. These debates, moreover, took place when public excitement was acute. Rome was disturbed by popular demonstrations against Austria-Hungary, consequent on the affair of

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the Novi Bazar Railway (*post*, chaps. ii., iii.), and a dispute had arisen between the Porte and the Italian Government in consequence of the refusal of the former to respect the Italian post-offices opened at Salonika, Avlona, Smyrna and Jerusalem, and its subjects and its merchant shipping in Tripoli. Eventually a naval demonstration was resolved on and Admiral Grenet was ordered to seize a Turkish island. The Porte, however, gave way on April 20.

An Easter vacation had never arrived more opportunely to relax the strain on the public nerves. The Prime Minister took advantage of it to see Prince Bülow at Venice; the deputies from the province of Parma visited their constituencies, which were seriously disturbed by the agricultural strike (proclaimed May 1). The social feud afflicting agriculture in the Emilia had become exceptionally grave. The Socialists intervened as a party to support the strikers; the landowners combined, formed a defence fund, and organised a body of armed volunteers, who could be brought in a very short time to any point threatened, by means of a squadron of motor cars. This action was denounced by the Press of the Extreme Left as contrary to law and public interest. But the landowners found support in the city of Parma, where the majority of the butchers and bakers decided to support their league. The strikers boycotted the bakeries and refused to carry the wood necessary to heat the ovens; this work was done by volunteers from the aristocracy and the upper middle class. The strike extended to the southern provinces; the Government was compelled to arrest the agitators in the province of Bari. Later (June 19) the Chamber of Labour at Parma decided on a general strike, and the trade unions of the other towns concerned essayed to draw the working classes of the great cities into the movement, but in vain. The Government ordered military intervention at Parma; for some days (June 19-23) there was actual fighting in the streets; boiling water was thrown on the troops; the working-class quarter was surrounded and occupied by the soldiery, the Chamber of Labour broken into and the documents in it seized (June 24). Next day, order being re-established, the Minister of the Interior ordered the restoration to their legal owners of the building, the papers, and the money seized. This moderation in the hour of victory eventually calmed party passions.

The session had been resumed on May 12, with a formal act of homage to the memory of Count Tornielli, who had died at Paris (April 9), a circumstance which also gave opportunity for a manifestation of sympathy with France. The Italian Press compared the action of France in the affairs of the Balkan railway and the Heraclea Mines with the course taken by Austria, and drew conclusions detrimental to the popularity of the Triple Alliance. The exaltation of patriotic sentiment was expressed in the acceptance by the Chamber (May 23) of a motion proposed by Sgr. Andrea Baccelli, granting 1,000,000 francs for the erection

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on the Mons Janiculus of a simple and majestic statue to Dante. Some days later (June 3) the Chamber approved without debate a vote for the establishment at Paris of an international bureau of public hygiene, and the Bill relative to the Franco-Italian Convention for the reciprocal protection of labour. Next day the Foreign Office Estimates came before the Chamber, and Sgr. Tittoni took occasion to set forth his policy of firmness without provocation, and to uphold the leading ideas of his speech of March 11. A more heated tone characterised the debate on the votes for new railway construction. The Government demanded 550,000,000 francs (22,000,000*l.*) to double the lines on certain important routes and to establish direct communication between Bologna and Florence, and between Rome and Naples. Sgr. Wollemborg, supported by 104 other members, demanded that the Government should also construct certain strategic railways on the north-eastern frontier; the Government threatened to make the question one of confidence, while promising to consider the demand. The proposal was rejected; and, in spite of the agitation set up by the Chambers of Commerce, which complained vigorously of the railway service, the Chamber on June 16 passed the Government Bill.

The day following it began the debate on the Civil Service Bill, dealing with a problem (that of trade-unionism in the service) as much discussed in Italy as in France. The week before, the delegates of the employees' associations had held a noisy meeting and had passed a motion savouring of revolutionism. Their defenders in the Chamber for the most part vied with the Extreme Left in the violence of their language, and, in the disorderly scene which ensued, the language of Sgr. Santini towards another member, Sgr. Zambelli, was so provocative that preparations were made for a duel (June 19). After the fervour of their oratory had subsided, however, they showed much less ardour for the fray; but, as honour demanded a meeting, they resolved to fight. The duel (June 22) lasted an hour and five minutes without definite result; the medical men in attendance then intervened to declare that Sgr. Santini was suffering from an affection of the heart which placed him at a disadvantage. This episode, which afforded some public amusement, having been satisfactorily settled, the Chamber rapidly disposed of the Finance Bill. It had the satisfaction of learning that the revised Budget of 1907-8 exhibited a surplus of at least 51,000,000 francs (2,040,000*l.*); Sgr. Carcano (June 24) also proposed to devote 26,000,000 francs (1,040,000*l.*) to national defence. The Chamber, in an access of patriotism, granted 233,000,000 francs (9,320,000*l.*) to be distributed over ten financial years; and then, after having approved without debate the new treaty with Abyssinia for the settlement of the boundary of Erythræa, it examined the Government Bill regulating higher education. Sgr. Ferri, a Socialist deputy, savagely attacked the Minister of Public Instruction, Sgr. Rava;

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he was called to order by the President of the Chamber, Sgr. Marcora, and made an insulting reply; and the sitting was suspended amid tumult. When it was resumed, the extreme Right and the Opposition on the Left entered into a coalition; the Government Bill for the increase of the salaries and the improvement of the rules of promotion of University professors was rejected on a secret ballot. Sgr. Rava offered his resignation; the Cabinet, however, refused to accept it. The Chamber adjourned on June 30; the Senate some days later.

Meanwhile the agricultural labourers' strike at Parma gradually died down. The Chamber of Labour left the men free to return to work; the masters' association met to end the lock-out. The Government, which had intervened with energy to bring about this relaxation in the tension, had also attempted to calm the agitation in Sicily by a graceful concession, *viz.*, the discontinuance of the police supervision of Sgr. Nasi at his private house, and the remission of the remainder of his sentence (June 28). Shaking off the dust of his feet against Rome, the ex-Minister slowly took his way towards Sicily, where the various popular societies organised splendid receptions for him. Trapani re-elected him to Parliament (July 19), though he was disqualified for the next four years, and gave him a triumphant welcome when he again took possession of his dwelling. Meanwhile Sgr. Rava was dismissing the officials proved guilty of negligence or incapacity as the result of the administrative inquiry which had followed the trial. Moreover, the representatives of the Universities, assembled at Rome under the presidency of Sgr. Batelli, a deputy and a professor, passed a resolution expressing their want of confidence in the Minister of Education. Sgr. Batelli opposed the motion, declined to be responsible for it, and resigned his post as president.

After this opening, the recess was tolerably calm; a shadow was cast over it by the death of the Marquis di Rudini (Aug. 8); its only remarkable features were the great drought in Apulia, which caused some disturbances, and the usual Ministerial journeys, that which attracted most comment being the visit paid by Sgr. Tittoni to the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Schoen, at Berchtesgarden (Aug. 25). Mention must also be made of the measures taken by the Italian trade unionists to set up a Confederation of Labour modelled on that of Paris; of the Socialist Congress at Florence (Sept. 19-22), which ratified the victory of the Reformist or Parliamentary section over the Integralists or Irreconcileables; of the breach of the Socialist party with the Revolutionary Labour section, and, finally, of the long visit paid by M. Isvolsky, the Russian Foreign Minister, to Sgr. Tittoni, at Desio (Sept. 29). On this occasion Sgr. Bissolati, who had been appointed Director of the *Avanti*, published in that paper an article which attracted much attention, recognising that a visit of the Tsar to Italy would be opportune, and urging the Socialists to abstain, through patriotic

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considerations, from any manifestations of hostility towards the Russian Government.

The great crisis in the Near East (chaps. ii., iii.) could not but react profoundly on Italy. The first impression was that the Foreign Office at Rome had been duped by that of Vienna. A congress of deputies and representatives of the popular party met at Milan, and decided to begin a campaign against the Foreign Minister. Almost the whole Press blamed Sgr. Tittoni, even the *Popolo Romano*, which was semi-official and Austrophil. The situation was complicated by the question of the Italian University promised by Austria. Italy demanded its establishment at Trieste, Austria, after long negotiations, ended by offering to establish at Vienna a mere faculty of law, in which the teaching should be given in Italian. Sgr. Giolitti left his home at Cavour on October 24 to summon the Cabinet, and it was rumoured that he would take the post of Foreign Minister; but he preferred to gain time. Irredentist feeling was exhibited in the customary fashion by assemblages, meetings and resolutions (Oct. 25). The police blocked the streets leading to the Palazzo Chigi (the Austrian Embassy); Innsbrück, Trieste and even Vienna saw scenes of riot and bloodshed (Nov. 22). Such was the state of public feeling when the Parliament resumed its sittings on November 25.

The chief contest of the autumn session in both Houses was concerned with foreign affairs. In the Chamber Sgr. Fusinato, a former Foreign Under-Secretary, brought forward a motion on December 1 in support of the Government. Sgr. Barzilai replied, ridiculing the mover's optimism, and proclaiming that the Triple Alliance had failed. His fiery speech produced a reply two days later from Sgr. Fortis, a former Prime Minister, who summarised the history of the question with consummate skill, and by the measured energy of his declarations constrained the House to listen to him. So profound was the impression caused by his speech that there was some expectation of a Ministerial crisis. But on December 4 Sgr. Tittoni spoke. He began modestly by admitting that he had made three mistakes. The first arose out of his conviction that international treaties could not be set aside except with the assent of all the signatories; and this conviction he retained. He had trusted in the promises of the Austrian Government in regard to the Italian University, and on this subject nothing was settled. Finally, he had thought that Italian opinion would value more highly Austria's evacuation of Novi Bazar, and her abandonment of her advance on Salonika and of the clause of the Berlin Treaty affecting her rights in regard to Montenegro. After the opening, Sgr. Tittoni set forth the views of the Italian Foreign Office with a felicity of expression which reversed the feeling of the House. As he came down from the tribune, Sgr. Giolitti embraced him; and the Chamber passed a resolution approving his policy. The debate in the Senate took place on

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December 21, before a crowded audience. Sgr. Tassi and Sgr. Vischi addressed an interpellation to the Government on the recent occurrences at Vienna (*post*, chap. ii.) and on its foreign policy. The first congratulated Sgr. Fortis on having said that the only enemy Italy had to fear was her ally Austria-Hungary; the second was called to order for expressing regret that the Emperor of Austria had not returned at Rome the visit paid him by the King of Italy at Vienna. Sgr. Tittoni answered with the calmness appropriate to the Senate, defending the pacific and dignified policy which had earned for Italy the respect of Europe. Some days later the Chambers adjourned for the Christmas recess.

It was during this interval, on December 29, that Messina and Reggio in Calabria were destroyed in a few minutes by an earthquake followed by a tidal wave and a series of conflagrations. The suddenness of the catastrophe, intensified by the interruption of all means of communication, the extent of the disaster, the appalling number of the victims, the horrors surrounding the survivors, excited compassion throughout the world. The energy shown by the seamen of Russia, the United States, England and France, in rendering aid to the destroyed towns, afforded some consolation by exhibiting the truth that nations ultimately form one brotherhood.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I. GERMANY.

In Germany the question which most occupied politicians was the state of the Imperial finances. At the beginning of the year, though the bank rate stood at 7½ per cent. and the money market was in a very strained condition, it was found necessary to raise a new Prussian loan besides the Imperial loan needed to cover the deficit on the Imperial Budget. The total amount raised by these loans was 32,500,000*l*. It was generally recognised that this heaping up of debt to cover State deficits must be stopped and some means devised to enable the State to pay its way. The incidence of both direct and indirect taxation in Germany is far less than in France and England, though the total expenditure of that Empire and the separate States amounted to 355,000,000*l*., a sum considerably greater than the expenditure of any other country in the world; the greater part of it, however, was covered by revenue from remunerative State enterprises such as railways, State lands and forests, and mines. How to raise the whole of the balance by increased taxation was the chief part of the problem, and for this purpose a new Minister was added to the Prussian Cabinet, Herr von Sydow, Under-Secretary of the Post Office, being appointed on

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February 23 to succeed Baron Stengel as Secretary of State for the Imperial Treasury, with the additional rank of a Prussian Minister.

As regards Prussia, the Government announced in the Prussian Diet on October 20 its proposals for further taxation, coupled with a considerable increase in official salaries. The income tax was to be increased by 5 per cent. on incomes between 350*l.* and 400*l.*, and thence progressively up to 25 per cent. of the existing tax on incomes of more than 1,525*l.* A tax was also proposed on the profits of joint stock companies, mining companies, trade unions whose operations are not confined to their own members, and co-operative societies, at the rate of 2 per cent. on a profit of 1 per cent., rising progressively to 7⅔ per cent. on profits of 18 per cent.; but it was rejected by the Budget Committee on December 5.

The new Imperial taxes were laid before the German Parliament on November 19. The Budget statement showed that the accounts for 1907 had closed with a deficit of 692,150*l.* The returns from the excise duties on tobacco and sugar had fallen considerably short of the Estimates; so had the tax on passenger tickets, the legacy duties, and the revenue from Posts and Telegraphs, the latter by nearly 650,000*l.* The Imperial Estimates for the year 1909 showed a net decrease in the cost of the army of about 1,000,000*l.* and in that of the Colonies of 1,253,332*l.*; but owing to the largely increased charges for the Navy, etc., the total estimated ordinary expenditure for 1909 exceeded that for 1908 by 5,553,411*l.* To balance the account and obtain for the next five years an additional revenue of 25,000,000*l.* yearly, the sum stated by the Government to be necessary for preventing further deficits and loans, the following measures were proposed: (1) A partial monopoly of the manufacture and sale of spirits, estimated to produce 5,000,000*l.*; (2) an increase of the excise duty on tobacco, expected to yield 3,850,000*l.*; (3) an increase in the excise duty on beer, to return 5,000,000*l.*; (4) a tax on still wine in bottles, to produce 1,000,000*l.*; (5) death duties, to yield 4,600,000*l.*; (6) a tax on electricity and gas, 2,500,000*l.*; and (7) a tax on newspaper advertisements, 1,650,000*l.* As, however, these seven new sources were only expected to yield a total additional revenue of about 23,600,000*l.*, the matricular contributions now payable by each State of the Empire at the rate of 40 pfennigs (about 5*d.*) per head of the population, were to be increased to a rate not exceeding 80 pfennigs per head, the amounts still outstanding on account of these contributions to be treated as part of the Imperial debt. Included in the death duties was a military service exemption tax levied on the estates of persons who, though liable to military service, did not serve with the colours; and it was proposed that in cases of intestacy the whole of the property, in the absence of relatives of the first or second degrees, was to revert to the State. Prince Bülow, in introducing these

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proposals to the House, observed that the rapid growth of the German Empire had lulled the nation into a feeling of false security as to its future, and had at the same time excited the envy of other nations; the Empire had inspired "more respect than affection"; and as regards England, its economic expansion had "transformed her friendly feelings into mistrust." At the same time he saw "no imminent danger of war"; "what was needed was coolness, fearlessness, and a stable and consistent policy—calmness in the conduct of affairs abroad as at home." The continual additions to the debt of the Empire had rendered the financial position untenable, and all the Imperial requirements of the Empire should now be provided by additional taxation. The taxation per head of Germany was 26*s.* in direct and 22*s.* 3*d.* in indirect taxation, against 57*s.* and 38*s.* respectively in England, while the wealth of Germany was increasing at the rate of nearly 200,000,000*l.* a year, savings banks deposits at the rate of 25,000,000*l.* a year, and those in co-operative banks of 7,500,000*l.* a year. The total savings banks deposits amounted to 600,000,000*l.*, and private bank deposits had increased at the rate of 20,000,000*l.* a year. A country which could show such results could not be called poor. But something more was needed than fresh taxation. Strict economy would have to be observed for the future; and this injunction applied to every community within the Empire, to States and to municipalities as well as to every individual German. The German people had long been a frugal nation, content with what they had, and taught by hard experience to dispense with many amenities of life enjoyed by their wealthier neighbours. But they had become rich, and in some respects they resembled a young man who had come into an estate and who over-estimated its value, until one fine day he woke up to the fact that he had been living beyond his means.

The proposals of the Government were sharply criticised by the various parties in the Reichstag. The Conservatives objected to the new death duties and the spirit monopoly, the Centre and the South German People's Party urged that 15,000,000*l.* would suffice instead of 25,000,000*l.*, and that a tax on capital would be preferable to the new death duties; the Radicals and the Socialists attacked the whole scheme, saying that it was the pursuit of power and the greed of contest which swallowed up so many millions. After two days' debate the Government Bill was referred to a committee, and its further consideration by the House was consequently postponed until after the Christmas recess. The Committee, however, decided on December 9 to reject the proposal of the Government to transfer the outstanding "matricular" contributions to the Imperial debt. They amounted for 1906, 1907, and 1908, to upwards of 7,000,000*l.*, and the question how this sum was to be provided for was left unsettled.

Interesting information as to the results of the new customs tariff was furnished by the official trade returns for 1907. The

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value of German trade, exclusive of precious metals, amounted to 286,600,000*l.* in 1905, to 317,950,000*l.* in 1906, and to 342,550,000*l.* in 1907. There had thus been an increase of over 55,000,000*l.* since 1905, and of nearly 25,000,000*l.* since 1906, notwithstanding the considerable stimulus given to the import trade in January and February, 1906, in view of the prospective enforcement of the new tariff on March 1 of that year. The States with which Germany had succeeded in concluding new treaties of commerce on the basis of the tariff included Austria, Russia, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Roumania, and Servia. Among the countries enjoying the most-favoured-nation treatment were Great Britain, France, the United States, Holland, Denmark, British India, Japan and the Argentine Republic; while commercial relations with Canada, Brazil, China and Portugal were not regulated by any agreement. From 1905 to 1907 the value of German exports to the Treaty States increased by 28,650,000*l.* or 28 per cent., that of those to the most-favoured-nation States by 24,400,000*l.* or 14 per cent., and that of those to the third category of States by 2,900,000*l.* or 22 per cent.

A great Socialist demonstration took place on January 10 all over the country in favour of the adoption of manhood suffrage in the Prussian Parliamentary elections simultaneously with the introduction of a resolution to that effect by the Radicals in the House. Under the existing law all male adults over twenty-five years of age, who were in full enjoyment of civil rights, were divided into three classes, according to the amount at which they were assessed for taxation. Each class chose an equal number of representatives, who then elected the member for the district. The result was that in no case could the working classes elect a representative of their own, and that there was not a single Social Democratic member in the Prussian Parliament, though in the great industrial districts the majority of the people were Social Democrats. Prince Bülow, though admitting that the existing system was defective, opposed the introduction in Prussia of the electoral system of the Empire on the ground that it would not be compatible with the welfare of the State, and that every sound reform of the franchise must maintain and secure the influence of the great mass of the middle class, and therefore must aim at establishing an equitable gradation in the weight of the different classes of votes. He added that the Government would consider whether this object could be attained by simply basing the franchise on the amount of taxes paid by the voter or by taking his age, property, educational attainments, or other attributes into account. The Clericals and Poles supported the resolution, the National Liberals and the Conservatives of all shades adopted the view of the Government. A redistribution of seats was supported only by the Radicals, Poles, and National Liberals. The resolution was rejected by a large majority. Two days later there were further Socialist

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demonstrations at Berlin, in which the working men came into collision with the police and many people were injured. Prince Bülow's speech on the question gave great offence to the Radicals. Their ablest organ, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, declared that he had shattered all confidence in his professions of desire to show consideration for Liberal views, while the *Berliner Tagblatt* reminded him that "many a progressive movement had achieved success in spite of the opposition of much greater statesmen." The Democratic Associations at Nuremberg and the Liberal Associations at Dresden and Frankfort also passed resolutions recommending the withdrawal of the Liberals and Radicals from the Parliamentary coalition. Further suffrage demonstrations took place at Berlin on January 21. Next day in the Reichstag the Chancellor warned the working men "not to allow themselves to be diverted from the path of law and order or to sacrifice themselves for the sake of party fanatics and agitators." In the discussions which followed Herr Fischer, one of the Social Democratic members for Berlin, reminded the House that in January, 1907, the Imperial Chancellor had himself encouraged such agitation by addressing a midnight procession which had assembled before his residence to congratulate him upon the result of the elections, and that even the Emperor had addressed the assembled crowds from the balcony of the Royal Castle. Prince Bülow's declaration against universal suffrage for Prussia had accentuated the opposition between North and South Germany. Did the Chancellor's declaration against manhood suffrage in Prussia imply a reflection upon the South Germans and upon the heir to the Bavarian throne, who had publicly expressed himself in favour of manhood suffrage and secret voting? Or did it mean that the working classes in Prussia, who had been described as the "most intelligent in the world," were politically inferior to their South German brethren? He contrasted Prince Bülow's condemnation of the secret ballot in Prussia with his action in further safeguarding it in Imperial elections, and declared that publicity of voting in Prussia was designed to maintain the power of the Junker class, whose methods of intimidation were notorious. On behalf of the Centre party Count Hompesch read a declaration to the effect that a State which had adopted universal taxation, universal military service and universal compulsory education, could not in justice refuse universal suffrage, and the matter then dropped; but the elections for the Prussian Parliament in June showed that even in the existing electorate there was a good deal of opposition to the views of the Government. These elections, however, were also affected to some extent by the recent redistribution of seats (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 285) under which Berlin, which was formerly divided into four electoral districts returning nine deputies, was redistributed into twelve single-member districts. Even with this redistribution (as a National Liberal, Prince Schonaich-Carolath, showed in a speech to his

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constituents), 314,000 Socialist voters were entirely unrepresented in the Prussian Chamber, while 324,000 Conservative voters returned 143 members, and the propertied and agrarian section of the electorate returned over 300 members, the remainder only some 130. On this occasion, however, seven Socialists were elected to the Prussian Chamber, which hitherto had not contained a single Socialist member. The National Liberals and Free Conservatives, who had opposed the extension of the franchise, lost respectively twelve seats and four.

The German Socialist Congress met at Nuremberg on September 13, and was chiefly occupied in a violent struggle between the revolutionary sections of the old school of Social Democrats and the "revisionists" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1903, p. 279). The Socialist deputies of the Parliaments of Baden and Bavaria, departing from the rules laid down by the Central Committee, had this year taken part in the divisions on the estimates, and this had given rise to much angry recrimination between them and the Central Committee. They were supported by the "revisionists," and the controversy inspired so much interest that the Congress was attended by nearly 15,000 persons. The South German deputies alleged that by speaking and voting on the estimates they had helped to obtain valuable advantages to the working-men, increased rates of pay having been granted to working-class Government officials and permission given to join trade unions, and that social reforms could only be obtained by the Socialist party if it accepted a share in the financial responsibility of the Government. Herr Bebel, the leader of the revolutionary section, declared on the other hand that what the masses needed was not a series of petty reforms, but a continual reminder that no compromises with Governments would under any circumstances be made, "the great end in view" being to destroy all existing Governments. The great influence possessed by this veteran leader secured the acceptance of a resolution condemning the action of the South German deputies, but they lodged a protest against it, adhering to their view that important social reforms can only be obtained by speaking and voting upon them in Parliament, and this view met with much sympathy in the party.

An interesting debate on unemployment in Germany took place in the Reichstag on November 17. The Socialist deputies having proposed that an Imperial system of insurance against unemployment should be instituted and that the working day should be reduced to a maximum of nine hours, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, said that the international economic crisis had not affected Germany so seriously as other countries. German exports had been reduced by 1·4 per cent., those from France during the same period by 5·9, from the United States by 8·9, and from Great Britain by 10·4 per cent. As to the existing unemployment in Germany, only 2·7 per cent. of the 1,270,000

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members of the trade unions were at the end of July out of work. The position was worse in England. A census of unemployment did not, at any rate at present, appear to be either practicable or profitable, and no satisfactory scheme of Imperial insurance against unemployment had yet been discovered. The Empire in its capacity of employer was in a position to give a certain amount of relief. The Army authorities had increased the number of their employees by 700, the Admiralty had increased theirs from 18,000 to 20,000, while the rate of wages had been raised. In other departments every effort would be made to give employment and to avoid reduction of staffs. Moreover, arrangements would be made in order to begin, at the earliest possible moment after the estimates had been voted, all the works which would be provided for in the Budget for the next financial year.

The debate on the Polish Expropriation Bill introduced in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 296) was continued in the Upper House in the Prussian Parliament on February 26. The Bill was defended by Count Arnim, the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, who said that the Polish problem could not be solved by conciliation. History showed that no nation, and least of all the Poles, ever abandoned the struggle for independence. Notwithstanding all that Prussia had done for the Poles, they had absolutely refused to renounce their national ideals. Conciliation had failed, and other measures must now be considered. The increase of prosperity and the spread of education among the Poles had been accompanied by a more intense development of national feeling. This situation the State could not directly influence. The Polish movement flourished on its own success. The Poles did not endeavour to achieve their object by hopeless local insurrections or by revolution. They aimed at raising their standard of civilisation and education and thus gradually expelling the Germans. No objection could, of course, be offered to Polish progress in itself, but the expulsion of the Germans, accompanied by the rapid increase of the Polish population, constituted a grave danger. The greater percentage of Polish births was due to the numbers of the labouring classes who lived on the land. No alternative remedy had been suggested to the Government policy of expropriation and German settlements. The settlements had been acknowledged to be a work of progress, and the Poles could not complain of a struggle which they had forced upon the Government. Prince Bülow, after several speeches had been made by conspicuous members of the House in opposition to the Bill, made the usual appeal to German Chauvinism, declaring that German policy would not be influenced by the opinions of foreigners, and that in introducing the Bill he had remained true to the traditions of Bismarck; and after a long debate the Bill was passed by 143 votes to 111. Among the minority were Prince Pless, Prince Hatzfeld, the Duke of Ratibor, the Duke

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of Arenberg, Prince Fürstenberg, Prince Salm-Horstmar, Field-Marshal Count Häseler, Admiral Von Hollman, the former Minister of Agriculture, Baron Von Bellhausen, the Burgomasters of Berlin, Posen and Danzig, and Count Ballestrem, the former President of the Reichstag. The Bill passed its third reading in the Lower House on March 13, amidst the protests of the Radicals, whose organ, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, said: "In the name of justice and humanity we protest against legislation directed against a particular section of the community, and we dispute its legality. Prince Bülow called it barbarous, mad and hare-brained to desire to exterminate the Poles. With these terms he himself involuntarily passed the right verdict upon the Bill, which bars the only way of solving the Polish question in a conciliatory sense and damages in the most serious manner respect for justice." The Bill as finally adopted provided that "in the districts [*viz.* the provinces of West Prussia and Posen] in which the safety of the endangered German element could only be ensured by additional allotments to German settlers," the State should have the right to acquire, if necessary by expropriation, the land required for this purpose up to a total area of 70,000 hectares (173,000 acres). It exempted from expropriation—first, buildings consecrated for Divine service and burial places; secondly, land owned by churches and religious corporations, if acquired before February 26, 1908; and thirdly, land owned by recognised charitable foundations, if acquired before February 26, 1908.

The Public Meetings Bill (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 296) came on for debate in the German Parliament on March 2. The Poles moved in the Budget Committee that the clause prohibiting the use of any language but German at public meetings should be amended so as to include in the word "German" the mother-tongues of all subjects of the German Empire. This was rejected by 15 votes to 12, but the parties forming the "bloc" or coalition could not agree to accept the clause as proposed by the Government, and a compromise was ultimately arrived at excepting from the prohibition international congresses and electoral meetings for the Reichstag and for the Legislatures of the Federated States and of Alsace-Lorraine during the period between the day on which the date of the election is officially announced and the close of the election itself. It was further enacted that the legislation of the separate States may permit further exceptions; that in administrative districts where more than 60 per cent. of the indigenous population speak a non-German mother-tongue, this non-German language may be employed at a public meeting if the conveners of the meeting give three days' notice to the police; and that the central authorities of each German State may likewise allow exceptions in the absence of State legislation to the contrary. The Bill, as thus amended, was finally passed by the House on April 8 with a majority of 200 to 179, the

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Government having promised that in Alsace-Lorraine the optional use of the French language would be permitted. On the whole the new law was well received, as it recognised the right of association and public meeting and gave considerably increased freedom in this respect. But with regard to the Poles the new law was applied with such rigidity that in order to evade it they held "mute" public meetings, at which no speeches were made, but resolutions were written up in Polish on a blackboard and passed by a show of hands. A Bill was also passed dealing with Stock Exchange transactions, recognising under certain conditions deals in "futures" in mining and industrial stock, but prohibiting transactions in grain, flour, and meal except on the part of those who are engaged in the grain trade.

Another important Bill was carried in the Reichstag on February 11, reducing the excise duty on sugar from 14 to 10 marks by April 1, 1909, if by that date the consequent loss of revenue shall have been made good by fresh taxation; if not, the reduction to be postponed until new sources of revenue shall become available. The Russo-German agreement with regard to the importation of Russian sugar (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 331) was also finally passed. It conferred upon Germany the right to levy the full duties and surtaxes upon Russian sugar imported into Germany for consumption in that country. These charges were practically prohibitive.

The scandalous accusations made by Herr Maximilian Harden, the editor of the *Zukunft*, in the previous year against persons who had held high positions at the German Court led to further prosecutions in the military and civil tribunals. On January 22 Count William Hohenau, a former aide-de-camp to the Emperor, and Count Lynar, a former officer of the Guards regiment, were tried by court-martial for unnatural offences; the former was acquitted for lack of evidence, the latter sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. Herr Harden, who had been acquitted of the charge of libel brought against him by Count Moltke (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 293), was in January sentenced to four months' imprisonment, but on May 24 this sentence was reversed by the Supreme Court of the Empire on the ground among others that a witness in Prince Eulenburg's service who had given evidence favourable to his master had been allowed at a later stage of the trial to supplement his testimony without being again sworn. Further evidence having been produced by Herr Harden tending to incriminate the Prince, the latter was arrested on a charge of perjury (he having declared his innocence at the action brought by Prince Bülow in the previous year), but his trial could not be proceeded with owing to his serious illness. Several trials also took place in cases of brutality in the German Army. On June 5 four sergeants and four bombardiers of the First Artillery of the Guard were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for the ill-treatment of subordinates, one of whom, a recruit named Knobbe, had committed

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suicide through fear of further torment, and on June 11 further sentences were inflicted on five sergeants of the Fourth Regiment of Guards, more than 600 cases of brutality, extending over five years, having been proved against them. An action for libel was again brought in January by the African traveller Dr. Peters (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 304), this time against Herr von Bennigsen, the writer of an article in the *Cologne Gazette*, charging him with cruelty to the natives. Herr von Bennigsen was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine, but on May 26 the sentence was reserved on appeal.

A new court for the trial of youthful offenders under eighteen years of age was instituted at Berlin and held its first sitting in the Central Civil Court House on June 1 under three civil judges specially selected for the work. The President, in his opening speech, stated that its functions were: first, to prevent youthful transgressors against the law from coming into contact with older offenders; secondly, to entrust the task of dealing with them to judges who had been specially trained for their duties; and thirdly, to supplement judicial treatment by a subsequent course of superintendence and control. To achieve this last object the court counted upon the co-operation of charitable persons and organisations, as well as of schools and school teachers. The majority of the cases with which the court dealt were dismissed with a caution or a reprimand to the offender, and only in one case was a fine imposed.

The Navy estimates introduced in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 298) and a Bill for the reduction of the age-limit for battleships were further debated in the German Parliament on January 29. The National Liberals objected to the reduction of the number of new large ships to be laid down from four in 1911 to two in 1912, as they were anxious that Germany should as soon as possible be placed in possession of a fleet of first-class ships which in point of size and armament should be at least equal to those of other countries, but the Radicals, while agreeing to the reduction of the age-limit for battleships from twenty-five years to twenty, declared that they would resist any attempt to fix the programme of naval construction for long periods in advance as desired by the National Liberals, and expressed great satisfaction with the plain denial given by the Government in Committee of any intention on the part of Germany to rival Great Britain in her naval armaments. Germany commanded the largest Army; she should not also aspire to own the strongest Navy. Admiral Tirpitz, the Secretary of State for the Imperial Marine, said that the fears which had arisen lest Germany should aspire to dispute with Great Britain the supremacy of the seas were purely imaginary. England could build ships far more rapidly than Germany, and could therefore choose her own moment for doing so with the certainty that she would not be left behind. The estimates and the Navy Bill then passed.

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On November 20 the *North-German Gazette* published a statement showing the prospective requirements for the Navy for the year 1909. Ordinary expenditure under this head showed an increase of 1,872,420*l.*, and ordinary recurring expenditure an increase of more than 512,000*l.*, over the current estimates. Non-recurring expenditure for new constructions and armaments showed an increase of 2,437,500*l.* Of this sum the vote for new constructions amounted to nearly 7,000,000*l.*, of which nearly 4,250,000*l.* was to be met out of loan and the remainder out of ordinary revenue. In accordance with the Navy Law of 1900 and its supplements of 1906 and 1908, provision had to be made for fourth and final instalments of the cost of the battleships *Nassau* and *Westfalen* and the large cruiser *Blucher;* for third instalments of the cost of two battleships—the *Rheinland* and another—and of one large cruiser "F"; for third and final instalments of the cost of two small cruisers; for second instalments of the cost of three battleships, of the large cruiser "G," and of two small cruisers, and, finally, for first instalments of the cost of three battleships, of a new large cruiser "H," and of two small cruisers. Other important items of expenditure upon construction were submarines, 500,000*l.*; guns, 3,272,500*l.* (an increase of 789,500*l.* over the estimates for the current year); torpedoes, 413,500*l.* (an increase of 103,500*l.*); and submarine mines, 75,000*l.* (an increase of 34,000*l.*).

Notwithstanding the dispute in the Navy League (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 292) it consisted at the beginning of the year of 1,018,590 members, with a reserve fund of 7,500*l.* and a monthly organ, *Die Flotte*, with a circulation of 375,000. Nearly 700 lectures on naval subjects were delivered throughout the Empire under its auspices, "navy exhibitions" were organised in seventy-eight towns, and 300 elementary school teachers and 2,000 school children were conveyed to the chief naval ports at the expense of the League to show them the progress of the German Navy. A "German Women's Navy Association" was also started at Dresden. The resignation of Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria and of the executive of the Bavarian branch of the Navy League in consequence of the re-election of General Keim as chairman of the Executive Committee of the League, and the announcement that the Emperor had approved of his brother, Prince Henry, resigning his position of captain of the League if General Keim retained the office of chairman, led to a stormy debate at a meeting of the League at Cassel on January 19, and all the members of the Executive Committee, including General Keim, resigned their posts. The dispute was settled at another general meeting of the League at Dantzig on June 14, a resolution offering the presidency again to Prince Salm, or, in the event of his refusal, to Admiral von Köster. The latter became the new president on July 10, Prince Salm having declined to re-assume that post. At a meeting of the Mecklenburg section, on July 30, at Rostock, its new President, Admiral

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von Köster, stated that the League would in all circumstances continue to demand that only first-class ships should be built which in offensive and defensive power should be equal to the ships of other nations, and on September 28 the Executive Committee resolved that the prospective scheme for the reform of the finances of the Empire should be so framed as to guarantee that the Navy Law should be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, that modern armoured cruisers should be constructed as soon as possible to replace six cruisers which are employed for special purposes, that a seventeenth battleship should be constructed at once in conformity with the Navy Law, and that highly trained nucleus crews, to the extent of at least one-half of each ship's normal complement, should be maintained for the ships in reserve. An Aerial Navy League was founded at Mannheim on July 27 on the same lines as the Navy League.

Speaking of German naval expansion in the German Parliament during the debate on the Foreign Office Estimates on March 24, Prince Bülow said "that the purely defensive character of the German naval programme cannot be emphasised too frequently in opposition to the continual attempts to impute to Germany aggressive intentions and plans against England". He said also that the Emperor's letter to Lord Tweedmouth (p. 58), "in which one gentleman speaks freely to another," could not be read *in extenso*, as it was a private letter, and it might be signed "by every sincere friend of good relations between Germany and England. . . . The assertion that it was an attempt to influence, in the interests of Germany, the Minister responsible for the British naval estimates, and that it constituted an act of interference in the domestic affairs of the British Empire, is an instance of absolutely unwarranted misrepresentation. Our Emperor is the last person to imagine that the patriotism of a British Minister would be consistent with accepting advice from abroad with regard to the construction of the estimates for the British Navy." Later, on being asked in the German Parliament on December 9 why Germany had declined to entertain proposals for the limitation of naval armaments, the Prince said that Germany had for a long time past recognized an international limitation of armaments as extremely desirable *per se*, but that her attitude had been determined by doubts as to its practicability. Shipbuilding had aspects which did not lend themselves to numerical calculation, and even if it were possible to increase the sum of interests on the ocean "it would be incalculably difficult to separate aspirations which were justified from those which were not—to assess in advance the growth of economic interests and of economic ambitions and hopes." Germany's position in the centre of Europe was "strategically the most unfavourable in the world," and her armaments were dictated by the necessity that she should be able to defend herself on several sides.

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Herr Dernburg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, made interesting speeches in the Reichstag in February and March on the results of his visits to German East Africa in 1907 and on the condition of the German Colonies. The state of Togoland, he said, was very satisfactory; it required no subsidy from the Empire, and the trade of the Cameroons for the past year had amounted to about 1,700,000*l.*, or an increase of 40 per cent. The development of German East Africa required time, and the moment had not arrived for encouraging extensive European immigration. He also declined to take action against the immigrants from India. The Indian traders were indispensable for the commercial development of the country, and owing to their frugal ways of living they were better able than Europeans to promote trade in the interior. Were they expelled there would be a general decline of trade and a corresponding decrease in the revenue from Customs. In German South-West Africa there were still some partial risings, and it was not until July that the Ovambo chiefs in the north of the colony, who had given the most trouble, surrendered and agreed to open their country to German trade and assist the Government to recruit labourers from among the men of their tribe. The Colonial Minister also announced that diamonds had been discovered in the neighbourhood of Lüderitz Bay, and that an export duty of 10*s.* a carat had been imposed upon them.

On March 20 the reporters in the Press gallery of the German Parliament went on strike during the discussion on the Colonial Estimates because a prominent member of the Centre party, Herr Gröber, had exclaimed, pointing at the gallery, "Those pigs of fellows are at it again," owing to a statement by another Centre deputy that negroes are human beings with immortal souls having been received with laughter there. Journals of all parties except the Centre announced that they would publish no reports of the proceedings in Parliament until their representatives in the gallery should feel free to resume work. Eventually the matter was settled by a declaration from Herr Gröber that his remark was not intended to refer to the reporters, but generally to those who ridicule religion.

The subsidy to the North German Lloyd was increased by the German Parliament from 50,000*l.* to 61,500*l.* in support of the service between Australia and Japan, on the understanding that 13,500*l.* of the original subsidy should be diverted to the benefit of the resumed service between New Guinea and Singapore, Herr Dernburg having pointed out that the commercial prospects of German New Guinea were sufficiently encouraging to justify the proposed expenditure.

The foreign policy of Germany, though the Emperor and his Government were doubtless sincere in their pacific assurances, was characterised by an arrogance of tone and a pretension to impose her will upon the other Powers which made her the most unpopular State in Europe. As to pacific professions,

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nothing could be more reassuring than the words both of the Emperor and his Chancellor. The meeting of King Edward with the Emperor at Cronberg on August 11 was of a most cordial character, and Prince Bülow's organ, the *Süd-Deutsche Reichscorrespondenz*, said that the new development in the European situation which had been accentuated by the meeting "must be supplemented by the definite improvement, once for all, of the relations between Germany and England . . . which can only be the outcome of prolonged and patient missionary efforts with a view to arriving at an understanding with regard to the aims of each other's naval policy. . . . Sooner or later all the heretical doctrines which represent an armed conflict between Germany and Great Britain as inevitable are bound to be confuted by the realisation of the fact that the German and British navies have other things to do than to fight each other." The Emperor in a notable speech on August 30 at Strasburg expressed "his deep conviction that the peace of Europe is not in danger," that the Princes and statesmen of Europe "know and feel that they are responsible to God for the lives and prosperity of the people entrusted to their leadership," that the people themselves desire peacefully to develop the benefits of civilisation, and that "proud of the manly discipline and love of honour of her armed forces, Germany is determined to keep them on their high level without menace to others and to develop them as her own interests demand, favouring no one and injuring no one." This last remark was generally understood as a reply to the British suggestion of a reduction of naval armaments. On the other hand the agitation of the Navy League and the Pan-Germans had produced a belief in certain large and powerful sections of the German people that England and France were striving to isolate Germany in Europe and to diminish her power on the sea, and were even contemplating an armed attack upon her; and in his treatment of foreign affairs Prince Bülow assumed a haughty and provocative attitude which gave these sections some satisfaction. Though in Germany Ministers are not responsible to Parliament, they need a Parliamentary majority for the due transaction of public business, and however mistaken the Government might hold these sections of its supporters to be, they formed an important part of its majority and it was bound to have some regard to their views. This consideration may also account in some degree for the extraordinary step taken by the German Government, a few hours after the Emperor's speech at Strasburg, in advocating the immediate recognition of Mulai Hafid as Sultan of Morocco, and secretly sending the German consul back to Fez, where he took up a decided attitude in favour of Mulai Hafid, although France and Spain, who held the mandate of Europe in Morocco under the Act of Algeciras, had notified that they would propose to the Powers that Mulai Hafid should only be recognised on his accepting the obligations

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which had been imposed upon his brother as Sultan. As was remarked by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, this new departure of the German Government "represents another of those sudden impulses of German policy which make a terrific noise, but afterwards vanish and leave not a wrack behind."

The Pan-German League, which had given Mulai Hafid's envoys an enthusiastic reception in May, held a meeting in September at which Herr Catt, its president, spoke with approval of "the new course adopted by the Government in intervening on behalf of Mulai Hafid," though he considered that "modern German diplomacy had utterly failed to fulfil its functions." "The new course," however, proved to be merely "a *coup d'epée dans l'eau*," ending in a diplomatic fiasco like that which followed the theatrical display of the Emperor at Tangier. The German intervention on behalf of Mulai Hafid was quietly ignored by the other Powers, and his recognition only took place after he had accepted the conditions laid down by France and Spain. In his despatch of September 22 Prince Bülow, after lecturing the Powers on the importance of recognising Mulai Hafid, agreed to the conditions laid down in the Franco-Spanish note without further demur. It was evident that German policy in Morocco, as in Turkey, was mainly directed to showing the Sultan of each of these States that Germany, and no other European Power, was his friend. An attempt was made to retrieve German prestige by a series of interviews—following upon the meetings between the German Emperor and the King of Italy at Venice on March 25, Prince Bülow and Baron Aehrenthal at Vienna on March 29, and Prince Bülow and Signor Tittoni at Rome on April 12—between Baron von Aehrenthal and Signor Tittoni and Herr von Schön, in which the Foreign Ministers of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy laid stress upon the solidarity of the members of the Triple Alliance. But their declarations were academical rather than practical; Italy had shown in the Algeciras conference that she was ready on occasion to take up an attitude of opposition to Germany, and Slavonic influences had become so strong in Austria that the description of Count Goluchowski by the German Emperor as "a good second" had been the main cause of his resignation of the post of Foreign Minister (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, pp. 304, 311).

At the Inter-Parliamentary Congress, which met at Berlin on September 18, Prince Bülow, who took every opportunity of exhibiting himself and the Emperor as the strongest advocates of peace, declared that true patriotism consisted in averting and not provoking conflicts, but at the same time announced that Germany had not the remotest intention of reducing her armaments—a curious saying on the part of a statesman who had played so prominent a part in disturbing the peace of Europe and in increasing German armaments to an unprecedented extent. He pleaded in the same speech that Germany had not been at

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war with any Power for the last thirty-eight years, disregarding the fact that though Germany had not actually made war she had often during that period brought matters to the verge of war, thereby producing a state of uncertainty and apprehension in international politics which had been most damaging to European trade and to the general prosperity. Apart from the Chancellor's speech the Congress cannot be said to have been a success. Barely a tenth of the delegates attended its three sittings, and of these many could neither understand the speeches nor read the programme of business. Resolutions were passed in favour of obligatory arbitration; of the inclusion in arbitration treaties of a clause providing that in the event of an international conflict the settlement of which did not come within the scope of existing treaties the contracting parties should not engage in active hostilities before they had jointly or separately invited the mediation of one or more friendly Powers; of defining contraband as comprising only necessaries of war intended for the use of a belligerent; and of laying down the principle that ships carrying contraband should not be destroyed, that private property is inviolable, and that open ports may never be blockaded. The proceedings closed with an invitation to the third Hague Conference to take in hand the codification of international law, and the appointment of a salaried secretary to the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The Socialists did not take part in the Congress because, as stated by their organ the *Vorwärts*, the Liberals and Radicals, who had formerly opposed the ceaseless expansion of armaments, had now abandoned their principles. Prince Bülow also made pacific speeches to the British working-men who visited Berlin in September, and to the International Press Congress which was opened in the Reichstag buildings on September 22. He exhorted all journalists to be actuated in their work by a spirit of "mutual goodwill, honest appreciation, mutual understanding, and friendly arrangement," but he gave no indication that a less arrogant tone would be adopted in his own despatches and the proceedings of his diplomatic agents.

Another example of the dictatorial spirit of German foreign policy was afforded by the dispute with France consequent on the capture by the French on September 25 of some deserters from the French Foreign Legion at Casablanca, who were assisted to escape by the German Consul and his subordinates. Germany demanded an apology for the seizure of the deserters by main force from the hands of the Consular officials who were conducting them, and offered on her part to censure her Consul. France refused, but proposed to submit the matter to arbitration, upon which Germany demanded that the apology should be made before the arbitration took place. To this demand she obstinately adhered for more than a month, and it was not until public opinion in all the other countries of Europe had pronounced itself decisively against the German pretension that she yielded, only stipulating, in order to "save her face," that

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both countries should first express regret that the incident had occurred. Meanwhile the publication in the *Daily Telegraph* on October 28 of the German Emperor's revelations of his policy towards England (p. 218) only increased the general mistrust with which Germany was viewed abroad. These revelations, which were stated to be from the pen of a retired diplomatist, professed to demonstrate that the Emperor's "heart is set on peace," and that "it is one of his dearest wishes to live on the best of terms with England, though the prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of his own people is not friendly to England." He had proved his friendship for her by refusing to receive the Boer delegates at Berlin while other European peoples had "received and fêted them," and the German people would, if they had come, "have crowned them with flowers"; by refusing the invitation of France and Russia "to join with them in calling upon England to put an end to the war"; and by sending to Windsor a plan of campaign against the Boers in December, 1899, drawn up by himself and submitted to his general staff for criticism, which "ran very much on the same lines as that which was adopted by Lord Roberts." The writer of the article added that the Emperor, dwelling upon the importance to Germany of a powerful fleet "to protect her growing commerce and manifold interests," said that Germany "must be prepared for any eventualities in the Far East," that in view of the naval power of Japan and the possible national awakening of China, "only those Powers which have great navies will be listened to with respect when the future of the Pacific comes to be solved," and that even England herself may welcome the existence of a German fleet "when they speak together on the same side in the great debates of the future." The folly of such a publication, with the Imperial *imprimatur*, which could only create ill-feeling in England, France, Japan, Russia, and Germany herself, was patent to all the world, and it was almost inconceivable that a man with the Kaiser's ability and political experience could have permitted it. The official account of the publication was even more extraordinary: it stated that the article was sent to Prince Bülow by the Emperor for his opinion, that the Prince, who was at Norderney, did not read it, as it came with a mass of other papers, and merely passed it on to the Foreign Office for report, and that when it came back without objection, he simply initialled it and sent it on to the Emperor. All Germany was aghast at this astounding exhibition of official incompetence, and the various parties in the German Parliament at once gave notice of interpellations. Prince Bülow sent in his resignation, but the Emperor refused to accept it, thereby placing him in the humiliating position of having to appear before the House to defend the Emperor's indiscretion and to apologise for his own carelessness. He acquitted himself of the task with his usual skill. The debate took place on November 11, and after the represent-

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atives of the various parties had criticised the conduct of the Emperor with unprecedented severity, some of them demanding constitutional guarantees against the repetition of such conduct, the Chancellor said that the article was in some respects inaccurate and in others exaggerated, that the Emperor had not sent a plan of campaign to Queen Victoria during the Boer war, only "aphorisms" upon the art of war, that the German people are not hostile to Great Britain (a statement which was received with approval by the whole House), and desire nothing better than friendship "on mutual terms," that the German fleet is not being built with a view to eventualities in the Far East, and that the Government wish "to discontinue anything which looks like an excessive courting of foreign favour." Passing to the question of guarantees for the future, the Chancellor assured the House that his consent to remain in office was the hardest sacrifice of his life, and expressed his firm conviction that for the future the Emperor would show more reserve even in private conversations; adding that if it were not so, neither himself nor any of his successors could bear the responsibility, and that how long he would be able to continue in office remained to be seen. The speech was coldly received by the House, which did not regard the Chancellor's allegation as to the future as a sufficient security against further Imperial indiscretions, and some indignation was expressed at the Emperor being on such an occasion absent from Berlin on a hunting expedition. The country was unanimous, however, as to the necessity for retaining Prince Bülow as Chancellor. It was not he, but the Emperor, who was the principal culprit, and it was felt that in the critical condition of both home and foreign affairs in Germany the conduct of public business should not be taken out of his hands. After the debate in the House the Prince held a Council of the Prussian Ministers, who unanimously expressed their entire agreement with him, and then called a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Council, which consists of representatives of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg (but not of Prussia), together with two representatives of two other States elected by the Council for twelve months. This body expressed its conviction that the conduct of Germany's foreign policy rested in the best hands, and that Prince Bülow had done a great service by deciding to remain in office. Thus fortified by the support of the Ministers, of the Federal Council, of the German Parliament, and of public opinion as expressed by the Press of all parties in the Empire, his views could hardly be rejected by the Emperor when he proceeded to Potsdam to report to him on the situation on November 17, and on the following day the official *Reichsanzeiger* published a *communiqué* stating that his Majesty "received the statements and explanations of the Imperial Chancellor in a highly serious spirit and expressed his will in words to the effect that, notwithstanding the exaggerated and, as he considered, unjust character of the

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criticisms to which he had been publicly subjected, he regarded it as his highest Imperial duty to safeguard the stability of the policy of the Empire without prejudice to the responsibilities imposed by the Constitution," and that he "accordingly approved the statements of the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag and gave Prince Bülow the assurance of his continued confidence."

This somewhat vague announcement was probably all that could be expected from the Emperor under the circumstances. It did not afford any guarantee against a repetition of such incidents, but no guarantee could impose a guard upon his tongue, which had also at this time nearly betrayed itself in an interview, fortunately suppressed, in the *Century Magazine;* and the offence was not grave enough to be expiated by abdication. In the Reichstag, however, there was a general feeling that something more definite must be demanded, and the Radicals endeavoured to seize the opportunity for a vote demanding Ministerial responsibility. Meanwhile the Emperor apparently sought to conciliate public opinion by for the first time taking from the hands of the Imperial Chancellor the manuscript of a speech which he was to read to the Berlin Municipality (Nov. 21) on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the grant of the charter of self-government to the Prussian towns by Frederick William III.

The debate on the question of Ministerial responsibility took place in the Reichstag on December 2. Two motions were before the House; one by the Socialists, demanding that the Imperial Chancellor should be made responsible to the Reichstag and subject to impeachment by it for all political acts and omissions of the Emperor, as well as for all derelictions of his own official duties; that an Imperial High Court for the whole Empire, consisting of twenty-four deputies to be selected annually, should be created; that the condemnation of the Chancellor should involve his removal from office; that his pardon or the remission of a sentence pronounced against him should only be granted on the motion of the Reichstag; and that provision should also be made for an action in the ordinary courts for compensation in cases where the Chancellor may have expended money without the approval of Parliament. A second motion brought forward by the Centre called upon the Federal Governments to bring in a bill establishing the responsibility of the Imperial Chancellor "and his substitutes." The whole question, however, was beset with difficulties; real Ministerial responsibility could not be created without dislocating the whole framework of the Imperial Constitution: responsible Ministers could not exist side by side with the Imperial Federal Council, and Prince Bülow himself had declared in the Reichstag (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 293) that in Germany a Parliamentary system was impossible. The Chancellor did not speak on this occasion, but the Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, invited the House on behalf of the Federated Governments to

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express its views on the question, as they could not adopt a definite attitude upon matters so deeply affecting the constitutional foundations of the political life of the country until they had a clear decision on the part of the Reichstag. In the subsequent debate Dr. Müller, of the Radical people's party, and the Socialist Herr Ledebur urged that some form of constitutional responsibility, with a definite legal meaning, should be substituted for the so-called "moral responsibility" of the Chancellor. On the other hand Dr. Spahn, the Leader of the Centre, which was still the most powerful party in the House, said that his party did not aim at full responsibility for all Ministers, and did not wish to alter the Constitution, but only to extend the responsibility of the Chancellor to the speeches and letters of the Emperor; and the National Liberal Dr. Junck thought that Parliament ought not to have anything to do with the appointment or dismissal of the Chancellor, while a member of the Free Conservative party prayed "to be saved from Parliamentary Government." The proposals for the amendment of the Constitution and of Parliamentary procedure were then referred to a Committee of the Reichstag consisting of twenty-eight members.

In the crisis produced by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the declaration of Bulgarian independence Germany found herself for the first time for many years in the unusual position of having to play a secondary part. She had too long been identified with the policy of Abdul Hamid not to be looked upon with dislike and suspicion by the Young Turks, notwithstanding all her expressions of sympathy for them; on the other hand, Austria-Hungary was practically her only ally, and she was bound to support her, although she thereby only increased the alienation between her and the new *régime* in Turkey. Prince Bülow, in a speech on the European situation in the Reichstag on December 7, said that Germany possessed important economic interests in the Balkans, but that she had "no more occasion now than a generation ago to allow herself to be forced into a leading position in the work of political reconstruction undertaken by more nearly interested Powers," though she was determined to be loyal to her ally. Referring to Morocco, the Prince said that while the Moroccan problem "in itself still gave rise to difficulties of many kinds," he hoped that in view of the goodwill which existed on all sides it would be possible to arrive at an agreement. Passing to the agreement between the United States and Japan, he said it was in complete harmony with the fundamental principles of German policy in the Far East—"the open door in the economic sphere, the *status quo* in territorial matters, and the integrity and independence of the Chinese Empire."

In the Baltic and North Sea agreements, recognising the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in those seas, which were signed at St. Petersburg and Berlin respectively on April 23,

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Germany took a prominent part, and the semi-official *North German Gazette* observed that although these agreements introduced no fresh element into the relations between Germany and her neighbours, they were "of direct importance from the German point of view, since they once and for all cut the ground from under the feet of those who have continually imputed to Germany a desire to annex the smaller neighbouring States." These agreements were also regarded as giving some satisfaction to German susceptibilities by establishing a sort of makeweight to the understanding between France, Spain, England and Italy as to the Mediterranean.

The question of the withdrawal of the German troops from China having been raised in the Budget Committee of the German Parliament on February 7, the Foreign Secretary, Herr von Schön, stated that Germany had some time ago taken the initiative in reducing her troops in that country, but that no further step in that direction had been taken by the other Powers; he hoped, however, that it would be possible to withdraw the whole of her troops in five years' time, when the railway between Tsing-tau and Tien-tsin would be completed. The German troops numbered only 700 men, while England had a force of 2,000 in China, and France and Japan 1,200 each. In pursuance of the conspicuously friendly attitude which Germany had assumed towards Turkey of late years, she had obtained the protection of Turkish subjects in China, which had hitherto been exercised by France under the Franco-Turkish Capitulations of 1515 and 1740.

The Congress of the German General School League, whose title was altered to the more definite one of "League for the German element abroad," met at Constance on June 11. The report showed that the League contained 36,562 members with 295 local branches, that its income was over 13,000*l.*, and that nearly 6,000*l.* of this was distributed by way of subsidies to German schools abroad. In Europe the League endeavoured to promote the interests of the German element in districts like the Baltic provinces of Russia, Transylvania, and other places where difficulties were encountered in educating German children in their mother-tongue. The League had been specially active in South America; it established fifty-seven German schools in Paraguay, nine in Chili, and one in Venezuela. It also established two Leagues in South Africa, and had founded establishments for the sale of books in Peru and in Canada.

A Franco-German convention was signed on April 18 for the delimitation of the frontier between the French Congo and the Cameroons, substituting a more natural frontier for the artificial line tentatively fixed in 1894 before the region had been adequately explored. The chief advantage obtained by Germany was the acquisition of fresh outlets on the Ngoko and Sanga Rivers, which greatly enhanced the value of the Hinterland of her colony. On the other hand France recovered the Kunce

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district, which had been in the occupation of Germany, and secured rivers and streams as a frontier which would prevent collisions between French and German troops in those regions.

The Copyright Conference met at Berlin in October, and adopted a revised convention on November 12 for ratification by the States belonging to the Copyright Union. Its main object was to simplify and extend the protection accorded to the owners of literary, artistic, and musical copyright under the Berne Convention of 1886 and the *Acte Additionel* signed in Paris in 1896. Under the revised convention authors would not, as hitherto, have to prove their title to copyright in a court of law; in future copyright would be presumed by the law courts of the States belonging to the Union. Musical copyright would also be protected throughout the Union, and the unauthorised representation of theatrical scenes by the cinematograph would be forbidden. An author's rights over translations of his works would be the same as over the works themselves; and newspaper copyright was restricted to literary and scientific articles, and also to political articles, but not to news, unless the name of the paper is given as the source. The time-limit for copyright was agreed to by all the delegates as fifty years after the death of the author, as in France, but it was not included in the draft convention owing to some technical objections made by the British delegates.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Notwithstanding the introduction of universal suffrage in Austria, which it was hoped would create a Parliament working for the interest of the people generally instead of wasting its time in fruitless squabbles between the nationalities, the strife between Germans and Czechs, Poles and Ruthenians, continued to be as bitter as ever, and the only point on which all parties and nationalities in the Empire seemed to agree was their loyalty to the Emperor. The Jubilee celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of his accession in May and June, was attended by all the German sovereigns and heads of States. Its most picturesque feature was a procession representing the most notable figures in the history of the Empire and its various races clad in their national costumes; the people displayed immense enthusiasm, and numerous addresses testified to the veneration and affection with which they regarded their aged sovereign.

The year began with a riot at Agram on the arrival on January 15 of Baron Rauch, who had been appointed Ban or Governor of Croatia in succession to M. Rakodczay (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 314). As he and the officials accompanying him drove to the palace from the railway station they were hooted and pelted with stones. He announced next day that important concessions would be made to Croatian feeling, that universal suffrage would be introduced, and municipal government extended; but when the elections for the diet took place

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in February his partisans lost nearly all their seats and the diet was prorogued on March 14. In the Hungarian Parliament, too, the Government failed in its attempts to crush the obstruction of the Croatian and other non-Magyar members. A proposal was made by a Parliamentary Committee for a revision of the standing orders with this object, but the "Independent" opposition, under Baron Banffy and the non-Magyar members, defeated it by a systematic course of obstruction which lasted more than six weeks. A bill was passed in June providing for free instruction in the national schools and compensating communities and religious bodies which conducted their own schools for the loss of their school fees, but beyond this nothing of any importance was done. The estimates for 1909 showed a surplus of 2,000*l.* on a budget of 64,822,246*l.*, and a total ordinary revenue exceeding that of the current year by 4,500,000*l.* The most important measure laid before the House was the long-promised Franchise Reform Bill, which was introduced by the Minister of the Interior, Count Julius Andrassy, on November 11. Its chief object was to maintain the Magyar hegemony in the Hungarian State and the predominance of the educated classes among the Magyars themselves, and it was accordingly fiercely contested by the representatives of the non-Magyar nationalities and the Magyar advocates of unconditional universal suffrage.

The main provisions of the Bill were: (1) that every male Hungarian citizen able to read and write shall possess the franchise at the beginning of his twenty-fifth year, provided he belong neither to the armed forces nor to the police, and have twelve months' residential qualification; (2) that citizens unable to read and write shall not vote directly, but must choose one elector for every ten of their number; (3) that all other electors able to read and write but not possessing the qualifications requisite for the plural franchise shall have one vote; (4) that electors who have passed four standards of a secondary school, or who hold a position necessitating knowledge equivalent to that obtainable in the four standards, or who have completed their thirty-second year, performed military service, and are fathers of at least three legitimate children, or who pay 16*s.* 8*d.* direct taxation, or who have employed for at least five years a male servant, or who have been for at least five years a salaried *employé* of the same master, shall be entitled to two votes; and electors who have passed the highest standard of a secondary school, or who hold positions necessitating equivalent knowledge, or pay 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* direct taxation, to three; the voting to be public as hitherto, on the ground that "the secret ballot protects electors in dependent positions only in so far as they break their promises under the veil of secrecy." A redistribution scheme was to follow shortly.

In Austria, besides the standing racial antagonisms, there was a religious conflict which almost caused a breach between the

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Government and the Vatican. On January 18 Dr. Wahrmund, Professor of Canon Law at the University of Innsbruck, delivered an address at a public meeting on the last Papal Syllabus and the Encyclical *Pascendi*, in which he sharply criticised Roman Catholic doctrines. This address was published in the form of a pamphlet, which was seized and made the subject of a criminal prosecution by the civil authorities at Innsbruck. The Papal Nuncio demanded that Dr. Wahrmund should be removed from his professorship; the demand was regarded as an attempt to interfere in Austrian internal affairs; and on March 22 the Professorial Senate of the University of Vienna declared that a professor of Canon Law cannot legally be deprived of his chair if his teaching conflicts with the Roman Catholic doctrines, as the Canon Law taught in the juridical faculties is not exclusively Catholic, but deals with the history of the rights of Churches in general as well as with their internal constitution and relation to the State. Serious conflicts between clerical and non-clerical students followed in May at Vienna, Innsbruck and Gratz, and in June the Innsbruck University was closed; in consequence the students at all the Austrian universities except Cracow went on strike. Dr. Wahrmund then announced that in deference to the decision of the Minister of Education he would desist from lecturing until further notice, and the rectors of the universities signed a declaration to the effect that there was no sufficient reason for the strike, as the Minister had convinced them that academic liberty, freedom of scientific research, and the autonomy of the universities would be fully protected by him. The strike ceased on June 22, and Dr. Wahrmund was transferred to the Professorship of Canon Law at Prague.

On April 12 Count Potocki, the Governor of Galicia, was assassinated in his office by a Ruthenian student named Siczynski, who gave as the reason of his crime that the Count had oppressed the Ruthenians. The event produced a most painful impression all over the Empire, as the Count, who was one of the wealthiest magnates of Galicia, was known to have laboured incessantly for the good of his country, and had especially sought to establish friendly relations between the Ruthenians and the Poles. The former, however, on the whole seemed disposed to treat the assassin as a national hero rather than a criminal. On April 27 Dr. Bobrzynski, a prominent member of the Polish party in the Reichsrath and late head of the educational department in Galicia, was appointed to succeed Count Potocki as Governor.

The truce established by Baron Beck, the Premier, between the Germans and the Czechs as the result of the formation of a Parliament elected by universal suffrage was not of long duration. When the Bohemian diet assembled on October 15 the Germans, who constituted the minority, began a course of obstruction which culminated in a fight between the German and the Czech deputies, and the diet had to be dissolved. The Premier, fearing similar scenes on the meeting of the Reichsrath, entered

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into negotiations with the party leaders in order to secure a Government majority in the House, but without success. He accordingly resigned, together with the other Ministers, on November 8, and Baron Bienerth, the Minister of the Interior, was charged by the Emperor to form a provisional Cabinet of officials until a Parliamentary Government could be restored. The remainder of the year was occupied in continual sanguinary conflicts between the German and the Czech students in the streets of Prague and other Bohemian towns as well as between the Germans and Servians at Laibach, and between German and Italian students on November 23 in the University of Vienna, the latter having demanded an Italian university at Trieste. At Prague the Czechs shouted, "Long live Servia! Down with Austria!" and carried a Union Jack through the streets, cheering for England (p. 337), and it was found necessary on December 2 to proclaim a state of siege [*Standrecht*] of the most stringent type, which lasted until December 14. In the Reichsrath the Czech Radicals endeavoured to impede the adoption of the provisional estimates by silencing their supporters with whistles and penny trumpets, but the situation was saved by a statesmanlike speech made by Dr. Adler, the Democratic Social leader, who protested against this abdication of the right of Parliament to control public expenditure, the only alternative being "the old Austrian bond of union, the common whipping block and the common gallows, and a Government of strong hands and feeble brains." The estimates were then passed by the necessary two-thirds majority, all the Social Democrats voting for them in a body together with the Poles and the Christian Socialists. Bills extending the validity of the Austro-Servian commercial treaty provisionally in force to the end of the year, prohibiting the night work of women in factories, and forbidding the employment of white phosphorus in match manufacture, were also passed through the vigorous Parliamentary action of the Social Democrats.

An Inter-Slavonic Conference which took place at Prague in July was marked by a fraternisation of the Polish and Russian members. Resolutions were unanimously passed urging the establishment of literary journals and other undertakings for the dissemination of Slavonic literature, and the organisation of an Inter-Slavonic exhibition at Moscow in 1911.

In foreign affairs Austria-Hungary, under the guidance of her new Foreign Minister, entered upon a sensational and adventurous course of policy, which, while in no way increasing her power or prestige, caused considerable friction between her and the other Powers, and even led to menaces of war. Baron von Aehrenthal made his statement on foreign policy to the Hungarian delegation on January 27. He expressed satisfaction at the improvement in the relations between Germany, Austria's "close ally," and England, "with whom we ourselves maintain the most friendly relations," and at the friendship

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between Austria-Hungary and Italy, "whose interests run parallel with our own towards the south and the east, the Mediterranean and the Levant," "a relationship of sympathy and community of interest which involves not only complete reciprocal security, but also joint action towards equal ends." As regards Macedonia, he declared that the Powers "are determined to persist in a policy that has kept peace in the Balkans for five years."—The most important part of the statement was the disclosure of a new departure in Austrian policy in the East which had hitherto been kept secret. He announced that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople had been commissioned to apply for permission to survey the ground for a line connecting the terminus of the Bosnian railway with Mitrovitza, in the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, which would enable Austro-Hungarian trade to gravitate *viâ* Serajevo towards the Aegean and the Mediterranean. This, he said, would lay the foundation for the further development of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the East, a development which was necessary, as "her voice in the councils of peoples would be heard only as long as her arm was strong"—though he asserted that she did not aim at any territorial acquisitions.

The diplomatic surprise thus sprung upon Europe produced a very bad impression, as tending to undermine international confidence and to render sincere co-operation between the Powers in the East more difficult. It created a feeling of suspicion and uneasiness among the other Powers, especially Russia, where it was pointed out that the understanding between Russia and Austria-Hungary for maintaining the *status quo* in the Near East was not compatible with the step now taken to alter the *status quo* solely in favour of Austria-Hungary. This view was confirmed by Baron von Aehrenthal himself, in a speech to the delegations on February 12. He then stated that in consequence of the co-operation of other Powers in the matter of the judicial reforms in Turkey (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 332), "the special task of Austria and Russia was at an end," and that the responsibility of formulating a definitive scheme of reform therefore devolved upon the Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople. The revolution in Turkey, however, rendered any further interference of the Powers in this matter unnecessary, and nothing more was heard of the proposed Novi Bazar railway or of the Servian counter-proposal of a rival line from the Danube to the Adriatic, which was supported by Russia and Italy.

On the occasion of King Edward's visit to the Emperor at Ischl in August (p. 191) cordial speeches were exchanged by the two Sovereigns, and an official statement was issued on August 12, stating that the conversations between Baron von Aehrenthal and Sir Charles Hardinge dealt in particular with the new state of things created in Turkey by the re-establishment of a Constitution. Towards this the Cabinets of the Great Powers, and

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among them those of Vienna and London, had resolved to observe a sympathetic and expectant attitude, while hoping that the new *régime* in Turkey would bring about the improvement of the administration and the consolidation of a condition which during recent years the Powers had tried to assure. A similar statement was issued after a meeting between Baron von Aehrenthal and Sgr. Tittoni on September 4, with the addition that Austria-Hungary and Italy "followed by common accord the same line of conduct in all questions which concern these two allied States." On September 15, again, a meeting between Baron von Aehrenthal and M. Isvolsky, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Buchlau, in Moravia, was said to have somewhat relieved the strain produced between the two Powers by the Novi Bazar railway project, and a statement as to their agreement with regard to the new situation in Turkey was issued in terms similar to those of the two previous announcements. Yet only a fortnight later Europe was startled by a new diplomatic surprise, the secret of which had been equally well kept. All the Powers had expressed sympathy with the new *régime* in Turkey, but Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria were apprehensive that a free and powerful Ottoman Empire might not prove so amenable to their plans as the preceding effete despotism. German industrial enterprise in Turkey was threatened by the waning of German and the growth of British influence at Constantinople; the long-cherished Austrian idea of an annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which under the Treaty of Berlin were only occupied in the interests of order and were to remain under the suzerainty of the Sultan, might with a strong, united and patriotic Turkey become unrealisable; and Bulgaria's aspirations towards independence would in such case be equally imperilled. How far Germany was implicated in the events which now followed with lightning rapidity did not appear; but on September 23 Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was received by the Emperor Francis Joseph with Royal honours at Buda-Pesth, and on October 7, two days after the promulgation of Bulgarian independence (p. 334), the Emperor Francis Joseph issued a proclamation to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina stating that in order to "raise them to a higher level of political life" they would be granted "constitutional institutions that take account of prevailing conditions and general interests, so as to create a legal basis for the representation of their wishes and needs" and give them "a voice when decisions are taken concerning the affairs of their native land, which, as hitherto, will have a separate administration"; for this, however, "the creation of a clear and unambiguous juridical position "was indispensable," and, in view of the ties that formerly existed "between our glorious ancestors on the Hungarian throne and these lands," he extended the rights of Austro-Hungarian sovereignty to them, and declared it to be his will that the order of succession of his House should be also

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applied to them. The Emperor further notified, in a series of rescripts to Ministers accompanying the proclamation, that, as a manifestation of his pacific intentions, he ordered simultaneously the evacuation of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar.

A curious incident had occurred in the Sanjak shortly after the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution. Stormy demonstrations were made against the Austrian garrison, and also against Suleiman Pasha, the commandant of the Turkish garrison, who had been on very friendly terms with the Austrian officers. The Turkish troops took part in this demonstration, and agitated among the inhabitants for the removal of the Austrian garrison from the Sanjak, upon which Suleiman, who had meanwhile been appointed a member of the Turkish Senate, left the Sanjak and proceeded to Constantinople. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, too, though the announcement of the annexation was well received by the Servian Roman Catholics, who had petitioned for autonomy in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 313), it produced much dissatisfaction among the Servians of the Greek Orthodox Church, who form the majority, and the Mohammedan Servians, who continued to be opposed to Austrian rule, notwithstanding the artificial deputations to Vienna. Preparations were made for an insurrection, but it was decided to wait until active hostilities should be begun by Servia and Montenegro, and meanwhile Austria-Hungary issued an Ordinance prohibiting the export and transit of war materials to the above States, and sent troops to the annexed provinces.

In their speeches to the Delegations on October 8 the Emperor and his Foreign Minister attempted to justify the annexation on the ground that the people of the annexed provinces had so improved in prosperity and civilisation under Austrian rule that they could not be refused a Constitution now that Turkey had one, that it could not be granted unless they were placed under the Emperor's sovereignty, and that the abolition of the anomaly of Austro-Hungarian administration under the suzerainty of the Sultan would leave both Austria-Hungary and Turkey free to pursue their own policy without reciprocal interference. These specious arguments, however, which were similar to those used in defence of the proclamation of Bulgarian independence (p. 333), did not touch the question of the infringement of the Treaty of Berlin without the consent of the Powers, and on this point all Baron Aehrenthal said was that he had felt himself under the stress of a "categorical imperative," and that Austria-Hungary nevertheless "in no way departs from the basis of the Treaty." He obstinately adhered to the view that no alteration of the Treaty was necessary, but finding that all the other Powers which had signed the Treaty differed from this view and demanded a Conference to legalise the situation, he agreed to the Conference, but stipulated that as regards Bosnia and Herzegovina there should be no discussion, and that the Conference should only cancel

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the article of the Treaty which sanctioned the occupation. In his speech to the Delegations in October he said that by the evacuation of Novi Bazar he wished to give proof that Austria-Hungary recognised the present territorial possessions of Turkey, and that it should be regarded as to some extent a compensation for the transfer of the occupied provinces from the sovereignty of the Sultan to that of the Emperor of Austria. As regards Servia, he said that Austro-Hungarian feeling towards that State was friendly, and that an opportunity to render her a service would occur at the Conference, when Austria-Hungary would propose that Servia and Bulgaria should be admitted to the Commission for the regulation of the Danube, and the long-standing question of the international regulation of shipping between the Iron Gates and Braila might then be settled. As regards Montenegro, too, he had agreed with Russia and Italy to allow some of the restrictions imposed by article 29 of the Treaty of Berlin, under which Austria-Hungary had the right of control over the Montenegrin harbour of Antivari. As regards Bosnia and Herzegovina, however, he would not make any concession. He intended to continue "an active foreign policy" in the interests of the monarchy, based upon the idea that "Austria-Hungary should occupy to the full her place in the world." In the present case Austria-Hungary "had to take matters in hand because otherwise they may have developed against her." The sovereignty had been proclaimed "in view of the need for a clear juridical position before a Constitution was granted," and it must not be discussed at the Conference. Towards the end of the year, however, Baron Aehrenthal became more yielding on the point, doubtless in view of the heavy losses inflicted on Austrian trade by the boycott of Austrian goods in Turkey and the general uncertainty produced by the menacing state of affairs in the Balkans. He still maintained that the question of the annexation should not be discussed at the Conference itself, but he agreed to its discussion among the Powers, so that an agreement should be arrived at between them when the Conference met. Meanwhile bills for the extension of the sovereignty of the Emperor to the occupied provinces were laid before the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments and referred to committees. The most ardent advocates of the annexation were the Magyars; the Poles and the Czechs, while holding it to be a patriotic duty not to oppose it, expressed misgivings as to the mode and time when it was carried out, and urged that it would necessitate a reorganisation of the Austrian half of the monarchy on the basis of giving more legislative power to the provincial diets. The grant of a Constitution to Bosnia and Herzegovina was indeed likely to raise very important constitutional questions. The Magyars were already claiming that those provinces should form part of Hungary, as they had formerly in part belonged to the Hungarian Crown. To this claim all the other nationalities of the

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Empire were violently opposed, and the Croats demanded that a separate State, composed of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, should be formed under the sovereignty of the Emperor, thereby converting the existing dualism into a "triolism." Meanwhile Servia and Montenegro threatened war, and Austria-Hungary, besides the losses sustained by the boycotting of her goods, was put to great expense by the necessity of strengthening the garrisons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and placing her army on a war footing. Such were the difficulties both within and without the Empire produced by the domineering and reckless policy of Austria-Hungary's Foreign Minister.

CHAPTER III.

RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE

I. RUSSIA.

In Russia, after the stormy years which followed the war with Japan, the year 1908 was a period of comparative order and tranquillity. Assassinations of unpopular officials were less frequent, the revolutionary organisations were broken up, and the Duma, purged of its irreconcilable elements, did much useful work.

On January 14 M. Stolypin, the Premier, was accorded by Imperial rescript the well-deserved honour of the rank of Secretary of State, the highest distinction that could be given to so young a servant of the Crown, and in the rescript it was stated that besides being "a remarkable executor of the Imperial will," as shown by his successful agrarian reform, it was mainly due to his efforts that the country was being pacified and that the people felt growing confidence in the Government. As to the latter point the organs of public opinion certainly did not display such confidence, especially as concurrently with M. Stolypin's promotion a notorious reactionary official, M. Schwartz, was appointed Minister of Education in the place of M. Kaufmann, who had been attacked by the extreme Right for having admitted Jews to the universities. The Duma was re-opened on January 21, and on January 27 a bill was laid before it for the construction of a second line on the Siberian railway at a total cost of 15,732,000*l.*, and it was passed after some discussion. A bill for the construction of a railway in the Amur territory was also passed in May. On February 4 M. Purishkevitch, a member of the extreme Right, was almost unanimously excluded from the Duma for fifteen sittings for having called M. Miliukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, a scoundrel, and on February 26, 304 of the members of the Duma proceeded to the Tsar's palace at Tsarskoe Selo and were greeted by him in a speech in which he expressed great pleasure at seeing them and wished

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them success in their work, adding that of all the bills brought before the Duma he regarded that for the improvement of the position of the peasants in the matter of land tenure as the most important, and that no infringement of the rights of property would ever receive his sanction.

In the navy estimates an item for the construction of new battleships was objected to by the Defence Committee on the ground that a comprehensive reconstruction of the navy would only be possible after a complete reorganisation of the Ministry of Marine, and the fixing of the naval programme for a term of years by legislation. The credit for the new battleships was rejected by 19 votes to 14, but the Council of the Empire having afterwards passed it, and the two Houses being unable to agree it was ultimately sanctioned by the Tsar. Credits for the vessels under construction, for new torpedo-boats and submarines, and for a depôt ship, were passed on March 18. A bill for the introduction of universal elementary education, at a cost of 700,000*l.* a year, was also passed in April, together with the estimates of the Ministry of Ways and Communications, two sums having first been struck out of the Budget as a protest against its submission by the Ministry to the Emperor for his sanction before being laid before the Duma. It became daily more evident that the Duma, though many of its members were reactionists, would not surrender its right to control public expenditure. The Minister of Finance having exclaimed, "Thank God, we have not a Parliament," during the debate on the railway estimates on May 7, the leader of the Octobrists made a sharp rejoinder on the following day, and as many of the other members were prepared to follow him the President stopped the discussion by saying that the Minister's words were "out of place"—a statement which he afterwards withdrew to avert M. Stolypin's resignation. The estimates, however, were duly passed after considerable reductions had been made in them, and a resolution accepted to the effect that a special Parliamentary Commission should be appointed to investigate abuses in the railway administration. On the same day the bill fixing the number of conscripts to be called to the colours in the autumn was also passed, but the 469,500 proposed by the Government were reduced to 457,500. It was pointed out on this occasion in the *Novoe Vremya* that while the Russian army on a peace footing numbered nominally 1,260,000 men, as compared with 585,000 men in the German army, the war effectives of the two countries were almost equal. The discrepancy was due to the enormous proportion of non-combatants in Russia; the infantry included nominally 41,000 non-combatants, and 12,000 more were wasted on police and prison duty.

A heated debate took place on May 12 on the estimates of the Ministry of the Interior, which were reduced by 3,500*l.* M. Maklakoff, the leader of the Cadets (Constitutional Democrats), took the opportunity of severely criticising the administration in an eloquent speech which was enthusiastically applauded by all

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parties in the House. After describing the lamentable failure of bureaucratic absolutism, he pointed out that, notwithstanding the introduction of the representative system, the bureaucracy persisted in its old methods, which were being applied in order to oppose the introduction of the new *régime* granted by the Emperor. The suppression of the law by a prolonged state of siege and other exceptional measures were merely the outward and visible sign of this warfare against the nation, which, if persisted in, must lead to disaster. M. Dmowski, the Polish leader, followed with a long and impassioned plea for the suspension of martial law in Poland. He declared that his countrymen had long abandoned all idea of secession, but that nothing would make them abandon their nationality. Poland had prospered despite repression, but politically the Government's policy had been a complete failure. The debate was concluded on May 17 with a resolution passed almost unanimously to the effect that the principles involved in the manifesto of October 30, 1905 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1905, p. 319), should be applied without delay.

A remarkable speech was made in the Duma by M. Guchkoff, the leader of the Octobrists, on June 7, freely criticising the administration of the Army and Navy and pointing out that no real reform could be introduced in these departments so long as Grand Dukes were at the head of them. Speaking before a crowded House and galleries filled with naval officers, among whom was Rear-Admiral Count Heyden, the Tsar's naval aide-de-camp, he said it had been the sad and painful duty of the Duma to reveal the deplorable condition of the Navy. Three years ago the Emperor ordered the Minister of Marine to reorganise the service. Practically nothing had been done. If they voted the 1,000,000*l.* sterling asked for battleships there was no certainty that reforms would be introduced. If the naval authorities were sincerely desirous of reform why had nothing been attempted to bring the persons responsible for past offences to trial? Where was Admiral Alexeieff, who a few months before the war reported that the Russian Navy in the Far East was invincible? Had he been punished? No, he sat in the Upper House and would shortly vote on the navy estimates and was even spoken of as future Minister of Marine. A special commission should be appointed to investigate everything connected with the naval administration before and during the war. That would enable the Admiralty to get rid of undesirables.

M. Stolypin, speaking on behalf of the Navy Department, confessed that it was a thankless task to defend it after all that the Duma had heard, but he believed the continuance of the old abuses was impossible since the Duma had taken in hand the patriotic duty of disclosing its defects.

M. Guchkoff's speech was enthusiastically applauded by all parties in the House and it was followed by the resignation by the Grand Dukes Peter and Sergius of their posts of Inspector-Generals of Engineers and Ordnance respectively, and by the

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Grand Duke Nicholas of the Chairmanship of the Council of Imperial Defence. On June 26 the Duma passed a bill for the grant of a subsidy for the establishment of a temporary service to be conducted by the Volunteer Fleet between Vladivostok, China, Corea, and Japan. It was represented on the part of the Government that unless a line of steamers were established, trade on the coast would be interrupted. Not in the interests of an aggressive policy, but in sheer self-defence, direct communication was necessary, not only with the Chinese ports as far as Shanghai, but also as far as Tsuruga and on to Yokohama, because all places to the north of this line depend on Vladivostok.

The Government estimate of the revenue, amounting to 258,140,316*l.*, was approved of by the Duma after a long debate on July 3. M. Kokovtsoff, the Minister of Finance, acceded generally to the wishes expressed by the Budget Commission, and pointed out that the State, which three years ago was engaged in a war, and had only recently overcome its internal disorders, which had expended great sums in providing for the needs of the people, and the ordinary revenue of which nevertheless exceeded the ordinary expenditure by 8,300,000*l.*, might say that its financial system had fully sustained the test to which it had been subjected. The Duma was then prorogued until October 28. Since January, besides several important measures such as the Amur and Siberian railway bills, it had passed some 300 out of 600 minor bills representing an accumulation of the previous two years.

There was no relaxation in the repressive measures of the Government during the recess. The banishment to distant parts of the Empire of persons charged with political offences, of whom more than 70,000 had been so punished in the previous year, continued as heretofore, and the professors of the universities who belonged to the Constitutional Democratic party ("the Cadets") were ordered to sign a declaration to the effect that they had withdrawn from it, failing which they would be deprived of their appointments. On October 14, however, shortly before the Duma met for its autumn session, martial law in Poland was suspended, and the private Polish schools, which had been closed by the Governor in response to a Socialist threat to boycott the Russian University at Warsaw, were reopened. The Budget was at the same time laid before the Duma Committee. It showed a deficit of 15,200,000*l.*, which was to be covered by loans. The estimated revenue was 9,000,000*l.* larger than in 1908, and the expenditure showed an increase of 16,000,000*l.* The Council of Ministers had cut down the estimates of various departments by over 24,000,000*l.*

The first question taken up by the Duma after the summer recess was the provisional law enacted by the Ukase of November 22, 1906, whereby the peasants become owners of a share of the communal holdings. The Prime Minister pointed

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out that the peasant laws passed at the emancipation of the serfs provided that the allotments should become the individual property of the members of the communes when the redemption dues had become liquidated. This condition having been fulfilled, it was necessary to sanction the provisional law in so far as it established the ownership of the respective lots, but the Ukase of November 22 went further in providing that the various strips of land belonging to each peasant should be merged in a single holding. This provision, he considered, could only be gradually realised. The majority in the House took the same view, and a bill introduced by the Government, providing for the individual ownership of peasant lands and thereby delivering the peasants from the bondage of the communal system, was passed by a large majority on December 21. A Bill for abolishing the free ports in the Amur and Trans-Baikal territories, including the free port of Vladivostok, was also passed by the House, notwithstanding the opposition of the Siberian deputies, it being held by the Government and the majority of the deputies that freedom of ports injures home industries. Another important Bill passed in December was that authorising the Minister of Finance to float a loan of 45,000,000*l.* Violent speeches were made on December 16 by the Socialist and Labour members, denouncing the inquisitorial methods which, they alleged, were in vogue in Russian prisons, and describing cases in which prisoners had been tortured and even killed. There were twenty hangings in a single day, and, owing to the rigorous prison *régime*, 60 per cent. of the prisoners had developed consumption.

Some prominent Slavonic members of the Austrian Reichsrath, under the Czech leader, Dr. Kramarz, were sent as delegates to the Duma in May, and they were entertained at a banquet at which all the Ministers, headed by M. Stolypin, were present. The speeches delivered at the banquet expressed great satisfaction at the results already achieved in the direction of the closer union of the Slavs. The most notable of these was the unreserved adhesion of the Poles to the movement, which was quite distinct from the old Pan-Slavist ideal involving the hegemony of Russia. At a meeting of the representatives of the various parties held earlier in the day, the leader of the Polish party in the Duma, M. Dmowski, amid the hearty approbation of his auditors, declared that the Poles would unconditionally join in the movement, acknowledging that the interests of Poland lie in working for the strength and greatness of Russia. The Czech leader, Dr. Kramarz, speaking at a subsequent banquet given to the Slav visitors, said, in replying to the toast of the Emperor Francis Joseph, that he and his colleagues rejoiced to have been instrumental in reviving the great ideal of Slav union, the groundwork of which was prepared from the moment when Nicholas II. called upon his nation to work out its own destinies. What they had just witnessed in

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St. Petersburg was merely a promise of better things, but all Slavs must recognise the common bond; Russians and Poles must abjure a dual patriotism, and it must be understood that the Slav idea was no danger for Austria, but, on the contrary, an element of strength, inasmuch as the domination of Germanism was alone calculated to bring about the downfall of the Empire. It was decided at a conference between the delegates and members of the Duma, in conformity with a previous resolution adopted by the Inter-Slavonic Congress at Prague (p. 307), to organise a Slavonic exhibition at Moscow in 1911 with the object of promoting union and trade between the various branches of the Slavonic race.

The question of the powers of the Diet of Finland in regard to matters affecting the whole Empire led to considerable friction throughout the year between the Diet and the Imperial Government. The Diet claimed that the contributions payable by the Finnish Treasury to the Imperial Treasury for military purposes should be subject to its decision; but when a declaration to this effect was submitted by the Secretary of State for Finland to the Tsar on January 30, the latter declared that the right to dispose of the Finnish State and military funds rested exclusively with him, and directed that the sum required for military purposes should be paid into the Imperial Treasury out of the proceeds of the taxes voted by the Diet. This decision was sharply criticised by many of the members, and the Diet was consequently dissolved on April 6. On June 8 an order was issued by the Imperial Cabinet, and approved by the Tsar, to the effect that the final decision in Finnish questions affecting the interests of the Empire as a whole will rest with the Imperial Ministry, and in future all such questions must, therefore, be submitted to the Ministry and the central Administration concerned for consideration. The Governor-General of Finland must henceforth report, not only to the Secretary of State for Finland, but also to the Imperial Premier on all matters requiring the sanction of the Tsar, at the same time giving his own opinion.

The matters coming within the scope of this order were Bills drawn up at the instance of the Diet or the Finnish Administration; Imperial measures which are to be submitted to the Diet; petitions and representations of the Diet; and representations of the Finnish Senate with regard to administrative questions. The question formed the subject of a debate in the Duma, in the course of which M. Stolypin, the Premier, stated that a strong separatist tendency had of late been manifested in Finland, that the Finnish authorities persistently infringed the prerogatives of the Crown, that arms were introduced wholesale into the Grand Duchy, and that the Finnish police failed to take effective measures against Russian terrorists, who hatched many plots against Russian Ministers and Grand Dukes within the Finnish borders. Laws and ordinances affecting Imperial interests were

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often introduced in Finland without consultation with the Imperial Government, and M. Stolypin emphatically declared that no clause in the treaty of cession or the constitutional charter gave Finland such a right. In an eloquent peroration the Premier disclaimed any desire to infringe the constitutional privileges of Finland, but insisted that the interests of the Empire must not be sacrificed, and those interests demanded the co-ordination of the laws of the Grand Duchy and of Russia wherever the Empire at large was affected. The elections for a new Diet took place on July 8, but they made little change in the distribution of parties. The number of women absentees from the poll was considerably less than that of the men. The Diet was opened by General Baeckmann, Governor-General, on August 5 with a speech from the Throne expressing "deep sorrow that the Finnish population had not developed a sentiment of solidarity with the Russian people, nor a conviction of the justice of the obligations imposed upon the country by the Russian Empire, of which Finland was a sovereign possession," and adding a hope that the labours of the new Diet "will be imbued with the solidarity of Finnish and Russian interests." To this the President of the Diet replied that the corner-stone of the Finnish Constitution was "the independent Administration of the Finnish people and the special consideration by the monarch of direct reports on financial subjects," that "every measure that departs from this principle was to be considered as a disregard of Finland's rights leading to pernicious results," and that for this reason several measures recently adopted had given rise to grave disquietude. On August 20 the Diet passed a petition to the Tsar pointing out that the new ordinance, by which power to interfere directly in Finnish legislation and administration is conferred on various Russian authorities, is in conflict with one of the most fundamental principles of the Finnish Constitution, that the country should be governed with the aid of native authorities only, and also that the mode in which the ordinance was made is contrary to law, since it was issued without the cognisance of any Finnish authority, and was not based upon any law valid in the Grand Duchy. The petition concluded with a demand for the maintenance of the rights of Finland, based on its fundamental laws.

In July a Congress of prelates of the Russian Orthodox Church met at Kieff. It was convoked by the Government in order to enable the Church to adapt itself to the Ukase on freedom of conscience of April, 1906; but it passed resolutions condemning mixed marriages between the Orthodox and persons belonging to other creeds, except in places where the unorthodox are in the majority; forbidding members of the Church to change their religion without episcopal authority, urging that an anathema should be pronounced upon apostates and their names proclaimed in the churches, and recommending that persons not of the Orthodox faith should be forbidden to acquire land in

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the Western Provinces, where the majority are either Roman Catholics or Uniates, and that all ecclesiastical affairs should be withdrawn from the cognisance of the Duma. The Congress also recommended the Holy Synod to prevent the celebration of Count Tolstoi's jubilee, and in pursuance of this recommendation the Synod issued an appeal to all believers which, while not denying the great services which Count Tolstoi rendered up to his seventieth birthday in the domain of literature, and which have made him world-famous as a writer, pointed out that in his later literary activity there had been a sharp change of attitude, inasmuch as he had displayed hostility to the Christian doctrine and had shown himself a bitter opponent of the Orthodox Church. The honouring of a backslider from the Christian Church might prove a stumbling-block to the young and to persons of weak faith, and the Synod, therefore, called on all true believers to take no part in the celebration of Count Tolstoi's birthday, and required priests to take measures for the dissemination of doctrine in refutation of his writings. This decree produced great indignation all over the Empire, but the reactionary governors of provinces used their arbitrary powers to prevent any public celebration, and the event was only commemorated by numerous articles in the Press expressing the respect and sympathy of the Russian people for their great writer. Notwithstanding the conciliatory attitude of the Government towards the Duma, the manifesto on freedom of conscience, together with the others laying down reforms in the administration, were treated as dead letters by the civilian and ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

Count Nicholas Ignatieff, the famous diplomatist who was Russian ambassador at Constantinople up to the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, and the author of the Treaty of San Stefano, died on July 6. Another notable incident of the year was the close of the trial of General Stössel and other officers of the garrison of Port Arthur which had begun in the previous year. General Stössel was sentenced to death, but the Tsar commuted the sentence to imprisonment in a fortress for ten years, with exclusion from military service and loss of his rank. A Russian Women's Congress assembled at St. Petersburg in December. Several fantastic proposals were made as to the relations between the sexes, but the only resolutions passed by the Congress were in favour of universal suffrage for both men and women, equal rights for women in municipal and provincial councils, the prohibition of the employment of women on night work and work in mines, the limitation of the length of women's work to eight hours a day, and the admission of women to all appointments obtainable by competitive examination.

In foreign politics the most important achievements of Russian diplomacy were the Baltic and North Sea Agreements and the steps taken by the Foreign Minister, M. Isvolsky, for the meeting of the Conference of the Powers which had signed

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the Treaty of Berlin to consider the arrangements to be made in consequence of the declaration of Bulgarian independence, and the annexation by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On April 23, as a supplementary arrangement to the agreement previously signed guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Norway, an agreement was signed at St. Petersburg between the four littoral Powers of the Baltic—Russia, Germany, Sweden and Denmark—recognising "in principle" the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in that sea, and another between Great Britain, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Holland sanctioning a similar principle in regard to the North Sea, while at Stockholm, Great Britain, France, and Sweden signed a convention denouncing the Treaty of 1855, by which Sweden had pledged herself not to make any cession of territory to Russia, while the Western powers had engaged to furnish her with adequate military and naval forces to assist her in resistance to Russian pretensions or aggressions, such Treaty having been considered no longer necessary in view of the new Baltic Agreement. The special Convention of 1856, however, which was annexed to the Treaty of Paris and concluded between the Western Powers and Russia to prevent Russia from fortifying the Aland Islands or maintaining any military or naval establishments there, still remained in force, though in the Baltic Agreement Russia reserved her "sovereign rights."

The meeting of King Edward and the Tsar at Reval on June 9 (p. 131) was hailed with great satisfaction by all the organs of the Russian Press as a further step in the *rapprochement* between England and Russia and as a guarantee of European peace. The President of the Duma, M. Homiakoff, being asked by Reuter's Agent for a message to the British public on the occasion, said that the beginning of the Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* synchronised with the institution of the Duma, and the visit of the King was both opportune and natural now that the Russian representation was established on a firm and permanent basis. As President of the Duma, therefore, the arrival of the King filled him with sincere and patriotic affection, and his sentiment were shared by the Duma as a national body. A practical outcome of the friendly feelings between the two nations was the formation in October of the Russo-English Chamber of Commerce at St. Petersburg. Prominent members of both the Duma and the Council of the Empire and leading financiers and manufacturers joined the Council of the Chamber; it was pointed out that while Anglo-Russian trade was formerly from 30 to 40 per cent. of the whole trade of the two countries, it was now only from 4 to 5 per cent., and that the object of the Chamber would be to recover the lost ground.

M. Isvolsky made an interesting speech in the Duma before the Easter recess on Russia's foreign policy. Referring to the question of the Novi Bazar railway (p. 308), he declared that Russia's aim in the Balkans was the fulfilment of her historical

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duty to improve the status of the respective races without evoking dangerous complications. He emphatically declared that Russia was not following egotistical aims in the Balkans. His duty as Minister for Foreign Affairs was solely to safeguard the interests of the country, not to secure personal diplomatic victories, and he had therefore turned a deaf ear to the promptings to make an energetic protest against the Austrian railway scheme. His only reply to this proposal, which had been described in some quarters as a violation of the Austro-Russian Agreement and of Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin, was to ask that railway concessions should be granted to the Balkan States; Sgr. Tittoni had publicly endorsed this view, and had declared that railway construction would be a great factor in the settlement of the Macedonian question.

The Turkish revolution having rendered any further action in the direction of Macedonian reform unnecessary, a series of visits was paid by M. Isvolsky to the principal European countries in order to arrive at an understanding with the Powers as to the attitude to be assumed towards the new Turkish *régime*. His interviews with Baron von Aehrenthal at Buchlau on September 15 and Sgr. Tittoni at Desio on September 29 were followed by an official declaration to the effect that complete identity of views existed between them "in all that concerned the Eastern question, the new situation of the Ottoman Empire, and the other more important questions of the day"; but the most important of these questions which were imminent—that of the declaration of Bulgarian independence and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—were not discussed at these interviews. The arbitrary annexation by Austria-Hungary of these provinces, inhabited by a Slavonic population, produced great indignation among the Russian people; a great Slavophil demonstration, attended by upwards of 2,000 persons, comprising the most eminent members of the aristocracy and the mercantile classes, took place in the Nobles' Hall at St. Petersburg, at which violent speeches were made against "the final enslavement of the Bosnians under the rule of Austria," and the Crown Prince of Servia, on his arrival in the Russian capital on October 28, was received with unbounded enthusiasm by all classes of the population. The Government, however, while expressing sympathy with Servia and expressing its readiness to afford her moral support, urged her to refrain from taking any provocative steps which might lead to hostilities, and meanwhile it continued to urge upon Austria-Hungary the necessity of submitting the question of the annexation, together with the other questions affecting the Treaty of Berlin, to a Conference. After prolonged negotiations on this subject, in which Russia had the support of England, France, Italy and Turkey, an agreement was arrived at to the effect that the questions to be dealt with by the proposed Conference should not include the Dardanelles or Crete, but should be limited to those directly arising from

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the annexation and the declaration of Bulgarian independence, including the award of compensation to Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro; and M. Isvolsky issued a Circular Note on December 23 to the Russian representatives accredited to the Powers which had signed the Treaty of Berlin defining the attitude of Russia on the subject. After referring to the Treaty signed in London by the Powers in 1871, recognising as "an essential principle of international law that no Power can detach itself from the engagements of a treaty nor modify its provisions except as the result of an agreement of the contracting parties by means of an amicable understanding," he pointed out that the deviation from this principle by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria had "created a most strained situation in the Balkan peninsula and plunged Europe into a state of disquietude," endangering the general peace. "Turkey, as the Power directly injured," had already protested to the Powers signatory of the Treaty of Berlin against the double infraction of this treaty, and "in view of the fact that, being absorbed in the consolidation of internal reforms, she had particular need of consideration and moral support," Russia and several other Powers had declared to her that they considered that the Treaty of Berlin could undergo no modification without an agreement between the Powers signatory to that treaty. As regards the conference, the Circular Note stated that a simple abrogation of Article 25 of the Treaty, which gave Austria-Hungary the right of occupying Bosnia and Herzegovina, would not be sufficient; it would be necessary for the Conference to replace that Article "by a stipulation defining in a precise manner the new situation of the two provinces." Finally, the Circular Note accepted, though with some misgiving, the Austrian proposal that the discussion of this and the other questions to be laid before the Conference should be preceded by a preliminary exchange of views, so as to set up precise limits for their discussion in the Conference. The Circular Note was followed on December 24 by a very clear and able statement on Russian foreign policy generally by M. Isvolsky to the Duma. As regards Persia he said that the sole aim of Russia's policy was "the maintenance of her traditional relations with that country and of the important commercial interests developed chiefly in the northern provinces. They had no desire to infringe the integrity and independence of Persia or interfere with her internal affairs, but it was of the highest importance to Russia that a stable political and social order should be maintained there. These principles lay at the basis of their agreement with England, with whom they were acting in the fullest unison." That agreement was also most valuable to Russia from a more general point of view, as the friendly and trustful relations produced by it "extended the opportunities of joint action in other questions of international policy." In all questions of world-policy Russia also acted in full harmony with her ally France. Russian policy was never

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theless in no way directed against Germany; the old friendly relations between the two countries must be preserved, and he could affirm that "no open or secret agreements directed against German interests existed between Russia and England." Further, a very valuable *rapprochement* had recently taken place between Russia and Italy, as both sides were equally interested in the preservation of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans and in the maintenance of the political and economic independence of the Balkan States. Though Russia required a period of concentration for peaceful constructive labours, she could not abandon her position as a great Power. "Her enfeeblement, even temporarily, was not in the interests of general peace, and would be disastrous for the Slavonic nationalities, for whom a powerful Russia afforded the best guarantee of national independence." In view of the Buda-Pesth convention of 1877, and the Berlin declaration of 1878, by which Russia had secured the neutrality of Austria during the Russo-Turkish war in return for a pledge on her part to agree to the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, she could not protest against the annexation alone, and such a protest might involve a war. The only correct course was to appeal to an international tribunal to deal with the questions involved in the infraction of the Treaty of Berlin. "Since the inception of the crisis they had acted in full accord, not only with their ally France, but with England and Italy." Russia "would offer the heartiest support to the just demands of Turkey"; she had clearly intimated to Bulgaria that her further relations with that State would depend, not on her conduct in the past, but on her conduct in the future, so far as she may remain faithful to the solidarity of the other Slavonic States in the Balkan peninsula, and she had addressed the same counsels to Servia and Montenegro. "These three States must become imbued with the consciousness of the necessity of moral and political union. Our aim must be to bring them together and to combine them with Turkey in a common ideal of defence of their national and economical development." This speech was received with much applause by the Duma, and at the close of the debate the House adopted a resolution drawn up by the Centre expressing warm sympathy with the kindred Slav peoples and States, a strong hope that the Government would make every effort to safeguard the legitimate interests of those peoples and States, and the conviction that this object can be attained by pacific means with the unconditional conservation of Russian national sentiment.

Much correspondence took place in the first half of the year between the Russian and Persian Governments, owing to attacks by the Persian tribesmen on the Russian frontier officials in Transcaucasia. These incidents culminated in a collision early in April between a handful of troops from the Russian frontier post of Beliasuver and a band of Persians. A Russian officer and three men were killed and several Russians were wounded,

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while the brigands were stated to have lost thirty-four killed. A demand was made by the Russian Government for an indemnity, but it was not paid until several Persian villages were destroyed by the Russian troops. At the end of May the Khan and elders of the offending tribes came in to the Russian general's quarters with an apology and an acceptance of all the Russian demands. Subsequently, when the Mejliss fell under the attacks of the Cossacks [Persian troops under a Russian officer in the Shah's service: *post*, chap. v.], its members complained that Russia had interfered on behalf of the Shah, but although Russian influence seems to have been used for this purpose, it was shown that the intervention of Russian agents on the spot was not authorised by the Russian Foreign Office, and the identical note presented to the Shah on September 8 by the representatives of England and Russia manifested the resolve of the two Powers not to interfere in the Persian crisis beyond advising the Shah to resume constitutional rule as being the most effectual means of restoring order. The efforts of the two Powers in this sense were continued to the end of the year.

In April negotiations took place between Russia and the United States with regard to the Russian share of control over the great railway centre of Kharbin, in Manchuria. The Russian railway authorities held about a hundred square versts of land at Kharbin, by virtue of the Eastern Chinese Railway Agreement of 1896. The Russian representative asserted exclusive rights of administration with territorial jurisdiction over Chinese and foreigners alike within the railway area, and endeavoured to enforce extremely stringent police regulations and other rules affecting the general conduct of business and industry. The United States took exception to these measures, and when the United States Consul arrived at Kharbin, in January, he did not seek Russian permission for the exercise of his official functions. He pointed out that he was accredited solely to the Chinese Government, and he supported the protests of the Taotai and the other foreign Consuls against the Russian methods of exercising control. Ultimately the matter was arranged by the Russian Government disclaiming any intention to impair the validity of Chinese sovereign rights within the railway area, and directing its officials on the spot to abandon their claim to exercise territorial jurisdiction over foreigners in that area.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The year 1908 will be memorable in Turkish history as that of a revolution carried out with a moderation, wisdom, and spirit of conciliation unprecedented in the revolutionary records of other countries. The "Young Turkish" party, which had for many years secretly organised an agitation for political reform in the Ottoman Empire from its headquarters in Paris, had wisely refrained from such insurrections of armed civilians as had

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produced disastrous results in Russia and Poland, and did not strike its blow for a Constitution until it was assured of the support of the army. More than twenty years ago the Russian revolutionary organiser Stepniak, the editor of *Free Russia* and writer of several remarkable books in English on Russian affairs, used to say to his English friends in London that all the materials for a revolution existed in Russia, but that it would be madness to attempt one in any country without being assured of the support of the Army, and subsequent events have proved that he was right. The "Young Turks" chose their moment well. The Mürzsteg programme (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1903, p. 316) had proved an utter failure; Greeks, Bulgarians, Servians, and Roumanians continued to burn each other's villages and massacre their inhabitants as before; the Powers were preparing more stringent measures which would almost entirely obliterate the already vanishing authority of the Sultan; and profound discontent existed in the Army, not only at the heartbreaking task of destroying or dispersing insurgent bands which were immediately succeeded by new ones from the adjoining States, but at a system of espionage introduced by the Porte which placed every officer, whether loyal or not, in peril of being degraded or losing his promotion. During the first half of the year the Young Turkish leaders, Majors Niazi Bey and Enver Bey, were busily engaged in spreading a revolutionary propaganda among the Turkish troops and the civil population of Macedonia, with the object of making the Empire independent of foreign control, and of establishing a Constitution to secure liberty and equality for all races and religions in Turkey. A Committee, the majority of whose members were officers, was formed at Salonika, under the title of the Committee of Union and Progress, and it obtained the support of all classes of the population, even the military element being prompted not merely by a desire to improve the position of the Army, but by the feeling that the country could only be saved by a reversal of the existing *régime*. The Albanians, who had hitherto furnished the Porte with its best soldiers and were its most devoted adherents, went over in a body to the revolutionary movement, though the Government had done its utmost to keep them in ignorance of the political doctrines and institutions of Western Europe by depriving them of schools and even a printing-press; and both they and the larger portion of the Army swore the oath to the Constitution some months before the revolution broke out.

The revolution began on July 22 at Resna, where Major Niazi Bey and his followers revolted and encamped on the hills. On the following day the Salonika Committee, under Major Enver Bey, proclaimed a Constitution, and the Second and Third Army Corps declared their intention of marching upon Constantinople if the Sultan did not act in accordance with the proclamation. It was at the same time decided by the majority of the Committee that the Sultan should not be deposed, as

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suggested by some of its members, but should be allowed to remain on the Throne if he accepted the Constitution, and so long as he should be subject to the constitutional advisers responsible to Parliament. The Sultan, on receiving the news of the proclamation of the Constitution, at once capitulated. He issued on July 24 an Iradé restoring the Constitution which he had granted in December, 1876, and suspended on February 14, 1878, since which date it had remained a dead letter; and ordering steps to be taken at once for the election of members of a Chamber of Deputies. Ferid Pasha, who on July 21 had been granted by the Emperor William the highest German decoration of the Order of the Black Eagle, had on July 22 been succeeded in the post of Grand Vizier by Said Pasha, who was Grand Vizier in 1878 and was known as a friend of England. On July 25 further Iradés were issued decreeing the abolition of espionage and the censorship and ordering the release of political prisoners. These measures were received with great rejoicings all over the Empire, and some of the most criminal of the officials of the old *régime*, including Fehim Pasha, the notorious ex-military governor of Pera, who had been banished in the previous year to Brusa at the instance of the German and British Ambassadors (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 333), were assassinated; but on the whole the revolution was accompanied by much less bloodshed than those of other countries. At Constantinople immense crowds carrying banners acclaimed the Sultan and the Constitution; several speeches were delivered and perfect order was maintained. The Sultan, opening one of the windows of the Palace, ordered an address to be read to the crowd, stating that since his succession he had worked for the security and prosperity of the country, and that his desire would ever be the happiness and security of the people. He swore fidelity to the Constitution, and all the high officials identified with the old *régime* were dismissed. Sir Gerald Lowther, the new British Ambassador, was received on his arrival on July 30 with demonstrations of the most enthusiastic welcome by the people. In Macedonia the insurgent bands disappeared as if through some magical influence, and their chiefs surrendered; at Monastir the Greek population held a meeting at which the proclamation of the Constitution was received with enthusiasm, and at Seres, after the reading of the Iradé, the Greek Metropolitan, the Turkish Mufti, and the Bulgarian priests embraced amid the applause of the people. Greeks, Servians, Bulgarians, Turks, Roumanians, who only a fortnight before had been at each other's throats, now fraternised with each other. Hilmi Pasha, the Inspector-General, and the other general officers in Macedonia expressed their entire sympathy with the movement, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam took the oath to the Constitution and laid it down that there was nothing in the demands of the revolutionaries which conflicted with the Islamic law. With the foreign financial agents and the foreign officers attached to

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the *gendarmerie*, especially those who had come from England, the Young Turks were on the best of terms, although the mortification felt at the intervention of the foreign Powers in Macedonia was one of the immediate causes of the revolution. The most popular of the foreign officers, after the English, were the Italians and the French; Germany was not represented in the *gendarmerie*, and the Russian and Austrian officers were suspected of ulterior views in connection with the policies of their respective Governments. As to the Turkish *gendarmerie* officers, they were nearly all in sympathy with the constitutional movement, and many of them even became members of the Young Turkish Committees.

Said Pasha did not retain the post of Grand Vizier for long. The Young Turkish Committee was now supreme at Yildiz Kiosk, and it preferred Kiamil Pasha, also an ex-Grand Vizier and an Anglophile, but a man of more pronounced Liberal views than Said, who during his short term of office had rendered himself unpopular by his timidity and by the issue of a Hatt-i-Humayun, declaring that the appointment of the Ministers of War and Marine remains in the hands of the Sultan, although by the twenty-seventh Article of the Constitution the appointment of these Ministers was one of the prerogatives of the Grand Vizier. Another Hatt-i-Humayun, issued on August 1, assuring inviolability of domicile, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and permission to travel abroad and to form commercial associations with foreign subjects gave great satisfaction, but the release of ordinary as well as political criminals was a grave blunder on the part of the Grand Vizier which greatly added to his unpopularity. Kiamil Pasha was accordingly appointed to this post in the place of Said Pasha on August 6, and a new Cabinet was formed, including a Greek, Prince Mavrogordato, as Minister of Mines, Forests, and Agriculture, and an Armenian, M. Noura Sunghian, as Minister of Commerce and Works. Among the new Ministers was also the Sheikh-ul-Islam, whose acceptance of office showed his sympathy with the new Liberal *régime*, and who had been one of the first to condemn the attempt to withdraw from the control of the Grand Vizier the departments of War and Marine, which had been notorious for corruption.

Like all political movements, that of the Young Turks had its opponents, though the great majority of the inhabitants of the Empire were on their side. There were reactionary elements both in the civilian population and in the army which agitated against the new reforms and pleaded for a retention of the autocratic system, and in Macedonia, though the insurgent bands had dispersed, the Christian nationalities, after the outburst of enthusiasm at the revolution had subsided, again began to quarrel. The Greeks complained that the Bulgarians were seizing their churches and schools, and the Bulgarians that the Young Turkish Committees demanded that the Turkish language should be taught in the schools of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians

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in Macedonia had been treated by the Young Turks with much more consideration than the Greeks, not only because they were the strongest of the Christian races in Macedonia, but because they had fought for their homes against the tyranny of the autocracy, while the Greek bands had been imported from Greece and had chiefly distinguished themselves by attacking the local Bulgarian population. The Bulgarian insurgent leaders Sandansky and Panitza, however, who had both committed many infamous crimes during the insurrection, made such extravagant demands in the sense of administrative decentralisation and scholastic independence that no agreement between the Young Turkish Committees and the Bulgarian "Internal Organisation," a Committee representing the members of the insurgent bands, could be arrived at. In Albania, too, there was considerable friction both with the Greeks and the Young Turks. In the north of that province secret societies had been formed, mainly composed of educated members of the wealthy landowning families, who had for some time pursued an active agitation among the people to counteract the Government policy of obscurantism, and these societies, which worked together with the Young Turkish Committees, were fiercely opposed by the Greeks, who claimed Albania as a Greek province and refused to recognise the Albanians as a separate nationality. In Southern Albania, on the other hand, there was no educational movement, and though many of the chiefs declared their adherence to the Constitution, they strongly objected to their being deprived of the privilege which from time immemorial they had enjoyed of plundering their Servian neighbours. Again, in Arabia, Ratib Pasha, the commander-in-chief, revolted with his troops against the new Government, while the rebellious Bedouins made some sharp attacks on the Turkish outposts. This revolt, however, was speedily suppressed, and Ratib Pasha was captured. In the Asiatic provinces, too, Ibrahim Pasha revolted with his Kurdish troops and had several engagements with the regulars; in the neighbourhood of Van the Kurds attacked the Nestorians and Armenians and devastated their villages. Ibrahim Pasha was killed and his troops were dispersed, but isolated attacks by Kurds on Armenians and Turks continued in Asia Minor and Kurdistan to the end of the year. The death of Rejib Pasha, the new Minister for War, on August 16, a great patriot and universally acknowledged to be the best soldier and the greatest administrator in the Empire, still further increased the difficulties of the new *régime*, which moreover suffered from a want of concentration in the work of the Young Turkish Committees, each Committee often acting without communication with the leaders at Constantinople and Salonika.

A great step was taken towards the pacification of Arabia by the opening of the Hedjaz railway to Medina on September 1. The railway was built with funds subscribed by Mohammedans all over the world, and the stations along the line were decorated

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with banners bearing the inscription, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." The Imperial mission sent to open the railway was enthusiastically received by the population, the chiefs of the Arab tribes in the north and the neighbourhood of the sacred city where Mohammed was buried submitted to Kiazim Pasha, the Governor-General appointed by the new Government, taking an oath that they would protect the railway; and Marshal Ahmed Feizi Pasha and the officers and men of the Yemen field force swore fidelity to the Constitution. Eloquent speeches were made expressing a confident hope that the railway will conduce to the prosperity and civilisation of Arabia, and laying stress on the new era of liberty which was dawning for the populations of the Empire. It was pointed out, too, that the political importance of the line will be still further enhanced when the four new sections of the Baghdad railway, 840 kilometres in length, for the construction of which the Sultan had issued an Iradé on May 22, are built, as they would establish, together with the Hedjaz railway, means of communication between Constantinople and the Holy Cities of Islam, and thus strengthen the authority of the Porte in parts of the Ottoman Empire where it had hitherto been precarious.

King Edward's telegram to the Sultan on September 15, the anniversary of his accession, produced a very favourable impression on the Young Turks, the flattering reference to Kiamil Pasha having been especially gratifying to them. Kiamil's strong Liberal principles and his long experience as a diplomatist rendered him peculiarly fitted to grapple with the many difficulties with which Turkey was threatened both at home and abroad under the new *régime*, and his Grand Vizierate was inaugurated by two important measures of home and foreign policy—the cession by the Sultan under his instigation of the Crown lands, estimated to bring in an annual revenue of 400,000*l.*, to the State Treasury, and the order to withdraw the Turkish troops from Persian territory and restore the *status quo* on the Turco-Persian frontier. A notable step in the direction of administrative reform was the appointment on September 16 of M. Laurent, first President of the Cour des Comptes, as Financial Adviser to the Government, and that of Sir William Willcocks, the eminent authority on irrigation works, as adviser on the irrigation of Macedonia and other parts of the Empire.

While the new Government was thus busied in effecting reforms in the administration, it became involved in serious disputes with Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary (pp. 309, 333). The question of the Oriental Railways, with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (October 4) and the proclamation of Bulgarian independence, were reserved for legalisation by the Conference. Meanwhile prolonged negotiations took place both with Bulgaria and with Austria-Hungary as to the compensation to be granted to Turkey for the injury inflicted upon her by these infractions of the Treaty of Berlin. There seemed little prospect of a settle-

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ment being arrived at, but the Young Turks, by boycotting Austrian goods, gave a stimulus to the negotiations which made Austria-Hungary more conciliatory and induced her to bring about a more yielding attitude on the part of Bulgaria, who had gone hand in hand with her in the successive infractions of the Berlin Treaty.

The example of Bulgaria was speedily followed by Crete and Samos. On October 12 the Cretan Chamber voted union with Greece, and on the following day elected a Committee of six members to govern the island in the name of the King of Greece and according to the Greek laws, which were to be put in force by decrees. The power of the Committee was to end as soon as the Greek Government assumed the administration of the island. The four protecting Powers (Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy) presented a note to the Cretan Government, informing it that they would give the Cretan question their benevolent consideration and would treat with Turkey if order was maintained and protection was accorded to the Mussulman element, but no decision on the point had been given at the end of the year.

A serious revolt in the island of Samos broke out on May 25. The Prince or Governor of the island, Kopassis Effendi, fearing that the National Assembly would demand his recall, as he had refused to carry out their policy, declined to summon it for its usual summer session, which begins at Easter, and threatened to employ the Turkish troops in the island to disperse it by force if it should meet spontaneously, which M. Sophoulis, the leader of the majority, declared it would do. The Prince was beaten and blockaded in his house by the malcontents, and when reinforcements arrived from the mainland, they were received with a fusillade by the people, supported by the local *gendarmerie*. By the end of the month order was restored by the troops and the navy, who bombarded the port of Vathy and the surrounding heights. The malcontents fled to the mountains, and M. Sophoulis and his supporters escaped in a sailing boat to Syra. The Prince then issued a proclamation exhorting the citizens to return to their avocations, but promising to respect their autonomy; and the Turkish warships and nearly all the troops left the island on June 20. M. Sophoulis and his colleagues addressed a memorandum to the British, French and Russian legations at Athens, declaring that there had been no revolutionary agitation in the island, that the Samians had always combined loyalty to the Sultan with attachment to their autonomous institutions, and that the cause of the late revolt was the policy of the Grand Vizier, who with the help of the Governor wished to convert the island into a Turkish province, and demanding the dismissal of Kopassis Effendi and the removal of all the Turkish troops in accordance with the organic statute of 1832. In October there was a movement for union with Greece, but it was not supported by the majority of the population. There was also a disturbance in the island of

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Cyprus in April on account of the unpopular appointment of the Bishop of Kyrenia as Archbishop of the island by the Holy Synod of Cyprus and the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, while the candidate for the Archbishopric most favoured by the great majority of the people was the Bishop of Kitium. There was a fight between the supporters of the rival candidates in the Archbishop's palace, but further rioting was stopped by the occupation of the palace by the police and the proclamation of martial law.

The position of the Turkish Empire as a European Power under the new *régime* was in striking contrast to that which it had occupied as a despotism under Abdul Hamid. Then it had only one friend among the continental Powers—Germany; while now all the Powers vied with each other in their professions of sympathy with Turkey, and England, Russia, France and Italy gave her valuable support. For England especially the new Turkey manifested the most friendly relations. The chief organ of the Young Turks, the *Ikdam*, gave the following reasons for this feeling among the Turkish people: "In the first place England has always been the centre of European liberty, and the British Constitution is the mother of the Constitutions of the world; and it is, therefore, natural that a people which has won its right to the honour of freedom should display friendliness towards the free English people. In the second place, from the time of the Great Elchi and our reforms to the days of Sir Henry Layard and Midhat Pasha, England proved herself a true friend to political progress and commercial reform in the Ottoman Empire. True, we failed to profit by her friendship, but we have not forgotten the attempts made to aid us or the memories of old days. Later, England's attitude towards us changed to one of coldness and severity, not unaccompanied by menaces, but it was not against us, the Turkish people, that this hostility was directed, but against our Government which was essentially hostile to us, its subjects, and worked for the undoing of our Empire more persistently and successfully than any foreign Power."

The elections for the Turkish Parliament, one elector being chosen under the Constitution by every 500 of the adult male population, began at the end of October and were on the whole carried out with tranquillity and order. A severe blow was dealt by the Young Turks at the champions of reaction just as the elections were beginning. The Sultan's guard at Yildiz, which was suspected of being in collusion with the reactionists, was ordered to Arabia, upon which it mutinied; the mutiny was at once quelled, its ringleaders were sentenced to death, and the commander of the guard, who had been maintained in his post only by the special request of the Sultan, was placed on the retired list. An Iradé was at the same time issued, declaring that the palace troops would henceforth be under the orders of the Minister of War and would be liable to be transferred to any part

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of the Empire. The reactionary feeling was strongest in the outlying portions of the Empire, where the "Committee of Union and Progress" had not yet been able to impress its views upon the Mohammedan population, among whom the old religious rivalry with the Christians still subsisted. The most formidable opponents of the Young Turks, however, were the Greeks, especially at Constantinople, where they are very numerous. On the other hand the Armenians, who had suffered so much from "the unspeakable Turk," were now among the strongest allies of the Committee. The majority of the Turks elected were either members or nominees of the Committee, the Greeks obtained a fair share of representation, and Armenians and Jews were also elected in tolerably fair proportion to their numbers. A large proportion of the deputies from Asia Minor were Ulemas, while the Albanian representatives were mostly semi-feudal chiefs or their kinsmen. Several Servians and Bulgarians were among the deputies from Macedonia. At Constantinople the ten candidates supported by the Committee—five Turks, two Greeks, two Armenians, and one Jew—were all elected. The total number of deputies was 250, of whom about 140 were representatives or nominees of the Committee. Among the remainder were fifty from Arabia, eighteen Greeks, twelve Albanians, four Bulgarians, two Servians, and three Jews. Congratulatory telegrams were sent by all the European Parliaments to the President of the Chamber, to which post Ahmed Riza, one of the most distinguished members of the Committee, was elected. Parliament was opened with great pomp by the Sultan on December 10 in the Parliament House which had been erected for the first Turkish Parliament in 1876, and a Speech from the Throne was read by his secretary, stating that the first Parliament had been "temporarily dissolved until the education of the people had been brought to a sufficiently high level by the extension of instruction throughout the Empire," and that "the intellectual progress of the people having reached the desired standard," Parliament had been once more assembled "as a guarantee of the present and future prosperity of the country." The Sultan had accordingly once more promulgated a Constitution; but while the new Cabinet, under the Presidency of Kiamil Pasha, was occupied with the organisation of the new system of Government, Prince Ferdinand, Prince of Bulgaria, and Vali of Eastern Rumelia, unexpectedly abandoning his allegiance to the Empire, proclaimed his independence, and the Austro-Hungarian Government informed the Sublime Porte and the Cabinets of the other Powers of its decision to annex to its dominions the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it had provisionally occupied and administered in conformity with the clauses of the Treaty of Berlin. In consequence of these surprising events, which had caused the Sultan most profound regret, it was now the task of the Council of Ministers to choose what measures should be taken to safeguard the rights of the nation, and it was the Sultan's

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desire that they should obtain the support of Parliament in this task. It was also his desire that the national finances should be reorganised, the Budget properly balanced, the resources of the country developed, and its people's prosperity assured; that arts and education should be widely spread among the population, and that the Army and Navy should be brought to a high degree of efficiency. He therefore hoped they would study the legislative proposals submitted by the Ministers to the Chamber of Deputies, and that the deputies will succeed in elaborating laws worthy of acceptance by the Senate. The speech concluded with a declaration that the Sultan's resolution to govern the country in conformity with the Law of the Constitution is irrevocable.

The Chamber then proceeded to elect the President and Vice-Presidents, the division showing in each case a majority for the Committee, and to pass an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne declaring that the Chamber was animated with the most peaceful intentions and will give all the aid in its power to "a Cabinet which, according to the Constitution, should be responsible to the Chamber and possess its confidence," and insisting on the necessity of thorough financial reorganisation and economy in national expenditure. On December 31 the deputies were entertained by the Sultan at a banquet at Yildiz Kiosk, at which his secretary read a speech declaring that he had devoted his person to safeguarding the provisions of the Constitution and to guaranteeing the sacred rights of the nation, and that in his capacity as their Khalif and Sovereign he would be "the greatest enemy of any one who acts in a contrary sense."

In Bulgaria the question of the declaration of independence and its consequences naturally absorbed all political attention. It had long been the ambition of Prince Ferdinand to become Tsar of Bulgaria, though no great enthusiasm was felt on the subject by the Bulgarian people, and his attempts to sound the Powers as to his views did not meet with any encouragement. He accordingly decided to take the matter up himself with the tacit connivance of Austria-Hungary, who was planning another infraction of the Treaty of Berlin by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He took advantage of the mistake made by the Turkish Foreign Minister in September[1] in not inviting the Bulgarian representative, M. Gueshoff, to an official dinner and of the almost simultaneous strike on the Oriental Railway, by asserting the virtual independence of Bulgaria as a preliminary to proclaiming her actual independence. The Bulgarian Government recalled M. Gueshoff from Constantinople, and when the railway strike was over it refused to withdraw the employees

[1] The omission was justified by the Porte on the ground that only representatives of sovereign States were invited, though this limitation had not been observed of late years. The refusal of Bulgaria to give up the railway was defended on the ground that the Porte might have used it to send troops into Eastern Rumelia, which was technically still a Turkish province.

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and troops it had sent during the strike to occupy the line, and although Germany and Austria-Hungary (whose subjects were among the principal shareholders of the railway company, which held a lease from Turkey, the owner of the line) protested together with Turkey against the occupation of the railway by Bulgaria, it was still occupied by her at the end of the year. On the plea that it was necessary in her interests that the line should be worked by her, and that she would take steps to come to an arrangement with the company which held the lease of the line, Turkey, the proprietor of the line under the Treaty of Berlin, was ignored altogether, and the subject became one of those to be dealt with by the proposed Conference. The dispute between the two Governments, however, did not in any way affect the feeling of cordiality with which their respective subjects regarded each other since the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution. Great festivities took place at Sofia, in honour of a delegation of Young Turks who had come on a visit to the Bulgarian capital, and among the Bulgarians at the banquet were four ex-Ministers and many professors of the university and military officers of high rank.

The declaration of Bulgarian independence, which the Government had up to the last moment stated to be a matter with which it did not occupy itself, was made at Tirnovo on October 5. In a manifesto to the Bulgarian nation, read by Prince Ferdinand, he gave as the reason for the declaration of independence that "while practically independent, the nation was impeded in its normal and peaceful development by ties the breaking of which will remove the tension which has arisen between Bulgaria and Turkey," and that "Turkey and Bulgaria, free and entirely independent of each other, may exist under conditions which will allow them to strengthen their friendly relations and to devote themselves to peaceful internal development"—a cynical justification of a step whose only result could be to embroil Bulgaria with Turkey and to alienate from Bulgaria the chief signatory powers of the Treaty of Berlin which the declaration of her independence had violated. Prince Ferdinand, as ruler of Bulgaria, whose rulers in the middle ages were called Tsars, now assumed the *rôle* of King and Tsar, while the country itself was styled a Kingdom. One of the consequences of the declaration of independence was the loss by Turkey of the tribute which under the Treaty of Berlin Bulgaria had to pay to the Turkish Government. The portion of the tribute due from Bulgaria had never been fixed by the Powers, and had consequently hitherto not been paid; but when Eastern Rumelia was united with Bulgaria in 1886 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 371) the Bulgarian Government paid the tribute due for that province under the Treaty, and the payment now ceased as Bulgaria no longer accepted the position of a tributary State. The question of the compensation to be given to Turkey for this loss, and for her proprietary rights in the Oriental Railway, was

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the subject of long discussion between the two Governments, and led to warlike demonstrations on both sides. These were prevented from passing into actual war by the intervention of England, France, Russia, and Italy, who strongly urged on the Bulgarian Government the justice of Turkey's claims. Bulgaria, however, did not show any disposition to come to terms with Turkey. In a long circular note addressed to the Powers on December 23 she complained of "the provocative language of the Sultan's speech" in reference to Bulgaria (apparently because he did not speak of her as a Kingdom, a title which had hitherto not been recognised by any of the Powers) and of the Turkish military preparations, while Bulgaria "had refrained from mobilising her army and from any attempt to extort a recognition of its independence by intimidation or menace," as by so doing she "would have hindered the development of the constitutional *régime* in Turkey." She also complained of the boycotting of Bulgarian goods in Turkey, and threatened to take retaliatory measures.

Among the other important incidents of the year in Bulgaria was the change of Ministry effected on January 29, when M. Malinoff, of the Democratic party, was appointed Premier in the place of Dr. Gudeff, the last Minister of the Stambouloff party, which had been in power since 1903, when the revolutionary movement in Macedonia threatened to bring about a rupture with Turkey. The Stambouloffists had always cultivated friendly relations with the Porte, while the Democrats, who now entered office, were the most intellectual and most honest of the various political groups in the Bulgarian Chamber, and assumed a more independent attitude than the Stambouloffists. A general election took place in June, at which the Democrats won 170 seats out of a total of 203. The Budget for the year 1909 was introduced in the Chamber on December 28. It showed an estimated expenditure of 6,290,304*l.* and a revenue of 6,291,578*l.*, the highest figures yet reached in a Bulgarian budget. In view of the deficits of the past five years, amounting to 3,320,000*l.*, a foreign loan was decided upon. The consolidated debt was 17,639,040*l.* and the floating debt 2,109,480*l.*

In Servia public feeling was deeply wounded by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country whose inhabitants belonged to the Servian race and which it was hoped would some day form part of a united Servian Empire, and it was the general opinion that the annexation was merely a preliminary step to an attack on Servia itself. Noisy demonstrations against Austria-Hungary took place at Belgrade and the other Servian towns, and the whole nation, with the Crown Prince at its head, clamoured for war. Montenegro, whose people are also of the Servian race, was equally opposed to the annexation; it resumed the diplomatic relations with Servia which had been broken off in consequence of the discovery of a plot in which the Servian Crown Prince was implicated, to assassinate the Prince of Montenegro, and it loudly

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proclaimed that it would unite with Servia in resisting the annexation, if necessary by force of arms. The representatives of England, Russia, France and Italy made every effort to discourage this bellicose attitude, and the Crown Prince, who proceded to St. Petersburg in November, was plainly told by the Tsar, his Foreign Minister, and the principal members of the Duma, that though Russia would give Servia her moral support she would not go to war on her account. The Skupshtina, too, decided at a secret sitting on October 11 not to enter upon active hostilities. It was estimated that about 3,200,000*l.* could be raised without delay for the purposes of a campaign, the War Ministry having at its disposal a reserve fund derived from the loan of 1902, of which 1,200,000*l.* remained in Paris, besides an equal sum remaining from the loan of 1907, and the balance being obtainable by suspending the payment of the interest on the foreign debt. As to the Army, however, which with its reserves consisted on paper of 163,000 men, it was in course of reorganisation and very deficient in officers, and the Minister for War admitted that it was not at present fit for a campaign; moreover, the artillery was incomplete; the batteries and ammunition ordered in 1906 from Creuzot had not yet arrived, as Germany and Austria-Hungary had forbidden them to be passed through their territory. Although, however, both the Government and the National Assembly were unwilling to go to war against Austria-Hungary, they did not cease their efforts to obtain satisfaction of the national claims. On October 7 the Government had issued a proclamation protesting against the annexation, and appealing to the Powers for "justice and protection against this new and flagrant violation, which has been effected unilaterally by *force majeure* to satisfy selfish interests and without regard to the grievous blows thus dealt to the feelings, interests, and rights of the Servian people. Servia cannot in the present instance," the proclamation continued, "obtain full satisfaction except by a complete restoration of the situation in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the Treaty of Berlin, but if this solution is regarded as absolutely impossible, the Royal Government, appealing to the sense of equity of the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin, demands a corresponding compensation for Servia, in order to maintain the guarantees indispensable to her as an independent State and to restore, for the Servian nation in general, the conditions of existence in the measure, at least, which were assured to her by the Treaty of Berlin." The next step taken by the Government was to send the Foreign Minister, M. Milanovitch, to the principal European capitals on October 17 to lay the claims of Servia before the Powers. He met with a sympathetic reception at Berlin, London, Paris and Rome, but was strongly urged to press his Government to refrain from hostilities and to await the decision of the proposed conference on the question of the concessions to be made to Servia in consequence of the annexation. He

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represented that the least Servia could demand would be an international guarantee of the integrity of both Servia and Montenegro, which was threatened by the extension of Austro-Hungarian territory to the borders of Servia, and of a full autonomy for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She also desired "a strip of territory bounded by Novi Bazar on one side and by Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other, to form a buffer between Austria-Hungary and Turkey and enable Servia to stretch out the hand of brotherhood to Montenegro." The latter principality, while identifying itself with the Servian claims, demanded on its own behalf the abolition of Article 29 of the Berlin Treaty, which gave Austria-Hungary the control of the ports and coasts of Montenegro together with the maritime district of Spizza, which commands the Montenegrin port of Antivari, and had been wrested from Turkey by Prince Nicholas in 1877, and its restoration to Montenegro, so as to give her absolutely free access to the sea. M. Tomanovitch, the Montenegrin Prime Minister, proceeded to Rome to urge this claim upon the Italian Government, which however declined to commit itself in the matter. A very warlike spirit, however, was shown throughout the principality; a military convention was concluded with Servia, and an enthusiastic message of gratitude was sent by the President of the National Assembly to the Lord Mayor of London, for "the determined attitude taken by the British people in defence of the rights violated by the Power which has broken her own engagements and has attempted to tear from the living body of the Servian people two of its vital organs." Both the Servians and the Montenegrins continued their armaments down to the end of the year; Montenegro placed guns on the forts which dominated the Austrian port of Cattaro, and on December 13 she issued a decree imposing the maximum tariff on Austrian goods and established a commercial agency in London in order to give British products the benefit of the minimum tariff. She also signed a protocol with Turkey on December 3 for the rectification of the frontier line near Androvitza in the valley region between Plava and Gusinie, where a conflict between Montenegrins and Albanians had taken place in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 336).

In internal politics the only incidents of any note in Servia were the repeated Ministerial changes. Owing to the obstructions of the Opposition, the Cabinet of M. Pasitch again resigned (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 334) on April 10; the Ministry was then reconstructed with but little difference from its predecessor, and the Skupshtina was dissolved on April 13. The result of the general election which took place on June 1 did not give a sufficient majority to the Government, which again resigned, and on June 23 M. Velimirovitch, President of the Council of State, was appointed Premier. His Cabinet was reconstructed on July 6 with the aid of the Radical Opposition, the Government having withdrawn a proposal to raise the Civil

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List. On August 18 the Skupshtina passed the commercial treaty with Austria-Hungary, under which exportation of Servian live stock was entirely prohibited and limits were placed on the exportation of meat, while Servia imposed duties which were virtually prohibitory on various Austrian industrial products. The treaty, however, was never ratified by the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments.

In Greece a reconstruction of the Cabinet, in which the Premier retained the Portfolio of War, was effected on July 5. On October 8, after the announcement of the Cretan proclamation of union with Greece, the Foreign Minister declared to the representatives of the Powers that the Government would not take any action which might disturb in any way the good relations existing between it and Turkey, which it was most anxious to maintain. The King, however, during his visits to the various capitals in November, made great efforts to obtain the sanction of the Powers to the Cretan proclamation of union. On December 7 a monetary convention, signed in Paris on November 4 between Greece and the four States of the Latin Union, was laid before the Greek Chamber. It authorised Greece to recall and nationalise her silver fractional coins in circulation in other countries of the union.

Roumania passed through the year in comparative tranquillity, the agrarian reforms promised and carried out by the new Premier, M. Stourdza, having given the country a period of peace after the formidable rising of the peasants in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 335). Among the great economic reforms introduced by the Premier was a new financial system under which the Budget for the first time represented the actual expenditure of the country. The estimates for the year amounted to about 16,000,000*l.*, or 6,000,000*l.* more than in the last Budget. The difference was accounted for partly by the simplification of the Budget system, and also by the increase of expenditure caused by the agrarian reforms and the reorganisation of the Army and the *gendarmerie*.

CHAPTER IV.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM.

THE Belgian Premier and Minister of the Interior, M. Trooz, died on December 31, 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 339). He was succeeded by M. Schollaert, the son of a Louvain professor, and member of the Chamber of Deputies since 1888, of which he became Vice-President in 1900 and President in 1901. He had been Minister of Education from 1895 to 1899, and is generally respected as an able man and Minister.

The biennial elections for about half the members of the

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Chamber (81 out of 166) took place on May 25. As their result, the Chamber consisted of eighty-seven Catholics, forty-three Liberals, one Christian Democrat and thirty-five Socialists, the Catholics having lost two and the Liberals three seats to the Socialists. In 1900, when proportional representation was introduced, the Catholics had a majority of seventy-two. This was reduced in 1902 to twenty-six, in 1904 to twenty, in 1906 to twelve, and in 1908 to eight. The Liberals hope, of course, to wipe it out. The three Ministers who had to submit themselves to re-election were returned; M. Davignon (Foreign Affairs), M. Hubert (Labour) and M. Helleputte (Railways). The Catholics polled 517,681 votes, or 16,219 more than in 1904, whereas the Ministerialists polled 659,885 votes, or 57,692 more. Adding the votes polled in 1906 for the other half of the Chamber, the result is that at the two elections 1,154,077 Catholic and 1,173,607 Opposition votes were polled, so that the Opposition votes numbered 20,000 more than those cast for Ministerialists, who, however, have a majority of eight in the Chamber, against a decided minority in the country. The Catholic strength is largely the result of plural voting. In Belgium every man of twenty-five has one vote. If he has an income of 1*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* from land or houses, or of 4*l.* from Government bonds, or from savings in the savings bank, or if he is thirty-five and head of a family, he gets an additional vote; whereas men who hold higher education certificates, or certain Government and other posts, acquire thereby a third vote. Hence the small farmers, most of them strongly Roman Catholic, submerge by their double votes those of the workmen in the towns, and the Catholic strength is increased by the triple votes of the priests.

The quadrennial provincial elections, affecting one-half of the provincial Councils, took place in June. The coalition of Liberals and Social Democrats had as little effect upon these as on the May elections for the Chamber, when it was the means of securing only one seat. The Socialists themselves gained only a few seats in the province of Brabant. Hence the thirty-nine elections for half the Senate did not materially alter the composition of that House. Besides Prince Albert, the heir to the throne, it now contains sixty-three Catholics and forty-seven members of the Opposition, the majority having increased from fourteen to sixteen.

In legislation the year 1908 was not very remarkable, the only bill of much importance being passed by the Chamber of Deputies on December 19. This gives women the right to vote for and be members of joint conferences of employers and employees.

For more than half a century Belgian political life was singularly simple. There were two parties, the one representing modern ideas, the other stoutly Conservative. They were in turn empowered by the nation to direct its affairs, and the

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swing of the political pendulum was so well regulated that no European influences noticeably affected it. The continuous growth of the Socialist party altered this (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 338) in connection with the communal elections. And the elections for the Chambers, although not practically altering the position of the majority in either, again showed that the old historical political parties were no longer in their old position. Each of the three may, of course, agree for the time being upon a programme, and upon immediate political actions. But such an agreement may at any moment be seriously affected, if not entirely broken up, by the appearance of some great economic or social problem. In that case each will find itself attracted by opposing forces; but their leaders are too statesmanlike to try to survive upheavals by ignoring social problems which, they know, cannot be suppressed. All parties seem to desire to seek to reconcile opposing interests and to maintain or restore as far as possible the social equilibrium. The future will belong to the wisest.

The Clerical party, although far from being subdued or submerged by the May elections, is politically depressed. Perhaps its twenty-four years of uninterrupted power helped to produce this result. Political parties, when in power for a long period, are apt to exhaust their enthusiasm along with their programme, and this affects their unity in the long run (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1904, pp. 325-6), even if no definite rupture takes place or is threatened. Their old and trusted leaders often find it difficult to bridle the natural impatience of their younger adherents, who are not always their admirers. As yet the admirable discipline of the Clerical party has prevented an open revolt. But it is undeniable that the authority of the old Conservatism is decaying, perhaps rapidly, whereas democratic tendencies are asserting themselves with increasing force, and it will be essential for the political life of the Clerical party to find a middle course which (as M. Thiers said of the Republic in France) "divides it least." But after fixing that golden mean the younger elements of the Clerical party—collectively known as the "Young Right"—may find that middle courses do not inspire enthusiasm, even if they are useful for retaining office. Moreover, such vital matters as educational, electoral, and military reforms increase the sharp division already set up in the ranks of the party by the Congo question. A section of the party favours compulsory education. A Bill for the eventual reduction of the hours of labour in coal mines to nine "bank to bank" and eight "at the face," with the possibility of further limitation by Royal decree in wet or dangerous mines, was approved by a Committee of the Chamber in December, and is strongly supported by members of the "Young Right." The existing system of conscription, tempered by the permission of substitutes and supplemented since 1902 by voluntary enlistment, has left the army short of its proper strength. On

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November 25, in reply to Baron Snoy, General Hellebaut, the War Minister, stated in the Chamber that the peace strength of the army should be 42,800 men, but was actually 36,607. The Ministry however evaded their responsibility by referring the whole matter to a Committee. This is greatly against the wishes of influential members of their party, and may seriously affect the elections in 1910.

The Clerical party may also be divided by the movement for giving greater prominence to the Flemish language, which found expression during the year in a Bill presented by M. Cooremans, making the language compulsory in secondary schools. This may tend to alienate the French-speaking Catholics. The Liberal party is still living under the bracing influence of political adversity. It may be recovering from a rupture extending over twenty-five years (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1884, p. 317; 1904, p. 325), but the wound is not yet healed. It may have a legislative programme notwithstanding its economic dissensions, but the equilibrium is not yet restored. In any case, the difference between Clericals and Liberals is exhibited by the difference of their attitude towards democracy. The former regard it as a possible evil, if not an actual danger, to the highest good of the nation. The latter are inclined to accept its appearance in politics as unavoidable, because natural, in the gradual development of national life. The Belgian Labour party, again, although stoutly maintaining its theory that the ultimate welfare of the world demands the destruction of the *bourgeoisie*, as the incarnation of capitalistic production, seems less and less disinclined to adopt some degree of opportunism. It does not object to take part in the legislative and administrative work for the commune, the province and the State. Many irreconcilables within it, however, regard this opportunism as a base surrender of their creed; and in the future this division may affect the prospects of the party as a whole. It is, however, quite clear that the political depression witnessed in the Clerical atmosphere is the result not of the collaboration at the polls of Liberals and Socialists in the country, but of the development of democratic tendencies generally.

The Congo question is the most important in the history of the Belgian Kingdom. The annexation of this immense territory, of the size of Europe, converts the country at one stroke into a great Colonial Power. In 1889 King Leopold II. wrote: "History teaches us that countries confined between narrow frontiers are bound on moral and practical grounds to extend beyond their restricted territory." He cited the examples of Greece, Venice and the Netherlands, and added: "Second-rate Powers become useful members of the great family of all the nations by thus serving humanity and progress. And a commercial and industrial people ought, more than any other, to find suitable outlets for the energies of all its workers; those who labour with their brain, their capital, or their hands. These

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patriotic considerations have always ruled my life. They are the origin and the creation of my work in Africa." The Congo State hitherto has certainly not realised these high ideals; but there is no doubt that Belgium is quite as anxious as any other country to keep its honour unblemished, and is firmly determined to put down and adequately punish any cruelty or injustice committed in its name. This conviction was eloquently expressed (p. 252) in the remarkable memorandum widely signed by men and women of all stations in life, and sympathetically referring to the reply given by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in December, 1908, to the communication by the Belgian Government on the Congo problem (Africa, No. 5, 1908.—Cd. 4396).

After abortive attempts in 1891 and 1901, the Chamber of Deputies resolved in 1906 to proceed to annexation (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 344). This resulted in the Treaty of November 28, 1907, with King Leopold as Sovereign of the Congo State, this latter being altered by the abolition of the Fondation de la Couronne, and in the Colonial Law. Belgium takes over the whole of the Congo, pays allowances to Prince Albert and Princess Clementine, and 2,000,000*l.* to the King in fifteen annual payments. Belgium declines responsibility for the Congo debt of 4,560,000*l.* The Colonial Law directs that a special law shall deal with concessions, and provides that a Governor-General and Vice-Governor-Generals shall be appointed. The debate on annexation began in the Chamber on April 15, after a Bill introduced by M. Hanrez in the Senate, providing for a *plébiscite* on the question, had been rejected by that body. It was interrupted for the general election in May, and was resumed in a special session beginning on June 10. On August 20 the Chamber of Deputies accepted the treaty by 83 against 54 votes, with 9 abstentions; 8 Liberals—among them the leader, M. Hymans—voting in the majority. The Colonial Law was passed by 90 against 48 votes, with 7 abstentions. On September 9 the Senate accepted the treaty by 63 votes to 24, and the Colonial Law by 66 to 22. M. Renkin, Minister of Justice, became Colonial Minister in October, his former post being taken by M. de Lantsheere. M. Schollaert, the Premier, at the same time added the Portfolio of Agriculture to that of the Interior which he already held, thereby avoiding an increase in the number of Ministers.

The first Colonial Estimates were voted by the Chamber on December 18 by 79 to 46. The attitude towards the annexation which would be taken up by the Powers signatory to the Berlin Act remained uncertain at the close of the year. That of Great Britain was defined by Sir Edward Grey in November in a despatch summarised on a later page (chap. vii.), which as mentioned above (p. 252) was strongly approved by English public opinion. It was understood that the Belgian Government was taking time to prepare a reply.

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II. THE NETHERLANDS.

On December 21, 1907, the Second Chamber of the States-General rejected the Army Estimates by 53 to 38, and on December 26 the Liberal De Meester Cabinet resigned, although there was still a non-Clerical majority in that House (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 344). The Cabinet had resigned once before (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 339), but the Right refused office, and the only result was that the War Minister, General Staal, was succeeded by General van Rappard. The Right were this time willing to accept office, and Dr. Heemskerk, the son of one of the most famous Dutch statesmen of the nineteenth century, was on January 3 authorised by Queen Wilhelmina to form a Cabinet. It was until February 8 that his Ministry was completed. He himself took the Portfolio of the Interior; Dr. de Marees van Swinderen (Dutch Ambassador at New York), Foreign Affairs; Dr. Nelissen, Justice; Dr. Kolkman, Finances; Mr. Talma (a former clergyman), Agriculture, Commerce and Industry; Dr. Bevers (upon his sudden death succeeded by Dr. Regout), Public Works (Waterstaat); Mr. Idenburg, Colonies; General Sabron, War; Admiral Wentholt, Navy.

Messrs. Heemskerk, Talma and Idenburg are prominent Calvinists and faithful followers of the former Clerical Premier, Dr. A. Kuyper. Dr. de Marees van Swinderen, a Protestant, is said to have described himself as "moderately indifferent"; Dr. Heemskerk is a Conservative, Mr. Talma an advanced Radical. Messrs. Nelissen, Kolkman and Bevers are Roman Catholics, and so is the last-named's successor, Dr. Regout. General Sabron's politics and theology are unspecified, as are those of Admiral Wentholt, a member of the late Ministry, who retained his portfolio. Dr. Heemskerk tried to avoid extremists, and he is likely to be in office when the triennial elections in June, 1909, for the entire Chamber of 100 members, will take place. It will then be seen whether his moderation will secure success for his party at the polls.

These elections being so near, the new Ministry did not undertake any legislative enterprise, and at once relinquished the idea of revising the Constitution, upon which a Royal Commission had already reported. The scheme for reclaiming the first 48,000 acres of the 881,770 acres of the Zuyder Zee has not been advanced; Bills for social legislation, already prepared by the De Meester Cabinet, were left alone; the Ministry simply kept things going, and nobody expected them to do more during the few months of life left to the present Chamber. A law was passed, however, empowering the burgomaster of any town or village to limit the speed of motors in thickly populated places within his jurisdiction to 10 kilometres (6¼ miles) per hour; but it was not expected that it would be widely put in force.

The Calvinist or Anti-Revolutionary party, like the Liberals and the Social Democrats, has its differences, and democratic

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tendencies make themselves felt even among the Catholics. But these, for obvious reasons, could not affect the policy of the Chamber; the influence and importance of these dissensions will most likely become evident at the general elections in 1909.

The greatest and most important event for the Dutch nation was the announcement, on December 22, in the Second, and on the 31st in the First, Chamber of the States-General, that the accouchement of Her Majesty, Queen Wilhelmina might be expected about the middle of April, 1909. At the close of the year the Queen's health was excellent and the nation was full of hope.

Should the direct line of succession fail, the next heir would be found among the descendants of Princess Sophia of the Netherlands, sister of King Willem III., the Queen's father, and grandmother of the reigning Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; but this Sovereign would be disqualified unless he abdicated the Grand Ducal Throne. As he is childless, the succession would next pass to the issue of his sister, Princess Marie of Saxe-Weimar, by her marriage with Prince Henry VII. of Reuss-Koestritz. The eldest of their three sons, Prince Henry XXXII., born 1878, is a lieutenant in the German Navy; the second, Prince Henry XXXIII., born 1879, is a lieutenant in the Prussian Dragoon Guards, an *attaché* of the German Embassy at Paris, and has graduated as Doctor of Philosophy with the highest honours. Their daughter, Princess Elizabeth, married to Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, cannot succeed, the Salic law prevailing in Reuss, though not in Holland. Failing this line the succession passes (1) to the descendants of Princess Marianne (deceased), daughter of King Willem I. and wife of Prince Albert of Prussia; (2) to those of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands. The order of succession is rigidly determined and must not be changed during a regency.

Matters in the Dutch East Indies are gradually shaping themselves according to the wishes of the originators of the new Colonial Policy. Outlying districts have been taken in hand; the power of petty native tyrants is broken, Dutch officials have been appointed everywhere, who look after the interests of the populace; roads have been made, markets opened; and at the present moment the authority of the Dutch in those parts is stronger than ever before. Now and again unimportant troubles occur, but they are the rare exceptions proving the rule. In Sumatra a more serious conflict arose during the year. The Dutch had, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, made a treaty with certain States in the west of that island, promising to buy produce at prices fixed by them, and never to levy taxes. Great unfairness resulted, and after discussing the matter for over twenty years, the Dutch Government decided to terminate the old agreement and to introduce a just and adequate tax. A few resisted actively, but the chiefs soon saw that the new order was much fairer than the old one, and gave way.

In Achin matters are mending gradually, if slowly. Local

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outbreaks occur now and again, but they do not give cause for any great anxiety. The difficulty of the complete pacification of this huge country, about the size of France, is to find the medium between kindness, which may be mistaken for fear, and firmness, giving the impression of harshness if not of cruelty.

Some trouble was also caused in connection with the Dutch West Indies by the extraordinary policy of the late President Castro of Venezuela, who defied the whole of Europe excepting Germany. Troubles between Venezuela and the Netherlands arose as far back as 1857. From 1875 to 1894 all political relations were broken off; but in the latter year the then President Crespo and the Dutch Regent, Queen Emma, exchanged friendly letters. In 1899 Señor Castro made himself President, and started his attacks on the foreign monopolies and concessions in general: American, British, French, etc. He accused the Dutch ships of carrying contraband, expelled the Dutch Consul, Mr. de Reus, and at last compelled the Dutch Government to send a battleship and two cruisers, who blockaded the Venezuela ports, and captured a couple of coastguard vessels. Castro's health or his authority, or both, broke down. He came to Europe and was soon afterwards deposed, the Vice-President, Señor Gomez, succeeding him. The new Government at once notified the Dutch Government that Dr. Paul would leave for Europe on December 24, in order to effect a pacific and friendly settlement. As Dr. Paul was Minister for Foreign Affairs under President Castro, and executed all his orders relative to the United States and the various European Governments, he is undoubtedly better qualified than any one else to put matters right.

Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.—Nothing of any material importance happened in the Grand Duchy. There were general elections in June, for half the Chamber of Deputies, the Catholics losing two, the Independents one seat, the Liberals gaining two. The Grand Duke William's health compelled him to stay in Italy for over twelve months, from which country he returned on May 23. On March 28, he had informed his Ministers that the state of his health no longer permitted him to conduct the affairs of the Grand Duchy, and for that reason he had appointed the Grand Duchess to be Regent. He had already conferred the title of Hereditary Grand Duchess on his daughter, Princess Marie. The Grand Duchess is an Infanta of Portugal and a Roman Catholic, as is also her daughter, the Princess Marie, who was born in 1894.

III. SWITZERLAND.

The year 1908 presents an interesting study of the working of democratic institutions. The Swiss people actually exercised all the rights conferred on it by law. By the exercise of petition, it obtained the insertion in the Constitution of a clause

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authorising the Federal Legislature to pass laws relating to trades and professions, hitherto the affair of the Cantonal Legislatures alone. (The insertion was ratified on July 5 by 228,670 votes to 90,182.) By the use of the initiative it brought about the adoption, first, of a resolution authorising the Federal Legislature to pass laws regulating the utilisation of hydraulic power, and secondly, of a decree prohibiting the manufacture and sale of absinthe throughout Switzerland. Of these three measures adopted by the people the last-named alone attracted public attention to any great extent; in view of the number of interests affected, it was natural that it should do so.

The movement against absinthe began in Canton Vaud, in consequence of a murder committed under the influence of that beverage, and then extended to Geneva. The Cantonal authorities, however, had power to prohibit only the retail sale on their respective territories, the manufacture and the wholesale trade being subject to Federal law alone. A petition promoted by the Swiss Anti-Alcohol League (*Ligue antialcoolique Suisse*), which in a short time obtained 168,000 signatures, was presented to the Federal Council; it prayed that body to insert a clause in the Constitution absolutely prohibiting the manufacture, sale, importation, transport, and storage of absinthe throughout the whole territory of the Confederation. The debates in the Legislature were long and interesting; and ultimately, in spite of the adverse opinion expressed by the Federal Council (the executive authority), which was duly consulted in accordance with the Constitution, both the Chambers approved the initiative by large majorities. The popular contest was equally vigorous. Up to the last moment the result was doubtful. Though the consumption of absinthe is widespread in French Switzerland—where it consequently found ardent defenders—yet in German Switzerland it is almost unknown, so that there was reason to fear that the German cantons would take no interest in the question. In the result the initiative was adopted by a majority of 100,000 (237,665 to 136,254, July 5); only two cantons rejected it, Neuchâtel and Geneva, the principal seats of the manufacture. The vote did great credit to the Swiss people, which had apparently been enlightened by the campaign against alcohol and by physiological and medical research.

In the sphere of legislation mention must be made in the first place of the adoption of the new Swiss Civil Code, on which a referendum was not demanded, and which will come into force in 1912, replacing the divergent laws of the various cantons by a single uniform law. It will doubtless conflict with some customary practices, but its humane and progressive tendencies have won general praise.

The National Council or Lower House of the Legislature passed the Sickness and Accident Insurance Bill, intended to replace the law rejected by a popular vote on May 20, 1900. The

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Bill converts insurance against accident into a Federal monopoly. The risks arising outside the ordinary course of employment are included in the insurance against accident. This provision many people would have preferred to avoid, in order to secure the adoption of the law when submitted to a popular vote. At the close of the year the Bill awaited discussion in the Upper House, which might possibly so amend it as to secure its general acceptance.

A resolution was adopted modifying the Customs regulations of the free zones of Savoy and Gex by a new arrangement with France, involving certain concessions which satisfied both countries.

The new organisation of the army came into force. Under it the courses of instruction are lengthened, and annual manœuvres are instituted for all arms. The new scheme had long been discussed in Switzerland; it appeared likely to produce excellent results.

A motion was taken into consideration requesting the Federal Council to consider the establishment of a Federal monopoly of grain and flour. Hitherto this demand had been made only by the Socialists; but its aspect had changed since Germany, by establishing a bounty on the export of its flour, threatened the very existence of the Swiss milling industry. At the close of the year the negotiations entered into by the Federal Council were still in progress, no agreement on the conditions of a reference to arbitration having yet been reached. The German Government appeared to desire to let matters drag on; a Flour Monopoly Bill was likely to be introduced at an early date. It is a two-edged weapon, however, which can only be regarded as a regrettable necessity by observers holding Liberal views. The "flour war" was the gravest question of the day in Switzerland early in 1909.

Another cause of anxiety was the financial position of the railways since their nationalisation. The requirements of the public and of the railwaymen, and a falling-off in the receipts, had set up a deficit estimated at 8,000,000 francs. The measures necessary to meet this situation, *viz.*, the reduction in the number of trains and the withdrawal of certain reductions of rates —possibly, indeed, an increase of rates—were not likely to pass without protests, however necessary they might be. The purchase of the St. Gothard system set up numerous difficulties, and appeared likely to cost the Confederation a sum wholly disproportionate to the importance of the line, in view of the compensation claimed by Germany and Italy, these countries having contributed part of its cost.

The question of the approaches from France to the Simplon tunnel had not yet been settled at the close of the year. A Conference of representatives of France and Switzerland met at Berne in March; its programme, as previously arranged between the two Governments, admitted in principle that the

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question should be settled by the construction both of the line from Frasne in France to Vallorbe in Switzerland under the Mont d'Or [cutting off the angle of which the apex is at Pontarlier] and from Lons-le-Saulnier to Geneva under the Faucille Pass. But no conclusion was reached, the French delegates, at the instigation of the Eastern Railway Company of France, having demanded that a short cut should be authorised on Bernese territory from Munster (Moutier) by Granges to Dotzingen, which would abridge the distance from Paris to Berne and facilitate the approach to the Lötschberg tunnel now under construction. The inquiries necessitated by this new claim were nearly terminated at the end of the year, and it would soon be possible to resume the negotiations.

The triennial general election of the National Council, or Lower House of the Federal Legislature, took place in October and November, and again established the great Radical majority. The new Council consists of 165 members, of whom only eighteen were new members, some of them being Socialists. The only really interesting contests were at Zürich (city), where the Socialists tried in vain to defeat the middle-class parties, in Canton Ticino, where by forming an alliance with the Radicals they succeeded in winning one seat from the Conservative and Clerical party, at Geneva, where the Liberals eventually defeated the Radical-Socialist alliance, and at Basel, where the first ballot was wholly indecisive. There was every reason to believe that the new Legislature, like its predecessor, would be industrious, and but little inclined to experiment, and that its chief concern would be to secure order and stability in business conditions.

Among the Roman Catholics and Socialists a new movement showed itself in favour of proportional representation. A demand for an initiative was to be put in circulation early in 1909; but many supporters of the system regarded the time as ill-chosen, since a popular vote had been taken on the question not long before.

In December the Chambers confirmed the Federal Council as a body. Since June a Conservative and Catholic deputy from Lucerne, M. Schobinger, had taken the place of M. Joseph Zemp, the venerable statesman whose death took place on December 5.

The President of the Confederation for 1908 was M. Ernest Brenner of Basel, who was born in 1856, and was the youngest member of the Federal Council. His successor for 1909 was its oldest member, M. Adolphe Deucher.

The extradition of Wassilieff, the Russian terrorist, was accorded in July by the Federal Council by a majority of one vote, and gave rise to an acute agitation. The exact limits of the right of asylum had never been definitely settled. Though it may be maintained for ordinary political refugees compelled to quit their country for their opinions, it may fairly be

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questioned whether it should extend to ordinary criminals. In Switzerland, moreover, the proceedings of certain revolutionists had distinctly turned popular feeling against Russians generally.

From the economic point of view, the year would not be remembered favourably. Business slackened; the tourist season was less successful than usual, and the great exporting industries—embroidery, watch- and clock-making, and silk—found their sales considerably diminished. There was much unemployment, complete or partial; only agriculture prospered, thanks to abundant crops.

Mention must also be made of the two serious accidents at the Lötschberg tunnel—the fall of an avalanche on the south side (Feb. 29), and an inundation in July, due to the penetration of the stream of the Kander into its northern section. In all thirty-seven persons were killed. Other noteworthy events were the completion of the Ricken tunnel, 8,604 metres in length, in Canton St. Gall, on the railway connecting Baden with Toggenburg and Zürich; the fire which destroyed the village of Bonaduz in the Grisons; and the victory of Colonel Schaeck in the Gordon-Bennett motor race.

IV. SPAIN.

The Anarchist outrage which had sent Barcelona into mourning at the close of 1907 had been met, as usual, by a decree in the official *Gazette*, suspending the guarantees of the liberty of the subject provided by the Constitution. The remedy was worse than the disease; for bomb explosions continued, in spite of the suspension, in the by-ways of the Catalonian capital. It had at any rate one advantage for the Ministry; it set up a split in the solidarist Catalan coalition. Señor Cambo and his friends of the Right approved the measure; the Republicans stigmatised it as equally useless and unjust. The criticisms addressed to the Government resulted in inciting Señor Maura to greater stringency; a Bill punishing Anarchist intrigues was hastily drafted for submission to the Cortes. Shortly before the session began, the arrival of M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, his visits to Señor Allendesalazar, who held that office in the Spanish Cabinet, and his interviews with the King and the Prime Minister, gave ample matter for discussion respecting the affairs of Morocco. Spanish opinion was generally disposed to support restriction rather than extension of the part taken in that country by the troops furnished by Spain. The Foreign Minister sanctioned the publication of a Red Book, which, however, did not appear for some months; meanwhile, he indicated through the semi-official Press his resolve to keep to the strictest interpretation of the Act of Algeciras.

The Cortes met on January 23. The Bill for the repression of Anarchist plots was at once introduced into the Senate; that

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body was appalled at the extreme character of the Ministerial demands. The publication of news (other than official news) relative to the offences under the Act and the persons implicated in prosecutions for offences under it was punishable by imprisonment. This was giving an altogether excessive privilege to the police, which in Spain is the object of considerable suspicion. Again, a junta of civil officials and military officers was empowered to suppress suspected newspapers, to banish terrorists, and to condemn exiles returning without leave from transportation to tropical colonies. It will be easily understood that the Senate exhibited no enthusiasm in its examination of these Draconian clauses. Señor Maura, however, was inexorable. When fresh bomb explosions took place in Barcelona, he had no hesitation in applying to this Latin city the system existing in St. Petersburg; the *concierges* of houses were made responsible to the police in regard to the buildings they served, and were given the right of arrest; and the peaceful rural watchmen and *gardes champêtres* were charged with powers of supervision (Feb. 25).

Pending the arrival, which was impatiently awaited, of the Catalan deputies at Madrid, the Government brought forward a certain number of Bills in the Chamber relating to the economic development of the kingdom—establishing new lines of railway; making concessions on the part of the Treasury to religious houses with regard to property left in mortmain; and obviating the loss to municipalities caused by the reduction of taxation on wines. This question caused the retirement of Señor Osma, who was succeeded by Señor Sanchez Bustillo. Eventually the Chamber began work on the Local Administration Bill, the leading measure of Señor Maura's term of office. The Bill gave representation in local elections to corporations, and, by Clause 36, established an educational franchise, and reduced the power of the individual vote. The whole Liberal party protested against the Bill, and resorted to obstruction. It comprised 410 clauses and five additional provisions. The Opposition put down 1,200 amendments, any one of which might take one or more sittings for its discussion; it seemed utterly impossible that first the Chamber and then the Senate could ever reach an agreement on so large a number of disputed points. It seemed also impracticable to reconcile the almost complete autonomy in matters of local taxation granted to the 8,000 communes of Spain with the old habits of tutelage which Ministers and Governors would not find it easy to abandon. While public men, with a brave front but failing hearts, discussed these constitutional problems, the young King, with that impetuosity combined with clear-sightedness which he has so often exhibited, decided to attempt to capture the Separatist capital by pacific means, by visiting Barcelona confidently and as a friend. The opportunity for this chivalrous proceeding was furnished by the arrival at that port of the Austrian fleet; the success of the visit (March 10-13) surpassed the highest

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expectations. Amid enthusiastic demonstrations and cheers for "El Rey valiente," the brave King, Alfonso XIII. repeatedly passed through the most crowded streets without an escort, but guarded by his entire people; and no unfortunate incident happened before his departure for Madrid. True, the bomb explosions began again next day, but it may be said that the spell was broken. Three offenders were eventually arrested; their trial revealed strange practices among the Barcelona secret police. The scandalous disclosures coincided with the period of greatest excitement in the discussion of Señor Maura's two Bills —that dealing with the repression of anarchy in the Senate, that on local administration in the Lower House. One of the accused committed suicide in prison; a second was convicted and executed; but the Government realised that the police system in Catalonia urgently needed reform. By decree, a superintendent-in-chief was established at Barcelona, to exercise supervision over the whole body of police in the province. This solution naturally displeased the Catalan Solidarists, but they were divided as to the reception to be given to the measure in the Cortes. A split took place also in the Republican party with regard to the obstructionist tactics employed against the Local Administration Bill. Señor Azcarate and Señor Melquiadez Alvarez showed themselves favourable to a compromise, while eight other deputies refused to hear of such a course. Among these were Señors Perez Galdos, Soriano, and Calzado, who were expelled from the party for insubordination.

After a short adjournment for Easter, the Cortes resumed at the end of April. Delicate negotiations began between the Prime Minister, assisted by Don Eduardo Dato, and the leaders of the Liberal and Republican sections of the Opposition. It was proposed to divide the Local Administration Bill. The Chamber would discuss the first part, which was then to be sent to the Senate, while the Chamber was dealing with Part II.; when the Chambers should have reached an agreement, the Bill would become law. The minority refused this arrangement; the obstruction began again, its tedium intensified by the hot weather. It was the Government that gave way first. The Senate had at last finished the detailed examination of the law dealing with the terrorists; but, on the question that the Bill should pass, the Opposition threatened to withdraw; and to secure a quorum the Ministry was obliged to require the attendance of all the Senators holding appointments in the public service. Thanks to this step, the law received eight more votes than were needed to pass it. But on May 9 the situation was clearly critical. The Bill had been introduced into the Chamber two days earlier; that body at once appointed a Committee which resolved on a thorough investigation. Abundant means of information was supplied to it. The Press Defence Committee organised a movement of protest against the Bill. The working-men's organisations sent assurances of their support

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to the adverse movement. The Opposition held a great meeting at the Princesa Theatre at Madrid; the Ministers themselves were divided, and rumours of a crisis were rife. In spite of Señor Maura's persistent support of the Bill, he could not allow the Minister of Finance to resign at the moment when this latter was at last about to announce his plans for a new internal loan intending to meet outstanding payments. He therefore laid before the King for signature a decree re-establishing the guarantees for constitutional liberty of the subject in Catalonia. King Alfonso then intervened, and advised the Prime Minister to resort to conciliation. The Committee of the Cortes decided to postpone its report *sine die*.

Relieved of this heavy burden, the Government proved its energy by requiring the Cortes to proceed immediately to the discussion of the Local Administration Bill. The Ministerialist deputies were formed into a series of groups which had orders to attend the House in rotation. This device, however, was copied by the Liberal leader. The Solidarists then proposed to repeal the law passed in 1905, relegating offences against the Army to trial by court-martial; the Ministry, however, succeeded in defeating the proposal. The Chambers also showed their submissiveness by authorising the Finance Minister to withdraw from circulation the douros Sevillanos (five-peseta pieçes coined at Seville) which formed an illegal silver currency, and by making progress with the Local Administration Bill up to clause 268, thus disposing of the part dealing with local administration and municipal finance. The session closed on July 24.

During the summer recess economic questions were prominent. The Bank of Spain refused to receive the "douros Sevillanos" at its counters, as it was not easy to distinguish the good coins among them from the bad; the Treasury undertook the task, and from August 10 to August 24 they were presented to the value of 25,000,000 pesetas (1,000,000*l*.). The whole stock was probably not exhausted, but the operation purified the currency, and was decidedly beneficial. Some days later, Don Sanchez Bustillo resigned the portfolio of Finance for reasons of health, which were unfortunately only too well founded, for he died four days after the appointment of his successor, Don Gonzalez Besada, hitherto Minister of Public Works, that post being taken by Don J. Sanchez Guerra, Governor of the Bank of Spain. The Franco-Spanish Exhibition at Saragossa, the Socialist and Carlist Congress, and the varying phases of Spanish intervention in Morocco occupied the attention of the public and the Press without undue excitement of feeling.

The Cortes resumed the session on October 12. Don Eduardo Dato was elected President without a dissentient voice. The Vice-Presidential functions were assigned to three Ministerialists, and to Don G. Azcarate, the leader of the Republican minority.

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This done, the first care of the Chamber was to pay a tribute to the memory of Señor Salmeron, who had died in the recess. The relaxation of political tension was manifested by various signs. The King, accompanied by the Prime Minister, made what was virtually a triumphal progress in the north-eastern districts. At Barcelona the Mayor addressed them in Catalan; the King, having answered in the same tongue, was installed as Canon of the Cathedral according to the ritual used at the receptions of the Emperor Charles V. and the King Charles III. He received an equally warm welcome at Saragossa. The Finance Minister induced the Cabinet to accept his plan for the purification of the currency and the reorganisation of the Bank of Spain. Señor Moret, on the other hand, conferred with Señor Canalejas on the reconstitution of the Liberal party, and gave up his intention of addressing an interpellation to the Government on its concessions to the Catalan solidarist party. After a few days' truce, however, the struggle began again. The Minister of Finance was first attacked. A disciple of his eminent predecessor, Señor Villaverde, he was holding in readiness a great number of Bills relating to the Bank of Spain, the readjustment of duties on alcohols distilled from wine or other matters, and the imposition of taxes on the religious orders. But he defended the Treasury with some spirit against the attacks of his colleagues, notably those of General Primo di Rivera, the War Minister. This latter claimed to proceed at once largely to increase the effective force, and consequently expenditure. The Chief of the General Staff, General V. Maritegui, intimated that matters might wait. He was removed from his post. Meanwhile the Budget debate was opened on November 14, a somewhat late date, by an important speech from Señor Moret, attacking the financial policy of the Conservative party. Three days later, at a great Liberal meeting at Saragossa, this indefatigable leader set forth the new Liberal programme, laying stress on its anti-Clerical character, and severely criticising the concessions made to the teaching Orders by Don F. Rodriguez San Pedro, the Minister of Public Instruction. Finally, the Minister of the Interior took immediate steps to secure the simultaneous examination by the two Chambers of the interminable Local Administration Bill. An unexpected incident disorganised the Opposition. On December 13 bye-elections for four seats took place at Barcelona. In 1907 the Solidarists had obtained 52,000 votes; this time the number of their supporters was reduced by more than one-half; the Conservative wing of the party only just succeeded in returning one of its candidates; the three other successful candidates were anti-Solidarist Republicans, among them Señor Lerroux, who was in exile. On the following Sunday two Republicans were also elected at Valencia. The Cortes had already adjourned after hurriedly passing the Budget, leaving, however, the completion of the Local Administration Bill till

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the following year. The Bill was a sort of Penelope's web; and its financial results were beginning to create general alarm, even among the most convinced supporters of the Ministry.

On the whole, however, the year had been good. The Budget showed a surplus of 46,500,000 pesetas (1,860,000*l.*) out of a revenue of 1,072,000,000 pesetas (42,880,000*l.*). Though the treaty of commerce between Germany and Portugal might seem threatening for the Spanish wine-growers, the export of wine to France and Great Britain continuously increased, and the progress of Republican ideas was far less considerable than that of the creed of the Liberal party—which, in accordance with Spanish traditions, was reconstructing itself while in Opposition—or than that of the personal popularity of King Alfonso XIII.

V. PORTUGAL.

Never since 1830, when the British and French squadrons under Admiral Sartorius and Admiral Ronsin intervened in Portugal to put down the rule of Don Miguel, had the machinery of government been so strained in that Kingdom as at the opening of the year 1908. The "Dictator," Senhor Franco, was triumphant. In spite of pessimistic predictions, the local administrative councils nominated by the Government entered on their functions on January 1 without resistance. The Ministerial Press pitilessly ridiculed the old Parliamentary parties, profoundly divided and unable to find an electoral platform. The "Dictator" issued decrees suppressing papers and imprisoning journalists; the King, it was said, signed them without reading them. Republicans and Progressists were mercilessly hunted down; the fortress of Caxias and the State prisons were full to overflowing. King Carlos, who remained in complete agreement with his Minister, totally failed to apprehend the seriousness of the situation. He planned a theatrical visit to Brazil, and at the end of January made a tour in the eastern districts of his kingdom which was made to look like a triumphal progress through the efforts of the Dictator's police. The regular Opposition was discouraged, although Senhor Julio de Vilhena made efforts to form a coalition between the Regenerador and Progressist parties. The leader of the Dissentient Progressists, Senhor Alpoim, was implicated by the police in a conspiracy, and was obliged to retire secretly into Spain. The Republican party published a manifesto denouncing the excesses of the Government; the papers that ventured to print it were suspended for a month, their editorial staffs imprisoned, and the semi-official Press, headed by the *Diario Illustrado*, triumphantly announced that the Prime Minister, more firmly supported than ever by the King's favour and confidence, had full proof in his hands of a plot against his life and had all its leading spirits under lock and key.

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But he was mistaken. A few fanatical and isolated Republicans, standing outside the party councils, had resolved to kill the King; and on February 1, on his return from visiting the Alemtejo, as the Royal party was driving in an open carriage from the arsenal to the palace, it was fired on by a group of men armed with rifles. The King and his eldest son, the Duke of Braganza (Crown Prince), were killed on the spot; the second son, Dom Manoel, was wounded in the arm, though the queen-mother heroically interposed her own person to save him. The escort and the police at once despatched the murderers, whose leader was a dismissed school-teacher named Buica.

The King's death ended Senhor Franco's dictatorship. The young King Manoel II., as soon as he had been proclaimed, called together at the palace, on the advice of his mother, a sort of extraordinary junta, composed of Ministers, the Council of State, and the leaders of the parties supporting the monarchy. After a very excited discussion the Prime Minister resigned, and left the country, taking refuge at Genoa. A "Ministry of Concentration" was decided on, which should endeavour to bring the country back to more regular and constitutional courses. Amid strong sympathy from all quarters, the young King began his reign under the impression that the proper course was to combine all the supporters of the Monarchy in its defence, by engaging the leaders of each party to suspend party feuds. The Ministry was formed at once. Admiral Ferreira d'Amaral was made Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior; Dom A. de Campos Henriques, Minister of Justice; Dom Wenceslao de Lima, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dom M. A. de Espregueira, Minister of Finance; Senhor Sebastiao Telles, Minister of War; Dom Augusto de Castilho, Minister of Marine and the Colonies; Dom T. Calvet de Magalhaes, Minister of Public Works.

The first act of the new Government was an exhibition of clemency. On February 7, the day before the funeral of Dom Carlos and the Crown Prince, all political prisoners under detention were released. The administrative Commissions appointed by the Dictator were dissolved, and the displaced municipal councils restored until the next election. In spite of panics, false rumours, and noisy demonstrations at the tombs of the regicides, the Council of State deliberated, and the Ministry, before the end of the month, decreed, measures intended to undo the harm done. It revoked the decrees respectively increasing the King's Civil List and reorganising the Upper House. After some time it was decided that a general election should take place on April 5; the new Cortes were to meet on April 29; another decree announced the arrangements for the election. Little by little the new order established itself, though not without occasional alarms. A plot against the young King's life was discovered in March; the secret societies had not disarmed, but temporarily public

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opinion was against them. The elections gave the Government a large majority, as usual; but the actual polls were much heavier than had been customary. A few disturbances at Alhandra and Lisbon were easily suppressed; and on April 29, amid archaic pomp, escorted by his relatives and the great dignitaries of the Royal Household, Dom Manoel II. formally opened the Cortes and himself read his Speech. He swore to respect the Constitution, and made a touching appeal to the loyalty of his subjects and for union between the people and their King. Unfortunately the composition of the Chamber of Deputies gave little promise of the realisation of this ideal. The two great parties were nearly equal, the Progressists numbering fifty-nine, the Regeneradores sixty-one; the balance would therefore be held by a group of seventeen members who declared themselves "Amaralists," *i.e.*, supporters first of all of the Ministry; but on the other hand there were seven Republicans, three Nationalists and one Independent, as well as seven Dissentient Progressists led by Senhor Alpoim. Should these groups unite on the opposite side to the Amaralists, they would just balance the support given by the latter to the Ministry. It might be predicted therefore, that Parliamentary life would be disturbed by the same sort of intrigues as in the previous reign. The formal ceremony of inauguration of the reign, at which the King took an oath of fidelity to the Constitution and was acclaimed Sovereign, took place at the Palacio des Cortes on May 6, amid great enthusiasm, and the publication of a general amnesty followed a few days later.

The sittings of the Cortes were excited, sometimes even disorderly, especially during the debates on the advances made in the late reign by the Treasury to the King's Civil List and even to the Queen-Dowager, Maria Pia. Herein lay the stumbling-block of the new reign; the young King avoided it by exhibiting his complete sincerity; he caused the *Diario de Noticias* to publish the list of sums advanced; and it was seen that since 1830 all the Monarchist parties by turn had committed the acts which they were now unanimous in condemning. Ultimately on July 16, the Chamber finally passed the Settlement Bill. The Civil List was cut down; but the castles hitherto maintained by the King were now taken by the Treasury under its charge. The Bill was sent to the House of Peers, where the same scenes took place as in the Chamber. At last, on August 22, it was passed by 60 votes to 3. The heat of summer exercised an unfortunate influence on the proceedings of the Cortes. In the Chamber, during the discussion of the Bill determining the limits of those wine-growing districts whose wine might be sold under the name of port, two deputies actually came to blows.

The session ended on September 12. The Budget regularly voted showed a deficit of 2,172,602 milreis (482,800*l.*). The Civil List accorded to the King amounted to 1,000 milreis daily; the total expenditure was 72,702,737 milreis (16,156,165*l.*).

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Some days later a decree appeared fixing the municipal elections for December 1. Scarcely were these over when the King made a tour in the northern districts, the chief places visited being Oporto, Braga, and Coimbra. In the last-named town the students were conspicuously enthusiastic. But though the King, with the good fortune of youth, performed satisfactorily the duties of his station, the Ministry was not equally fortunate. The precarious majority at the disposal of the Ministry had now dwindled away, and the leader of the Regeneradores, Senhor de Vilhena, having broken with it, the Amaral Ministry resigned on December 16. The Council of State gave as its opinion that a fresh attempt should be made to govern with a "Ministry of Concentration" combining the different parties; but the combination presented such difficulties that the task was not accomplished till December 24. The Premiership and the Ministry of the Interior were taken by Senhor Campos Henriques, previously Minister of Justice; his former post was taken by Senhor Joao de Alarcao. Don Antonio Cabral became Minister of the Navy, Don Luiz de Castro of Public Works. The other Ministers remained as before. But there was a feeling of unsettlement; the leader of the Regenerador party thought that his former lieutenant, now Prime Minister, had not shown him sufficient consideration, and resigned his seat on the Council of State. On the other hand, the supporters of the Government called attention to the fact that Portugal had obtained immense advantages by the commercial treaty with Germany, just signed by both Powers. The treaty provided that none but genuine Port and Madeira wines could be sold under those names respectively in the territory of the German Empire. This was in fact a success, at which the exporters of wine from Spain showed a somewhat untimely resentment; but the opponents of the Government tried to lessen its effect by asserting that a secret clause of the treaty had been signed by Count Tattenbach on the eve of his departure for Madrid, which had balanced this concession by a cession of territory in Africa to the German Empire. The new Ministry seemed in no hurry to meet the Cortes, and induced the Council of State to give formal permission to postpone the opening of the session from January 2 to February 28, to give it time to work out its programme. The practices characterising the old system of rotation in office seemed more alive than ever.

VI. DENMARK.

Although several important measures, which for many years had engaged the attention of the Legislature, were carried in 1908, the year will stand out in Danish history as one of great and serious trouble, politically and otherwise, owing to the gigantic frauds committed by M. Alberti, for seven years Home Secretary and a politician of great influence, and also on account of several bank disasters and of general depression.

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The report on the Budget was laid before the Folkething immediately on its re-assembling after the Christmas recess; there were no less than 242 amendments, many, however, unimportant. The Budget debate needs no special comment. More interest attached to other measures. On the reform of municipal suffrage a compromise was arrived at on January 10 between the Free Conservatives, the Left Reform party and the Moderate Left. The Radicals and Social Democrats, as well as the right wing of the Conservatives, denounced this result as a betrayal of manhood suffrage, the accepted principle of the Bill, although it had in the main been sustained; and the settlement was on the whole received with satisfaction. The Landsthing on February 26 passed the measure by 32 to 29.

The closing of the Grundejerbank and the difficulties of the Detaillehandler Bank in February made the Government take prompt and effective steps to prevent a panic. A Bill was speedily passed authorising the Exchequer, jointly with the five leading Copenhagen banks, to guarantee the depositors and creditors of the two banks, to an extent of 20,000,000 kroner (about 1,100,000*l.*) as a maximum. It was at the time thought that the guarantee would be "moral" only; but the affairs of the Detaillehandler Bank proved to be in such a state that the Exchequer will lose several million kroner.

The Customs Reform Bill had been under consideration by the Rigsdag for many sessions, and on May 8 the Report of the Joint Committee of both Chambers came up for a single reading in both Houses. The measure was a modified repetition of various earlier Customs Reform Bills. It was essentially a compromise between groups of divergent interests. It favoured industry in several cases by somewhat increased Protection, in others the existing conditions were maintained and in some industry would lose, though not seriously. In view of the Free Trade feeling of large portions of the Lower House, the Bill was naturally difficult to carry, and the principal credit for the result is due to the late Minister of Finance, M. Vilhelm Larsen, who died in the midst of the session, and whose office the Premier, M. Christensen, temporarily took over. The reductions were principally on articles of general consumption, such as petroleum, coal, copper, salt, rice, etc., and on those required for shipping, the fishing industry, agriculture and manufacture generally, the reduction in the Protection accorded amounting on the average to 15 to 20 per cent. The reductions amounted to about 12,000,000 kroner and the new duties imposed to about 5,000,000 kroner, besides increased duties on wine and spirits amounting to some 4,500,000 kroner. An increased legacy duty was imposed also.

Before the end of May a still more disputed Bill had been passed, *viz.*, that reforming the administration of justice. On May 22 its text as ultimately drafted came before both Houses, in the Folkething at a sitting fixed to begin several

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hours before the usual time. In that House the measure was passed by 57 against 42, the minority consisting of the Social Democrats, the Radicals, and the Conservatives; in the Upper House by 38 against 5 (the minority consisting of the Social Democrats and Dr. Brandes, Radical).

The Bill thus passed was promised in the Danish Constitution of June 5, 1849, which provided for a separation of the general administration of the country and the administration of justice, as also for the introduction of juries in criminal cases, and, as far as possible, for the conduct of trials publicly and by verbal evidence. The latter two conditions had to a considerable extent been complied with by successive Acts, but much remained to be reformed by a sweeping general Act. M. Alberti's Administration of Justice Bill (for through some irony of fate the measure was carried by and bore the name of the greatest criminal Denmark ever had) did not fully carry out the original promises of the Constitution; it was, like most measures of importance, a compromise, most vehemently denounced by the Radicals and Social Democrats, but upheld by the Government party and their sympathisers. It contained 1,015 clauses. The existing courts of justice were maintained; judges of the lower courts outside Copenhagen still held their previous administrative offices; in districts with more than 40,000 inhabitants a judge was provided, as well as a police official or sheriff, who would take over the administrative functions, and in districts with more than 70,000 inhabitants there were to be two judges. The courts were divided as before into three classes, but the working was altered, the upper court being the final court for minor cases, both civil and criminal, and courts of first instance in cases of a serious nature. Juries must (with some exceptions) be resorted to for all criminal cases before the upper courts when these are not sitting as courts of appeal. Persons eligible to the Lower House may be chosen jurors, and they are bound to serve; certain high officials, judges, the clergy, etc., are exempt. The number of jurors in each case has been fixed at twelve.

Bills were also passed improving the legal position of women and that of illegitimate children and their mothers. Not only has the position of women generally and that of married women particularly been improved, but in one point the mother has obtained the same right as the father; hitherto a son or daughter under twenty-five years old required the permission of the father before contracting marriage; according to the new Act that of the mother is also necessary.

The Agricultural Labourers' Accident Insurance Act was another important measure passed. Its principles are similar to those of the Accident Insurance Act of January 7, 1898. It includes all rural labourers whose yearly pay does not exceed 1,500 kroner (83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) and it affects about 500,000 persons. All employers in farming, gardening and forestry, owning property

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taxed at not less than 6,000 kroner, must insure their employees in an insurance company approved by the State. In case of accident the employee obtains a daily allowance; on partial or complete disablement or death through an accident a lump sum is paid. The law also gives labourers the option of voluntary insurance on easy and advantageous terms.

Bills were also passed reforming the diplomatic and consular service, more especially tending to make the latter more efficient; raising the pay of various civil servants, and providing for the construction of a number of railways. Of the 120 Bills introduced 91 became law. The Rigsdag was prorogued on May 23.

On July 24, M. Alberti, Home Secretary, and M. O. Hansen, Minister for Agriculture, resigned. The former, who for months had been subjected to the most violent attacks both in the House and in the non-Ministerial press, but who had been fully supported in Parliament by his colleagues in the Cabinet, was appointed Geheime Conferentsraad, the highest Danish title, and M. O. Hansen, his faithful follower, was made a Director of the National Bank. M. S. Högsbro, hitherto Minister of Traffic, was appointed Home Secretary; M. Jensen Söndrup, Traffic Minister; M. Neergaard accepted the post of Minister of Finance, and M. A. Nielsen was made Minister for Agriculture.

On September 8 an event occurred without parallel in the history of any constitutional country. M. Alberti, who six weeks previously, on the seventh anniversary of his appointment, had resigned the office of Home Secretary, gave himself up for fraud, forgery and embezzlement. He had committed these crimes as sole and virtually omnipotent Director of the Zealand Peasants' Savings Bank and the Danish Farmers' Export Association, both of which positions he had held throughout his term of office. His embezzlements amounted to some 20,000,000 kroner (£1,100,000) and had extended over a score of years, including his whole term of office as Minister of Justice. Yet his former colleagues did not forthwith retire; they were only impelled to do so by the resignation of Count Raben-Lewetzau, the Foreign Minister, on September 12. But the Government had to retain office for another month, the new Ministry not being formed until October 11. M. Neergaard became Premier and Minister of National Defence; the former Ministers for the Church, Traffic and Agriculture, and the Home Secretary, retained their respective offices; Count Ahlefeldt-Laurvigen was made Foreign Minister; M. Charles Brun, Minister of Finance; M. Klaus Berntsen, Minister of the Interior, and M. Johan Hansen the first Minister for Commerce and Shipping. The nature of the new Government further accentuated the amalgamation of the Left Reform and the Moderate Left parties effected some time previously.

In the meantime the Rigsdag had been convened a week

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before the usual time and met on September 28. M. Neergaard next day introduced his Budget for the next financial year, which showed an estimated revenue of approximately 94,054,000 kroner and an expenditure of 101,322,000 kroner, the deficit being therefore 7,268,000 kroner (403,700*l.*) against an estimated deficit of about 4,000,000 kroner (222,000*l.*) on the current Budget. The greatest rise in expenditure was shown by the Church Ministry on account of the higher salaries of school teachers under the new law. The principal items of revenue were 64,306,000 kroner indirect and 15,161,000 kroner direct taxation, whilst on the side of expenditure the War Ministry figured with 13,252,000 kroner and the Ministry of Marine with 8,290,000 kroner, about 11,000,000 kroner being applied to railway construction. In introducing his Budget M. Neergaard gave some interesting information about the rapid increase of Denmark's foreign debt. It amounted to between 600,000,000 kroner and 625,000,000 kroner (33,300,000*l.* and 34,719,000*l.*; it will be understood that this is not synonymous with the National Debt of the country), whilst in 1891 the balance was 8,000,000 kroner on the other side. The rapid rise, not the actual amount, the Minister thought somewhat alarming. The final balance sheet for the financial year 1907-8 showed a definite surplus of 4,500,000 kroner against an estimated deficit of 14,000,000 kroner. This favourable result was owing to a yield considerably in excess of the estimates from both direct and indirect taxation. The National Debt at the end of the financial year in question was 256,000,000 kroner, of which 168,000,000 kroner were foreign money.

The Folkething on October 1 commenced a protracted debate on the scandal. Each party introduced its own resolution, but upon these there is no occasion to enlarge. The debate naturally turned against those of M. Alberti's colleagues who had more especially supported him and repeatedly vouched for his integrity, *viz.*, the acting Premier, M. Christensen; the Minister for Agriculture, M. A. Nielsen, and the latter's predecessor, M. O. Hansen. The Reform Left, however, dealt very leniently with these gentlemen, insisting upon four of the old Ministers entering the new Government. M. Christensen was elected Vice-President of the Folkething and Reporter of the Budget Committee.

A number of measures were introduced by the Government, amongst them a new Small Holdings Bill further improving and extending its predecessors. The Premier, however, did not succeed in getting ready his National Defence Measure before the Christmas recess. The Defence Committee, after more than six years, had completed their report towards the end of July, each political party and the military experts formulating their respective proposals, with which there is no necessity to deal, pending the forthcoming proposals of the Government. M. Neergaard has pronounced in favour of main-

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taining Denmark's absolute neutrality and of her ability to defend it.

The numerical strength of the different parties underwent no material change during 1908.

Finally, mention must be made of the State visit of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra (April 21-26), which was the occasion of the exchange of cordial toasts between the monarchs and a demonstration of friendship between the two nations, which, as King Edward VII. remarked, was based on solidarity of interest as well as mutual sympathy. The visit coincided with the signature of the North Sea and the Baltic Conventions (April 23; p. 319), to which Denmark is a party. Mention must also be made of the proposal drawn up by the joint Danish and Icelandic Commission for a definite settlement of the relations between the two countries, a proposal, however, which has met with a somewhat hostile reception in Iceland.

VII. SWEDEN.

The Swedish Riksdag assembled on January 15. The Prime Minister stated in both Chambers that the King had re-appointed the Presidents and Vice-Presidents for the session. They afterwards delivered memorial speeches eulogising the late King.

The following day King Gustaf V. for the first time solemnly opened the Riksdag, himself reading the Speech from the Throne. Having paid an eloquent tribute to his father, the late King Oscar II., the King announced certain alterations in the Supreme Court. The question of female suffrage would be left in abeyance until the great suffrage reform, passed by the Riksdag in 1907, and now awaiting final sanction by its successor, should have become law. He announced several measures of varying importance and stated that a special Committee has been appointed to draw up a proposal as to national defence.

The Budget for the coming year showed an increase of some 15,000,000 kronor compared with its predecessor, the total revenue amounting to 216,707,000 kronor (11,483,700*l.*). An increase was proposed in the sugar tax and a reduction in the sugar duty. The more important items of revenue were: forests, 8,500,000 kronor; railways, 9,500,000 kronor; postal department, 21,000,000 kronor; State telegraphs, 11,500,000 kronor; customs, 58,000,000 kronor; tax on corn brandy, 24,000,000 kronor; sugar taxes, 17,400,000 kronor; income tax, 15,000,000 kronor; besides a surplus from 1906, 10,712,000 kronor. The expenditure under the ten different heads amounted to 197,917,000 kronor, and outside the ordinary "riksstat" it is proposed to expend 14,850,000 kronor on railway construction and on the State power-station at Trollhattan.

The election of the members of the various standing committees, an important part of the political machinery of Sweden, passed off harmoniously, the changes having been agreed upon beforehand, and in both Chambers there were joint lists.

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The session proved a satisfactory one for the able Prime Minister, M. Lindman. He succeeded in carrying several measures upon which he set special store, and, in spite of somewhat unstable support in the Second Chamber, he managed to survive all rumours of a change in the Government. The session lacked the intense interest of its predecessor, when the Suffrage Reform Bill was before the House, but much useful work was done, and the session was prolonged some weeks after the middle of May, the usual time of prorogation. The old rules of procedure, which were adequate at the time of their adoption, some forty years earlier, no longer answered the increased requirements of Parliamentary business.

The former Liberal Premier, not content to await the action of the Government (p. 362), took an early opportunity, January 26, of introducing a Bill granting female suffrage in Parliamentary elections and extending it in municipal elections. The Riksdag, however, was content to wait till the Government moved, and on May 2 both Chambers negatived all proposals regarding female suffrage introduced during the session. Early in the session also M. Branting and the other Social Democrats reintroduced their oft-repeated proposal for a revision of the constitution; another Bill empowered municipalities to prohibit the sale of spirits.

Considerable interest attached to the Government's proposal to alter the taxation of the beet sugar manufacture, an exceedingly remunerative industry in Sweden, and to couple with this a reduction in the duty on imported sugar. It was proposed to raise the excise tax by 3 öre per kilogramme, a change estimated to produce a revenue of more than 3,000,000 kronor per annum; it was proposed to reduce the duty from 11¾ to 10 öre for raw sugar and from 17 to 14 öre for refined sugar. The increased tax was, naturally, opposed by the beet sugar industry, but the Minister of Finance pointed out that this industry was exceedingly remunerative and that the shares of the large sugar factory combine (with a capital of 135,000,000 kronor) had risen even after the question of increased taxation had been raised. The Financial Committee slightly modified the Government proposal, reducing the new tax to 2 öre per kilogramme for the year 1909-11 and to 2½ öre (about $\frac{3}{10}d.$) for the year 1912, and the reduction of the duty on refined sugar was put at 2 instead of 3 öre. On March 28, the First Chamber accepted the measure in the form given it by the Budget Committee.

There was some discontent, more especially amongst the Liberals, about the slow progress of legislation during the early part of the session; proposals were referred to Committees, but there was undue delay in their presentation to the House.

The Åland Islands and Baltic questions (p. 320) gave rise to an interesting debate in the Second Chamber. M. Staaff, the Liberal ex-Premier, asked the Government whether they were of opinion that Sweden's policy in the future would be absolutely and irre-

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vocably based upon the maintenance of her neutrality, and whether she should consequently avoid any arrangement with other Powers which could, even indirectly, tend to jeopardise it. M. Trölle, the Foreign Minister, replied that Sweden's policy could only aim at the maintenance of her neutrality, but an absolute guarantee for such maintenance was under no circumstances obtainable. A guaranteed neutrality would not secure the end in view; it would, besides, mean a kind of dependency upon the guaranteeing Powers. Sweden was not likely to adopt this dangerous course, which would tend to interfere with her development as a free country. He must consider himself debarred from saying anything about the Åland Islands question on account of the pending international negotiations. M. Staaff thanked the Minister for the information conveyed in his reply, which he felt sure would satisfy the House; Vice-President Pedersson also thanked the Minister, and the remarks of both speakers were loudly cheered. M. Lindeberg, also an ex-Premier, in the Upper House on February 25 expressed the satisfaction M. Trölle's statement had given to the First Chamber; the Minister responded and was warmly cheered.

This question was set at rest by the North Sea and Baltic Agreements, signed on April 23. Shortly afterwards (April 26-28) King Edward VII., accompanied by Queen Alexandra, paid a brief visit to King Gustaf V., the first ever paid to Sweden by a British Sovereign, "in order to manifest his warm friendship for the King, and his sincere regard for the Swedish people." In proposing his health, King Gustaf V. referred to the kinship of the British and Swedish people in language and race, and to their common sympathy based on Parliamentary institutions; and the visit seemed likely to strengthen their bonds and to make for European peace.

On February 27 the Riksdag voted 11,850,000 kronor towards further railway construction, and also in due course passed a vote of 6,500,000 kronor for additional purchases of waterfalls, specially intended for the electrification of the State railways. The Rigsdag also voted the State telegraphs a loan of 5,000,000 kronor for the extension of the State telephones. Later in the session the Riksdag accepted the proposal of the Government relative to the State purchase of the Svappavaara iron ore deposits in Lapland for 8,500,000 kronor. In the First Chamber the voting was 78 to 25, and in the Second Chamber 133 to 63. Thus the Premier's favourite plan of bringing all the large iron ore deposits of Lapland under the control of the State was achieved.

The settlement of the maritime boundary of Sweden and Norway was, on May 29, referred to arbitration, the proposal taking the form of a Convention with Norway. The measure met with a somewhat obstinate opposition in the Upper House, which, however, finally acquiesced on the Government making it a Cabinet question. The Queen of Holland was to name the President of the Arbitration Court.

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Earlier in the session the Riksdag had passed the Government proposal relating to optional civil marriage, whilst a proposal by the Constitutional Committee about certain alterations in the voting of the Chambers was lost, the Upper House rejecting it; the Lower House, however, passed it by 114 votes to 79. A similar fate befel a proposal introduced by the Good Templars and the Liberal party collectively for the introduction of municipal veto on the sale of spirits, based upon a national vote; nor did the Social Democrats succeed with their proposal for an Eight Hours Bill in industrial concerns and for State and municipal employees.

M. Staaff's proposal for a referendum when the two Chambers disagree in questions concerning the Constitution and general laws was rejected by the Upper House without a division and by the Lower House by 115 to 78. Dr. Hildebrand's proposal to the effect that communications in the press encouraging boycotting, interference with men willing to work during a strike, etc., should be punishable, was recommended by the Committee and passed, without a division, by the Upper House; but after a protracted debate, the Lower House rejected it by 107 votes (Liberals and Social Democrats) against 103 (the Right and the Moderates).

The session closed on June 4. A few days earlier the Financial Committee had handed in their Report on the Budget for 1909. It has often been remarked that the Swedish Riksdag does not discuss the Budget in the accepted manner, and the Budget itself is somewhat difficult to gauge accurately, being divided into two portions, the regular Budget, the Riksstat, and the accounts of the National Debt Office. The Budget as framed by the Committee balanced at 216,932,000 kronor (12,051,700*l.*). The aggregate expenditure on railway construction, and on the new steam ferry connection between Germany and Sweden (by Trelleborg and Sassnitz) amounted to about 56,000,000 kronor.

About the middle of June, Sweden concluded a State loan in London for 3,000,000*l.*, the interest to be 4 per cent. up to 1919 and afterwards 3½ per cent. The exchange was 98.

Even before the prorogation the parties had issued their manifestoes for the general election. M. Staaff, at a meeting held in Västeras early in May, set forth the Liberal programme, which was comprehensive. Small holdings were to be encouraged and aided in the country and trade and commerce advanced in the towns; economy to prevail in the Budget, more especially as regards the heavy military expenditure; the Second Chamber should assert its predominance in the Legislature, a referendum should be taken in cases of disagreement between the two Houses, and suffrage should be given to women. The Conservative parties had issued separate programmes, although those of the Landtmanna party and of the collective National party in particular closely resembled each other, and they too recommended the small holdings and "own homes" movement,

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as well as old age pensions and accident insurance for workmen. The same remark applies to the temperance movement and other work for raising the nation physically and mentally, whilst in other respects the old Conservative principles were maintained. The Social Democratic Congress passed a strong anti-military programme, urging permanent Scandinavian neutrality and an active international co-operation amongst the Labour organisations against war, and finally stating that the Swedish Social Democratic party, in unison with the international Social Democracy, was a Republican party.

The result of the general election was distinctly in favour of the Liberals and Social Democrats, who won a number of seats both from Moderates and Conservatives. In Stockholm the Liberals and Social Democrats, who co-operated in some cases, boasted a large majority in all five divisions. The five members of the first division and the four members of the fifth division were all Social Democrats.

VIII. NORWAY.

A few days before the Storthing met the satisfactory state of the final Budget for the financial year 1906-7, showing a surplus of some 3,000,000 kroner, was made known, and at the same time it was announced that the Budget of 1907-8 would likewise give a revenue in excess of the estimate. This satisfactory turn will help to recoup the exchequer for the difficult period of a few years earlier.

The Storthing was opened in the presence of King Haakon on January 15. The Speech from the Throne first dealt with the treaty guaranteeing the integrity of Norway, which would be published when passed by the Storthing and ratified. The year had been less favourable for some industries, but others had done comparatively well. The revenue had on the whole exceeded the estimates, and the deficit from preceding years would probably be covered. The new Budget, through stringent economy, showed a surplus, which would enable the Government to reduce the sugar duty from the beginning of 1909. Special reference was made to new Bills for railway construction extending over twelve years, specially intended to bring about a trunk line connection between Southern and Northern Norway. Another important measure proposed was the Bill regulating the grant of concessions for the acquisition and working of forests, waterfalls and ore deposits, and empowering the authorities under certain circumstances to purchase forests compulsorily.

The Budget for the next financial term covered five quarters on account of the abolition of the autumn session. The credit side amounted to 125,500,000 kroner (about 6,994,000*l.*); the customs revenue was estimated at 50,300,000 kroner and the railway receipts at 22,250,000 kroner. The debit side showed

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an aggregate of 125,250,000 kroner. A reduction was proposed in the sugar duty of 5 öre per kilogramme from January 1, 1909. M. Berner was elected President and M. Gunnar Knudsen Vice-President of the Storthing, receiving 81 and 83 votes respectively.

The Integrity Treaty was promptly laid before the Storthing at a secret sitting. It was interesting to note how the violent attacks made on it by the Opposition in the autumn of 1907 had almost entirely subsided. The Storthing on January 18 unanimously accepted it, the publication, however, not taking place until February 11. The treaty recites that the German Emperor, the President of France, the Kings of Great Britain and of Norway, and the Tsar, are desirous of securing for Norway neutrality, independence and territorial integrity, and the advantages of peace. The treaty itself comprises four clauses: Norway engages in the first not to cede to any Power any part of Norwegian territory for occupation or any purpose whatever. In the second clause the German, French, British and Russian Governments acknowledge and undertake to respect the integrity of Norway. Should it be threatened or violated by any Power, the above four Governments, having received due communications from the Norwegian Government, undertake to give it their support for the protection of the integrity of Norway by whatever means may be considered most suitable. The third clause provides that the treaty shall remain in force for ten years, and shall be prolonged automatically for ten years more unless denounced by any of the signatory Powers at least two years before its expiration. Should any of the signatory Powers give notice of withdrawal, such notice only affects the Power in question. The fourth clause provides for the ratification of the treaty. At the same time a declaration was published to the effect that the treaty of November, 1855, had ceased to exist as far as England, France and Norway were concerned.

The treaty was unfavourably criticised in Sweden, where the non-inclusion of that Power among the signatories was resented and the treaty itself was considered somewhat meagre. In any case it did not tend to bring about a more conciliatory mood in Sweden towards Norway, but the reverse.

The discord within the Left soon made itself felt, and on January 24 the Union of the Left in the Storthing held a meeting at which a proposal signed by forty-two members of the Left to the effect that the Union should be disbanded was passed by a large majority, several members leaving before the vote was taken. The majority then formed a new Left Union, under the same name, which was to work for the advancement of the measures embodied in the programme issued by the Left in 1906. The new Union can only support a Government which accepts that programme. M. Gunnar Knudsen was elected its President and M. Konow Vice-President. It was at once evident that the Union aimed at the overthrow of the present Ministry and the formation of a new Government under M. Gunnar Knudsen, for

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which purpose it reckoned on the support of the Castberg Democrats but not on that of the Socialists. At the general meeting of the Left held on January 27 those members of the Storthing (about twenty) who did not belong to the new Union were excluded. These latter decided not to form any political union for the present. The Conservatives at the same time held a meeting, at which Professor Stang was elected President of their Union.

The Government, in a Council of State held on February 15, obtained the King's sanction to lay before the Storthing an important proposal dealing with the acquisition of waterfalls, mines, forests or other real estate in Norway. Permission to acquire forests can be accorded only to Norwegian citizens and wholly Norwegian corporations and institutions, and to foreign companies possessing an entirely Norwegian directorate, which are domiciled in Norway and have at least two-thirds of their capital Norwegian. Permission to acquire waterfalls may also be accorded to foreigners and to companies whose Boards are domiciled in Norway and contain a majority of Norwegian citizens. Permission to acquire mines and to purchase electric energy can also be given to other limited companies, but as a rule their directorate must consist of persons domiciled in Norway and partly of Norwegian citizens. Permission to acquire other real estate can be given to anybody.

During the debate on the Speech from the Throne, M. Lövland, the Premier, made a statement, on February 21, about the Government's policy, more especially in connection with the questions affected by the proposal just referred to, and also as regards the Government's position relatively to the various political parties. It had in its policy followed the lines of the Left, and was willing to co-operate with the different parties, but the Conservatives seemed to oppose the Government policy on principle. Should a majority in the House insist upon another basis for the policy of the Ministry, it was the right and the duty of this majority to take over the Government and the responsibility. The matter stood over for a week or two, and in the meantime the Storthing, on February 28, unanimously passed an alteration in clause 80 of the Constitution abolishing the necessity for Royal sanction of an extension of the session beyond two months. The following day, with only two dissentients, it accepted the proposal of the Constitutional Committee relative to the removal of the clause in the Constitution referring to the coronation of the King. It also decided by 111 votes to 1, that the militia (the Landevärn) may be used outside the country with the permission of the Storthing.

During the resumed debate on the Speech from the Throne, M. Gunnar Knudsen (March 10) proposed an order of the day, insisting that the Government should be in full accord with the Left. The Premier, M. Lövland, replied that his Government was politically a continuation of the Michelsen Govern-

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ment. It was willing to accept co-operation from other parties, even the Conservatives. The history of 1905 was the best historical and practical proof of the use of such co-operation. He wished for an open, frank and vigorous co-operation with the Conservatives. M. Knudsen's proposal, he said, was a distinct vote of no confidence in the Government. Professor Stang, the Conservative leader, expressed his satisfaction at the manly and courageous statement of the Premier. The debate was ended on March 13; M. Gunnar Knudsen's proposal was lost by 70 votes to 53, and that of the Socialists by 113 votes to 10. There being an aggregate majority against the Government, M. Lövland the following day handed in the Ministry's resignation.

M. Gunnar Knudsen had some trouble in forming a new Ministry, and it was not until March 18th that he could submit his list to the King, who accepted it. The new Government comprised M. Gunnar Knudsen, Consul-General Christophersen, M. Carl Seip, M. Heftye, M. Ihlen, M. Castberg, M. Abrahamsen and M. Foosnös. The new Ministry was more Radical even than several of M. Knudsen's followers had expected or desired, and comprised pronounced supporters of the "Maal" and of teetotalism as well as opponents of the Monarchy. The leading Conservative paper denounced the new Government as the gamblers from 1905, M. Michelsen's daily opponents. Two of the retiring Ministers resumed their former offices, the rest were appointed to fresh posts.

The new Government decided that they would not ask for a vote of confidence from the Storthing, but M. Knudsen, the Premier, on March 25, stated that the Government would advance the measures contained in the programme of the Left. The feeling of the Storthing towards the new Government was demonstrated a few days later, when the leader of the Independent Left was elected President in lieu of the new Premier, and M. Berge, one of the retiring Ministers, was elected Vice-President with 60 votes, the Ministerial candidate only receiving 46.

The Constitutional Committee on April 1 proposed the adoption of an alteration in the Constitution, providing that the King confer orders, though not on Norwegian citizens; whether Norwegian citizens may accept foreign orders was to be decided by a special law. The Storthing, however, on July 20, negatived the proposals in question.

The new Government was from the outset in an awkward and undignified position. On April 6, M. Liljedahl, on behalf of the Independent Left, read a statement denouncing the overthrow of the late Government by a coalition of two heterogeneous parties, which neither could nor would co-operate and neither of which could singly form a majority. Another member of the party proposed at a subsequent sitting that the Storthing should pronounce in favour of the Government remaining for the present, which, however, was not to be accepted

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as a vote of confidence; this the Government accepted, causing much division.

On April 10 M. Heftye resigned the Ministry of National Defence and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowzon was appointed his successor.

The Military Committee of the Storthing the same day handed in its Army reform scheme, recommending twelve-year classes in the Line and eight-year classes in the Militia. This somewhat increased the burden of the conscription. A third formation, the Landstorm, was to comprise all men capable of carrying arms between eighteen and fifty years who had not served in the Line.

On April 11 the Storthing unanimously accepted the agreement with Sweden about referring the settlement of part of the marine boundary to arbitration (p. 365).

On May 5 a Royal decree was issued placing the "Maal" (the more rural or specially Norwegian form of the language) on the same footing as the official or what may be called the universal and academic Norwegian language in written examinations at the university.

The Government on the same date withdrew its predecessor's proposal relative to the acquisition of waterfalls (p. 366), to some portions of which it took objection. Later in the month the Budget Committee proposed that a measure relating to the taxation of foreign mining companies should be forwarded to the Government, and that the question should be fully investigated in the succeeding session.

The State visit of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra (April 29-May 2) tended to strengthen the bonds of friendship between Great Britain and Norway. The capital was brilliantly decorated, and the popular welcome enthusiastic. Norway, like her neighbours, profited by the signature of the Baltic and North Sea Agreements (p. 319), and the visit was a fresh pledge of the continuance of European peace.

On June 11 Professor Stang put a question to M. Castberg, the Home Secretary, with reference to his ruling that the Sheriff should not take steps against a Labourers' Union carrying a banner with the inscription "Down with the Throne, the Altar and the Plutocracy," although he had been asked to do so by other labourers. Professor Stang missed his point by omitting to propose a resolution, and nothing came of his action.

A few days later, June 16, a question was put to the Government by a Socialist member with reference to a book by Colonel Stang about the fortification of the Glommen line, to which the Minister of Defence, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowzon, had written a preface. The latter manfully stood by what he had written, but the Premier did not show off to advantage; the Government subsequently decided to side with M. Lowzon.

On June 30 the Premier was questioned about a speech he had made at a dinner given by Admiral Lord Charles Beresford

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on board H.M.S. *King Edward VII.*, in which he had stated that Norway in case of complications would depend upon the English nation. M. Knudsen's reply was somewhat weak and evasive, but it was accepted in order to avoid an undesirable discussion; the questioner, however, expressed the hope that in the future no Norwegian statesman would speak upon foreign politics without having duly considered his words.

The Radicalism of the Government was also manifested by the proposal of the Constitutional Committee to do away with the clause added to the Constitution in 1905 to the effect that if the Royal family becomes extinct the Storthing shall elect a new Royal family.

On June 27 the Storthing passed a law imposing a due of 25 öre (3⅓*d.*) per ton register for vessels leaving a Norwegian port with ore. On July 9 it passed the much-discussed Dovre Railway Bill by 64 votes to 58.

Towards the end of the session the Army scheme came up for discussion (Aug. 6), the Premier insisting upon the matter standing over to the next Storthing, and making the postponement a Cabinet question, whilst the Military Committee insisted upon a decision as to the actual basis. A compromise was eventually arrived at, based upon concessions from both sides; this was generally considered a fresh humiliation for the Government.

In November the Conservative party leaders held a meeting and defined the party programme. The party sought support from all friends of a Liberal policy; it would maintain a Government vested in the nation and was prepared to defend property, private initiative and personal liberty. For the attainment of these ends attention is drawn to the maintenance of a Parliamentary system with fixed remuneration to the members of the Storthing. The question of a referendum should be taken into consideration, as also the question of old age and disablement pensions for the whole nation.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA (SOUTHERN).

I. PERSIA AND ARABIA.

BAD as the condition of Persia was in 1907, it became worse in 1908. The reconciliation between the Shah and the Mejliss, so ostentatiously announced towards the end of December, 1907, was but a hollow truce, and plots and counterplots continued throughout the first half of 1908 without either side attempting any decisive action. In February, whilst the Shah was driving in Teheran, two bombs were thrown under his motor-car, killing two persons and wounding five, but the Shah was unhurt, and the Mejliss duly waited on him with their congratulations. The Cabinet resigned on April 5, but at the request of

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the Mejliss Nizam-es-Sultanah was re-appointed; he resigned again on May 16, and finally a new Cabinet was appointed under Mushir-es-Sultanah. Early in June matters came to a crisis. The Mejliss, declaring that reactionary courtiers were advising the Shah to overthrow the Constitution, demanded their dismissal. The Shah yielded, but temporarily left the capital, which became a scene of riot and anarchy. The House of Assembly was bombarded by the Shah's troops and almost destroyed. The Mejliss appointed Commissioners to negotiate, and the Shah replied with a manifesto dissolving the Mejliss and appointed officials to restore order, or in other words to establish martial law in Teheran, without consulting his Cabinet. He, however, repeatedly declared his intention of maintaining the Constitution, and ordering the election of a new Mejliss as soon as possible. This intention had not been carried out before the end of the year. The Shah, whilst repeatedly declaring his fidelity to the Constitution, proposed to establish a Council of forty persons selected by himself instead of an elected Mejliss. It was stated in the Press that this proposal was regarded as unsatisfactory, not only by the Nationalists but also by the representatives of England and Russia, who were putting pressure on the Shah to induce him to order the election of a Mejliss (p. 324) as the only means of restoring peace and order. The Shah's position is undoubtedly a difficult one; he may be weak and vacillating, and reluctant to part with any part of his personal power, but he probably sees clearly that to hand over his power to a Mejliss would not be for the ultimate good of his country. The first Mejliss, whose opening was hailed with so much enthusiasm, had ended in complete failure some time before it was dissolved by the Shah. It effected, or attempted, no real reforms; its members became the mere tools of the Anjumans, or political clubs, whose sole object was their own aggrandisement. A Constitutional or representative form of government cannot be satisfactorily worked unless there is a sound electoral body and able and honest men ready to come forward for election.

In the provinces the state of things was even worse than in the capital. There was a collision with Russian troops in April on the frontier of Transcaucasia (p. 323); and on April 23 news reached Teheran that the Kurds round Urumiah had pillaged thirty-six villages, killing some 2,000 of their inhabitants and had cut off communications with Tabriz, where a civil war broke out between the two factions calling themselves Nationalists and Royalists. In September the city was in the hands of the Nationalists, and it was still so at the close of the year. From time to time there were reports of engagements and victories on either side, but they were contradicted almost as soon as they appeared. The latest news was that the Shah's commander-in-chief had at length collected a considerable force, and was on the point of attacking the city.

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On September 1 the railway from Damascus to Medina, some 750 miles, which had been constructed as a religious work by Turkish soldiers and paid for by subscriptions from Mohammedans in all parts of the Turkish Empire, was opened with great ceremony. The northern branch of the line, which has been made as far as Aleppo, will be continued to Tel Habesh, where it will link up with the Anatolian and Baghdad Railway. It will also be pushed on to Mecca, a distance of 150 miles, and eventually a branch line will be constructed thence to the port of Jeddah. The line may possibly be extended also to the south to Yemen, which would greatly strengthen the power of the Sultan in Arabia.

II. BALUCHISTAN.

The trade returns for the Nushki-Seistan route, which had shown a decline during the year ending with March, 1907, improved greatly during the ensuing year, the total being 23¼ lakhs, or an increase of 86 per cent.

Sanction was received for the construction of a solid granite dam across the Hanna Valley, six miles north-east of Quetta and at 1,000 feet elevation, so as to form a lake for irrigation purposes. The work is expected to take three years to complete, at an annual expenditure of from five to eight lakhs of rupees.

To check the illicit transport of arms into Afghanistan the British garrison at Robat was considerably strengthened, but the troops were not to act outside British territory. The Persian posts on their own frontier were also strengthened, but their efforts to check the traffic were quite ineffectual. A caravan of 200 loaded camels and 100 Afghans came into conflict with them towards the end of May, but escaped over a difficult pass under cover of the darkness. Later, another caravan of 2,700 camels and 750 men captured two officers of the Persian Infantry who tried to stop them, and passed into Afghanistan without further molestation.

In the Khelat State serious trouble was threatened by the refusal of the Mengals, a tribe some 50,000 strong, to accept the chief appointed by the Khan. A force of 300 infantry, 2 guns and a squadron of cavalry was sent from Quetta on August 3, and was further strengthened on September 3. On October 1, the tribesmen submitted without fighting and swore allegiance to the new Sirdar, Hadji Ibrahim Khan.

III. AFGHANISTAN.

No event of importance occurred in Afghanistan during 1908, nor was the Amir's reply to the communication informing him of the Convention between England and Russia so far as it related to Afghanistan made known. His attitude during the Zakka Khel and Mohmand expeditions was much criticised at

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the time in India, and he was blamed for not taking more effectual measures to restrain his subjects from assisting the enemy. But in such matters even an Amir's power is limited, and there is no reason to doubt that he was friendly to us throughout and did all that he could.

IV. THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

The most important events during 1908 were the expeditions against the Zakka Khels and Mohmands, which were admirably planned and carried out by General Sir James Willcocks and the force under him, and were crowned with complete success. The raids by the Zakka Khels, which had given much trouble in the latter part of 1907, were repeated in January, 1908. On February 3, General Willcocks was informed by telegraph that a punitive expedition had been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India, and the mobilisation and preparations for it were made with such secrecy and celerity that when the force left Peshawur on February 14 and entered the Bazar Valley by three separate routes the Zakka Khels were completely taken by surprise and could offer but little organised resistance. By February 17, the three columns had united at Walai, which was made the headquarters of the force, and from there flying columns were despatched in all directions to destroy towers and disperse any force which the enemy might collect. On February 27, a Tribal Jirgah of all the Afridi clans, including 300 Zakka Khels, came into China with flags of truce, and in a public Jirgah held next day they promised to punish individual leaders and to be responsible for the good behaviour of the Zakka Khels generally. As a guarantee of their good faith they deposited fifty-three rifles of English manufacture. As these terms more than complied with the demands of the Government of India they were accepted. As soon as the agreement was signed orders were issued for the withdrawal of the troops. The evacuation of the valley commenced next morning and by March 2 the troops had returned to Peshawur.

Whilst the expedition against the Zakka Khels was in progress the Mullahs were exciting the Mohmands to come to their assistance. A considerable number of them collected for this purpose; but, before they could do anything, the Zakka Khels had submitted. The Mullahs, however, continued their agitation, and towards the end of April a body of some 7,000 Mohmands assembled on the British border, and even crossed it. They were repulsed without difficulty, but an expedition to punish the tribe generally became clearly necessary. On May 12, a force of three brigades under General Sir James Willcocks assembled at Shabkadar and passing through the western valley occupied by the Gandao Halimzais, who were friendly, entered the country of the hostile Mohmands by the Nahakki or eastern pass. The whole of the Mohmand territory was overrun, and

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forts and towers were destroyed. On May 22, whilst a portion of the force was preparing to attack the strong position of Lakarai Kotal, ten miles north of the Nahakki Pass, the tribesmen submitted and accepted General Willcocks' terms. The British force returned by the eastern valley and the Swat River, shelling on the way a gathering of Utman Khels who still maintained a threatening attitude. Peshawur was reached on May 31, and the expeditionary force was at once demobilised. Although there had not been much serious fighting, the difficulties the troops had to contend with can only be realised by those who know what the country is like at the end of May.

In August there was a somewhat serious raid on the Peshawur border by some of the Mohmands, believed to be Utman Khels. A Jirgah of the tribe generally at once proceeded to Peshawur to express their regret to the Chief Commissioner and to repeat their assurances that they would do their utmost to stop raids and punish the offenders. The difficulty of doing this arises from the fact that the friendly Mohmands who occupy the territory lying along the border are the weakest and least warlike sections of the tribe.

Early in January a most daring raid was made by a party of Mahsud Waziris on the village of Dial, which is only six miles from the cantonment of Derah Ismail Khan, where there is a force of some 3,000 men. The raiders had to cross some fifty miles of British territory; and so rapid and secret were their movements that they were able to do this without being intercepted. There was no reason to suppose that the general body of the Mahsuds were implicated in the raid. In June three raiders were killed in an attack on a post in South Waziristan, one of whom was identified as Mianji Abdurrahman, a notorious raider who had been expelled from his tribe.

V. BRITISH INDIA.

(1) FINANCE.

Owing to changes in the mode of keeping the accounts, which were explained in detail by the Financial Member of Council, and to the omission from them of the income and expenditure of local and district boards, the figures in the statements presented to the Council in March, 1907, underwent a considerable change, and the figures for the three years dealt with in the statements presented in March, 1908, were as follows:—

	1906-7 (Accounts).	1907-8 (Revised Estimate).	1908-9 (Budget Estimate).
Revenue	£73,144,554	£70,989,200	£73,438,900
Expenditure (charged against Revenue) . . .	71,555,179	70,753,800	72,867,400
Surplus.	£1,589,375	£235,400	£571,500

Accounts for 1906-7.—The actual Surplus was 164,536*l.* in excess of the Revised Estimate. The Revenue was 49,088*l.* less

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than had been anticipated, owing to a falling off in the receipts from Land Revenue, Excise, Forests and Postal Services, but there was a considerable increase under the heads of Opium, Salt, Customs, and Army. The increase under Salt was due to large clearances in the last twelve days of March, owing to the further reduction in the duty, which took effect from March 20.

Revised Estimate for 1907-8.—By the Revised Estimate the Surplus of 774,600*l.* anticipated in the Budget was reduced by the famine to 235,400*l.* The Revenue decreased by 1,510,800*l.*, the Expenditure by 971,600*l.*, of which only 462,500*l.* was a real decrease, the rest being due to the change in the method of keeping the accounts. In the Revenue Receipts there were increases under Opium, Salt, Stamps, Customs, Assessed Taxes, and Mint, and decreases under Land Revenue, Forests, Miscellaneous and the net earnings of Railways. The estimated price per chest of Bengal Opium was Rs. 1,250; that actually obtained was Rs. 1,350, and this increased the Revenue by 45 lakhs. There was also a revival in the Malwa opium trade, which gave a further increase of 10¼ lakhs. The increase under Salt was only 46,900*l.*; it would have been greater but for the clearances mentioned above. The reduction of the duty has caused a marked increase in consumption, for whilst between 1897-8 and 1902-3, when the duty was Rs. 2½ per maund, the increase was only 24 lakhs, between 1903-4 and 1907-8, during which period it had been gradually reduced to R. 1 per maund, the increase was 74 lakhs. But the reduction has been costly; in 1902-3 the Salt Duty produced 6,184,400*l.* and in 1907-8 it only produced 3,336,900*l.* The Customs Revenue was 55⅓ lakhs in excess of the Budget Estimate and nearly 92 lakhs in excess of the actual receipts of 1906-7. The imports of cotton piece goods were unprecedentedly large and produced 15½ lakhs more than the Estimate, whilst the excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India amounted to 32⅛ lakhs, the highest figure on record. The great decrease of 1,750,000*l.* in the Land Revenue was of course due to remissions and suspensions on account of the famine. Down to October, 1907, the Railways did extremely well, and the net receipts were more than 94 lakhs in excess of the Estimate. But from November the scarcity and high prices in Northern India produced an almost complete stoppage of the export of wheat, and although it was still hoped that the gross earnings would exceed the Estimate, the working expenses had been unusually heavy and the net earnings were expected to fall short of the Estimate by 54,400*l.*

Of the expenditure, the increase under interest, so far as it was real, was due to the fact that the sterling loans raised during the year aggregated 8,500,000*l.* as compared with the forecast of only 3,500,000*l.*, while the rate of interest was 3½ per cent. instead of 3 per cent. For the direct relief of famine only a little more than 9 lakhs was provided in the Budget, but in the Revised Estimate this sum had to be increased to 77½ lakhs.

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Of the large saving of 758,600*l.* under Army, 256,000*l.* was chiefly due to a decrease in the sum payable to the War Office in England. The rest arose from the postponement of various schemes connected with the reorganisation of the Army, including the re-armament of the Horse and Field Artillery, some because they were not ripe for execution and some merely to effect a saving. It was estimated that the cost of the Bazar Valley expedition would be 50,000*l.* falling within the year 1907-8, and 6,700*l.* in the following year.

Budget Estimates, 1908-9.—The total revenue was estimated at 73,438,900*l.*, yielding a surplus of 571,500*l.* The whole of the Estimates were framed on the expectation that the monsoon would be normal. It was thus assumed that the Land Revenue would be 1,435,200*l.* in excess of the Revised Estimate for 1907-8 and a little more than the amount actually collected in 1906-7. It was similarly assumed that the net earnings of the railways would no longer be affected by the famine, and that they would amount to 800,100*l.* more than the Revised Estimate of 1907-8, the figure taken, 13,729,500*l.*, being only slightly in excess of the Budget Estimate for that year. The net revenue from opium was estimated at 503,29 lakhs as compared with 534 lakhs in 1907-8, the average price per chest being taken at Rs. 1,300. To assist the Government of China in its efforts to check the opium evil the Government of India agreed to limit the export of Bengal opium to 61,900 chests in the calendar year 1908, and further to reduce the number by 5,100 chests in each of the two succeeding years. In furtherance of this agreement the area under poppy cultivation in the Bihar and Benares Agencies was to be reduced from 845,000 to 800,000 bighas (about 400,000 acres). What further steps will be taken after 1910 will depend on whether China in the interval has effected a proportionate reduction in its own production of opium. A normal development was allowed for under Salt, Stamps, Excise, Customs, Assessed Taxes, Post Office, Telegraphs and Civil Departments generally.

Under expenditure there was a large increase of 995,200*l.* for the Civil Departments. Of this 301,100*l.* was for police to enable the Local Governments to carry out the recommendations of the Commission as sanctioned by the Government of India; the greater part of the increase of 280,000*l.* under "Medical" consisted of the special grant of 30 lakhs made to Local Governments to improve the sanitation of large towns as a protection against plague; there was also an increase of 183,200*l.* in the grant for education. For Famine Relief a provision of 132,07 lakhs was made. The expenditure on public works was to be reduced by 224,700*l.*, chiefly in Bengal, Burmah and the Punjab. The Estimate for military charges was 233,900*l.* in excess of the Revised Estimate of 1907-8, but 524,700*l.* less than the Budget Estimate of that year and 831,700*l.* less than in 1906-7. This reduction was chiefly due to the restriction of the grant for

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"special" expenditure on improvement of the Army to 2½ crores with no regrant for lapses. In the ordinary cost of the Army there was an increase of 130,000*l.* on account of the high prices of food.

Military Expenditure.—Out of the 2½ crores or 1,666,700*l.* provided for "special" grant, about two-thirds will be required for recurring expenditure on measures already brought into effect, and the provision for new expenditure on measures for the improvement of the Army is therefore limited to 1,000,000*l.* The bulk of this sum will be required for work already in progress and the amount available for new works will therefore be but small.

Railways.—On March 31, 1907, the length of open lines was 29,303·37 miles. To this 985·16 miles were added in 1907-8, and it was hoped that 921·35 more would be added in 1908-9. The amount provided for construction in 1907-8 was originally 9,000,000*l.*, to which another million was added on the recommendation of the Railway Finance Committee. For 1908-9 10,000,000*l.*, has again been provided. The Secretary of State has appointed a Committee in London to consider the best mode of raising money for Indian railway construction and extension. As stated with reference to the Revised Estimate for 1907-8 the net earnings of the Railways were greatly reduced by the famine in Northern India, and a strike on the East Indian Railway in November, 1907, is estimated to have caused a loss of 15 lakhs. The return on the capital at charge amounts to 5·17 per cent., as compared with 5·38 per cent. in 1906-7 and 5·56 per cent. in 1905-6.

Irrigation.—On March 31, 1907, there were open 55,928 miles of main and branch canals and distributing channels commanding 50,000,000 acres of cultivable land. It was expected that on March 31, 1908, the miles open would be 56,882 and the area commanded 50,195,000 acres. The Revised Estimate of 1907-8 showed a profit of 194 lakhs on productive works, and a net return of 8·17 per cent. on the capital outlay.

Capital Account.—For expenditure not chargeable against revenue the requirements of the Government of India were: Railways, 10,000,000*l.*; Irrigation, 1,000,000*l.*; Discharge of Permanent Debt, 950,400*l.*; Loans to Local Bodies, 207,200*l.*—Total, 12,157,600*l.* To meet this the funds available were the surplus of 571,500*l.*; out of the sterling loan of 5,000,000*l.* raised in England in January, 1908, 746,000*l.*; the net receipts of the Post Office and other Savings Banks, 453,500*l.*; the net receipts under Deposits and Remittances, 523,800*l*; profits on rupee coinage, 666,700*l.*; to be raised by Railway Companies, 4,900,000*l.*—Total, 7,861,500*l.* This left a deficiency of 4,296,100*l.*, which it was proposed to cover by raising a loan of 3 crores of rupees or 2,000,000*l.* in India and 500,000*l.* by temporary India Bills in England, the remaining 1,796,100*l.* being met by a reduction in the cash balances, which were expected to stand

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on March 31, 1909, at 12,200,000*l.* in India and at 3,759,000*l.* in England.

Coinage and Mint.—The demand for rupees for trade purposes continued brisk in the earlier months of the financial year, but from September it slackened considerably, and it was estimated that for the whole year 1907-8 the rupees coined would only amount to 17,30 lakhs as compared with the 25,37 lakhs coined during 1906-7. The new nickel coins were available for issue to the public in August, 1907, and during that month nearly 2,500,000 of them were issued. They proved very popular, and by the end of February the issue had increased to nearly 20,000,000, to the face value of 12½ lakhs of rupees.

Exchange.—Down to August, 1907, exchange remained steady at a point or two above 1*s.* 4*d.*, although the drawings of the Secretary of State in July had been unusually heavy. But in August the prospects of the jute trade were depressed and there was not the usual demand for money for it. In September the failure of the monsoon rains foretold the stoppage of the export trade which soon followed. At the end of October the financial crisis in America caused a drain to the extent of 23,000,000*l.* on the gold supply of Europe. By November exchange was steadily falling, and on the 25th it reached its lowest point, namely 1*s.* $3\frac{1}{16}$*d.* Not only was the Secretary of State compelled to discontinue the sale of Council Bills, but on November 25 he released 1,000,000*l.* of gold in the Currency Chest in London, another 1,000,000*l.* on December 6, and a further 500,000*l.* on December 18. The effect of these measures was a steady recovery in exchange, and the Secretary of State was enabled to resume the sale of Bills in February, the price for which never fell below 1*s.* $3\frac{29}{32}$*d.* The average obtained for the eleven months of the financial year to the end of February, 1908, was 1*s.* 4·03*d.*

(2) PLAGUE.

At last the returns show a great abatement of plague throughout India, and especially in the Punjab. Although the deaths in October, 1907, were in excess of those of the preceding month and amounted to 40,491, the increase did not, as in previous years, continue throughout the cold weather. In November the deaths fell to 22,050 and in each of the two succeeding months they were only a little more, 13,000. They rose in February, 1908, to 21,575 and to 31,855 in March, but from that month they decreased steadily until July when they were only 2,100. They rose again to 4,361 in August and to about 9,000 in September, but for the year ending with the latter month the total was only 201,750, a welcome contrast to the total of 1,206,055 between October 1, 1906, and September 30, 1907.

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(3) FAMINE.

The sudden cessation of the monsoon rains early in September, 1907, and the consequent failure of the Kharif or Autumn harvest in the districts affected caused considerable distress and apprehension of a very serious famine. At the beginning of January, 1908, there were about 140,000 people employed on relief works or in receipt of gratuitous relief; although good rains in January throughout the greater part of Northern India did much good, they could not repair the damage already done. By the end of February the number had increased to 1,250,000 and by the end of March to 1,500,000.

In introducing the Budget in the Viceroy's Legislative Council the Financial Member gave a full review of the whole situation. He stated that famine had been officially declared to exist in nearly all the districts of the United Provinces, in the eastern districts of the Punjab, in the northern half of the Central Provinces, some parts of Bengal and Bombay and many of the Native States in Central India. The area of the affected region was 118,000 square miles in British India and 15,000 square miles in the Native States, with a total population of 49,000,000. But although the situation was serious, it was much less so than in the famines of 1896-8 and 1899-1901, in each of which the number of persons in receipt of relief at the close of the month of February was about 3,000,000. The experience gained during those famines was of much help in dealing with the present one; advances to agriculturists were made on a liberal scale as soon as signs of distress appeared; for the two years 1907-8 and 1908-9 they amounted to about 4 crores of rupees as compared with 2·3 crores advanced in 1896-8 and 2·9 crores advanced in 1899-1901. Large suspensions of the Land Revenue were also granted as soon as it became clear that the crops would fail; 222 lakhs were suspended in 1907-8, and it was expected that 135 lakhs more would have to be suspended in 1908-9, making 357 lakhs in the two years. A large proportion of these suspensions will no doubt have ultimately to be remitted, but it was impossible to estimate this amount or the total loss to the State. The direct expenditure on relief was not expected greatly to exceed 2 crores of rupees, which compares favourably with the 740 lakhs of 1896-8 and the 930 lakhs of 1899-1901. It was also observed that the spirit of the people themselves had been far better in the present than in the preceding famines; they had faced the situation manfully and there had been no aimless wanderings about or general loosening of social ties. The situation continued critical to the end of June, and the anxiety was increased by the delay in the appearance of the monsoon current from the Arabian Sea. But early in July both the Arabian Sea and the Bengal currents were well established, and abundant rain, in some places excessive, fell throughout India during July and August, and there was a fair supply through

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the greater part of September. By the end of August the number of persons in receipt of relief had fallen to 561,000, which was reduced to 58,000 by October 12, and at the end of the latter month the Viceroy was able to state that relief works had everywhere been closed and that further reports would be discontinued.

(4) GENERAL.

The seditious agitation and the riots and attempts to murder described in last year's volume (p. 383 *seq.*) continued with increased violence in the first part of 1908. In Bombay on February 13 a fight between Shiahs and Sunnis was fanned by agitators into a general riot, which was only quelled by the calling out of the military. At Tuticorin early in March there was a strike at the Coral Mills, and Pillay, the local agent of the Swadeshi Trading Company, in contravention of the orders of his employers, used the strike for political agitation. On his being arrested and taken to the jail at Tinnivelly the mob marched on the place where they wrecked the interior of the Missionary College, the Municipal Offices and Munsiff's Court, and burnt the records of the two last places. Troops had to be brought from Trichinopoly to restore order, which they did on March 14.

In Bengal an attempt which fortunately resulted in nothing was made to wreck a train by which the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. Fraser, was travelling. At Muzaffarpur on May 1 two European ladies were killed as they were driving home from the local club in the evening by a bomb thrown by two young Bengalis, one of whom committed suicide and the other was duly tried, convicted and executed. The assassins had mistaken the ladies' carriage for that of Mr. Kingsford, who as one of the Presidency Magistrates in Calcutta had tried and punished several persons charged with sedition, and had lately been transferred to Muzaffarpur. About the same time the police discovered in a garden at Calcutta a large quantity of arms, bombs, and materials and instructions for making them, besides a quantity of seditious literature and papers disclosing the existence of a widespread and most serious anarchist conspiracy. A number of persons were arrested in consequence, and some of them made full confessions, from which it appeared that the conspirators were nearly all young men of the student class who had failed to pass examinations or obtain appointments. They then took to attending seditious meetings and reading seditious literature until they imagined themselves to be Mazzinis and Garibaldis. Unfortunately they were not content with mere imaginings; some of them seriously studied the art of bomb-making and pursued the general methods of anarchists. It was admitted that the attempt to murder Mr. Allen in December, 1907, and that to wreck the Lieutenant-Governor's train, as well as the Muzaffarpur outrage, were all the work of these conspirators.

There were several minor attempts to murder by bombs in

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Calcutta and also in other parts of India, and these outrages were applauded by the worst class of the vernacular press. To check this two Bills were passed through all their stages in the Legislative Council and at once became law, one containing stringent provisions against the manufacture or possession of explosives, the other rendering the press and plant of any paper publishing incitements to murder or outrage liable to confiscation by order of the magistrate, subject to an appeal to the High Court. Criminal proceedings were from an early period of the year instituted in all parts of India against the editors, printers and publishers of newspapers containing seditious articles of a serious character, and when convictions were obtained, as they were in nearly all cases, heavy sentences were passed. The case which excited most attention was one in which Mr. Tilak, a man of education and position and editor of a Marathi newspaper, was tried before the High Court of Bombay, and on conviction by a jury sentenced to six years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000. By the order of the Bombay Government the fine was remitted and the sentence of transportation changed to one of simple imprisonment. This leniency was strongly condemned by nearly all the Anglo-Indian papers, and at first attributed by them to the interference of the Secretary of State for India. This idea was however found to be incorrect, for the Governor of Bombay took upon himself the sole responsibility.

The second half of the year was marked by fresh and even more daring outrages. On August 31 Gossain, who had turned approver in the Calcutta anarchist conspiracy case, and whose evidence was of the greatest importance to the prosecution, was visited in the Alipur jail by two young men, Kanai Lal and Satyendra Nath Bose, and shot by them with revolvers they had concealed. Both men were seized and subsequently tried and executed. On November 7 as Sir A. Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor, entered a room in Calcutta to preside at a public meeting he was confronted by a Bengali youth who attempted to fire a revolver from a distance of only a foot or two. Fortunately it missed fire and the youth was at once seized. At his trial he expressed deep contrition and received only a sentence of ten years' imprisonment. On the evening of November 9 the Bengali inspector of police who had been chiefly instrumental in tracking and capturing one of the murderers in the Muzaffarpur case was shot dead in a lane in Calcutta by men who escaped without leaving any clue to their identity. In the meantime the proceedings in the trial of the anarchists had been protracted by every means in the power of the defence, and they had not concluded at the end of the year. Further special legislation to check outrage and expedite trials was clearly necessary. Accordingly on December 11 the Legislative Council passed at a single sitting without any opposition the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, which became immediately operative in the

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Provinces of Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, and which may be extended by the Governor-General in Council to any other part of India. The sections of the Indian Penal Code relating to sedition, murder and outrage and disturbance of the public peace are set forth in detail in a schedule attached to the Act, and it is provided that, when a magistrate has taken cognisance of any of these offences, the Governor-General in Council, or the Local Government with his sanction, may order that the case shall be dealt with under the special procedure provided by the Act. On receipt of this order the magistrate is to take the evidence for the prosecution, and the accused is not to be present unless the magistrate so direct, and he is not to be represented by a pleader during any part of the inquiry, nor is any person to have access to the court or the magistrate on his behalf. If the magistrate finds the evidence for the prosecution sufficient to justify the framing of a charge against the accused, he is to commit him to the High Court, before which he will be tried by a bench of three judges without a jury; and it is provided that if any witness whose evidence has been recorded by the magistrate is prevented from attending at the trial, and the Court is of opinion that he is kept out of the way in the interest of the accused, his evidence as recorded by the magistrate may be admitted at the trial.

The second part of the Act deals with unlawful association, which is defined as an association which (*a*) encourages or aids persons to commit acts of violence or intimidation, or (*b*) which has been declared by the Governor-General in Council to be unlawful. Such a declaration may be made on the ground that the association has for its object interference with the administration of the law, or with the maintenance of law and order, or that it constitutes a danger to the public peace. Any person who is a member of an unlawful association, or assists it, may be punished with imprisonment for six months or with fine or both, and in the case of any one managing the association or directing its operations the imprisonment may extend to three years.

In addition to passing this Act the Government of India made free use of its powers under Regulation 3 of 1818, and seven persons believed to be leaders in the seditious agitation were arrested in Calcutta and its neighbourhood and deported or placed in confinement.

On November 1, the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption by the Crown of the direct government of India, the King-Emperor issued a Message to the Princes and peoples of India which was read by the Viceroy in the Durbar held at Jodhpur on November 2 (p. 218). The Message, after repeating and confirming the declarations and assurances contained in Queen Victoria's famous Message of 1858, reviewing the material progress of India during the last fifty years and paying a warm tribute to the loyalty of the Feudatory Chiefs and the Native

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Army and to the work of the Civil Service, expresses the Sovereign's regret at the seditious agitation and disorders which have recently occurred in certain parts of India, and his determination firmly to repress them, but it adds that he will not be deterred by them from giving effect to the plans of progress and reform submitted to him by the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

The general scope of these plans was explained by Lord Morley in his speech in the House of Lords on December 17 (p. 248). There is to be no attempt to set up Parliamentary institutions in India, or anything that would lead to them, nor is there to be any material change in the general system of administration. But the people of India are to be admitted to a larger share in the government of the country by the enlargement of the powers of the Local Boards and of the Provincial and Viceroy's Legislative Councils. The proposals were received in India with general favour, and on December 24 an important deputation of about 100 persons, including the leading men of all parties in the two provinces of Bengal, waited on the Viceroy to present a loyal address expressing their gratitude. The Indian National Congress approved the plans on December 31; but the Mohammedan Conference at Amritsar found the proposed representation for Mohammedans inadequate.

VI. NATIVE STATES.

Nepal.—The Prime Minister, Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jang, paid a long visit to England during the summer of 1908. To celebrate his return to Nepal a great Durbar was held at Katmandu on August 31, at which in the course of a long and able speech, describing the main incidents of his visit, he expressed himself as deeply touched by the warmth of the welcome given to him by all classes from the Sovereign downwards. At the Encænia held on June 27, the University of Oxford conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

Indore.—The ex-Maharaja Holkar died in October. He had abdicated six years ago and had been succeeded by his minor son with a Council of Regency. He had kept his promise of not interfering in politics, and his death had no effect on the government of the State.

Hyderabad.—In the closing days of September a most disastrous flood occurred at Hyderabad (Deccan); in consequence of thirty-six hours excessive and continuous rain the river Musi rose to a height of sixty feet, tanks burst, bridges were swept away, and the low-lying parts of the city were practically destroyed. In a memorandum on the work of relief issued in December the Prime Minister stated that fifty-two wards of the city had been almost ruined, 24,000 houses destroyed and 100,000 people rendered homeless. It was estimated that im-

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movable property to the value of one and a half crores and movable property to the value of one crore had been lost, and that the deaths amounted to 3,000. The Nizam and his Ministers and officials took prompt and energetic measures of relief, and the appeal for subscriptions was liberally responded to both in India and in England.

VII. TIBET.

There has been a steady improvement in the trade between India and Tibet; the returns for 1907-8 give its value at 39½ lakhs of rupees, which is an increase of 17 lakhs in twelve months.

On April 20, the Convention between England and China relating to Tibet was signed in Calcutta. Its main provisions are that the Trade Regulations of 1893 are to remain in force except where specially modified; special provision is to be made for trial of disputes between British subjects and Tibetans and Chinese. China undertakes to protect the telegraph line from India to Gyantse, Great Britain undertaking to consider the question of making over the line to China when her telegraph system reaches that point; the British agents at trade marts are to arrange for posts to and from India; British officers and subjects are prohibited from travelling in Tibet without permission, otherwise than to and from the trade marts, and protection of travellers on these routes is made incumbent on the local authorities. The regulations are to remain in force for ten years, being then terminable upon six months' notice by either side.

The Dalai Lama arrived in Peking on September 28, with a large retinue and valuable presents for the Chinese Court. He was received with much ceremony, and during his stay, which lasted till December, when he started by train on his return to Tibet, he had frequent interviews with the authorities. The result of these has not been made known, but apparently there was much difference between his views and those of the Chinese Government. He seems to have desired to be recognised and supported by China as Sovereign of Tibet, whilst the Chinese Government not only insisted on the maintenance of its own sovereignty, but also wished to make even the Spiritual Power of the Dalai Lama dependent on his recognition by China.

It was reported at Shanghai in November that there was a general rising in Tibet, and that 10,000 Lamas had defeated the Chinese, and that the Amban had urgently asked for reinforcements. But no confirmation of this report has been received from India.

VIII. SIAM.

No event of importance occurred in Siam during 1908, and the arrangements made by the treaty with France of March,

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1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 387), appear to have been carried out without friction. Proposals for a treaty with Great Britain, it is believed on similar lines, namely concessions by Great Britain regarding British subjects in Siam in return for territorial compensation to the north of the Federated Malay States, were under discussion at Bangkok between the British representative and the Siamese Government for a considerable time, and were mentioned by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, in Parliament. But no treaty had been definitely concluded before the end of the year.

CHARLES A. ROE.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAR EAST.

I. JAPAN.

THE financial position of Japan was the dominating factor in 1908 in her policy at home and abroad. The check on her exports, which followed on the commercial crisis in the United States in the previous autumn, had dealt a severe blow to the industrial activity which had reigned since the close of her war with Russia. But beyond the postponement of an expenditure of 120,000,000 yen on military, naval and other purposes, the Budget of 1908-9 made no allowance for the strain imposed upon the country by the existing taxation, but introduced fresh taxes and increased others. By these changes it was expected that an addition of 11,000,000 yen would be provided. The Ministers of Finance and Communications, who were strongly opposed to any curtailment of the programme of expenditure, resigned their portfolios. But the country was far from being in sympathy with them. In the House of Representatives a vote of censure on the Government for its faulty financial measures was only defeated by nine votes; and, though the Budget was eventually carried by a majority of 102, a strong feeling existed among the industrial and commercial classes that circumstances demanded a less heroic programme than that outlined by the Government in its provision for the naval and military services.

Marquis Saionji had been suspected of an inclination to resign the Premiership in February, and in July his resignation took place, apparently on the advice of the Elder Statesmen, the body whose place in a Parliamentary Government it is difficult to define, but whose voice the nation is ready to obey as representing the wisdom of mature years and the experience of its most eminent statesmen. A new Ministry was formed under the leadership of Marquis Katsura, who had been at the head of the Government which had distinguished itself by its able conduct of affairs during the war. Count Komura was recalled

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from his post of Ambassador at St. James's to take charge of the Foreign Office, and the other portfolios were entrusted to a new set of Ministers, with the exception of General Terauchi and Admiral Saito, who remained at the War Office and Admiralty. Following on other changes, M. Kato, who had been Minister in London, 1894-9, was appointed Ambassador to England.

The new Ministry lost no time in effecting the change for which it had been appointed. The programme of expenditure was curtailed by 20,000,000*l.*, of which nearly half was by economies in the army and navy. The period in which the extension of those services was to be effected was changed from six to eleven years. The State Railways were henceforth to form a separate account, and the profits on them for the next three years were to be devoted entirely to extension and improvement. The Sinking Fund appropriation was increased from 37,000,000 yen to 50,000,000 yen, and it was also decided that in view of the urgent occasion for economies, the exhibition in Japan should be postponed from 1912 to 1917. This was followed a few months later by a very striking Rescript in which the Emperor enjoined upon his people the duties of union, loyalty, frugality and simplicity.

Some irritation had been caused by the redemption of an internal war loan of 10,000,000*l.* due in December, by tenders at an earlier date, where applications for re-writing had been favoured, and it was in consequence announced that the Railway Nationalisation Bonds which would be issued in the next two years would be redeemable at their face value. The steps taken by the Government to secure its credit enabled it later on to issue two 5 per cent. loans in London and Paris of 2,000,000*l.* each at 97*l.* and 97*l.* 10*s.* for Korea and the South Manchuria Railway.

The forecast of the Budget for 1909-10 was framed in the same spirit of economy, allowing for a total revenue and expenditure of 543,630,000 yen. But in comparing this with that of 1908-9 (616,000,000 yen), it has to be borne in mind that the railway receipts and expenditure are no longer included in the Budget but form a separate account, in which interest on bonds (31,800,000 yen) and capital expenses (33,090,000 yen) form a total of 64,970,000 yen, against which have to be placed receipts estimated at 37,050,000 yen.

In the earlier part of 1908 the depression in all branches of trade was very marked. The export market was affected not only by the crisis in the United States but also by the depreciation of silver and the collapse in copper. With this condition of things imports very largely exceeded exports, but as the year wore on an improvement set in which raised the total of exports to 376,696,000 yen, as compared with imports of 435,687,000 yen.

Japan's difficulties as regards the emigration of her subjects to British Columbia and the United States had not been overcome, though Japan had shown great reasonableness in consenting to

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restrict the movement. In January the Government issued an order prohibiting emigration to Hawaii, by which route the larger portion of the emigrants had found their way to California; and Chili and South America generally were recommended as a more favourable field. These concessions failed, however, to secure any abatement of the strong anti-Japanese feeling prevalent on the Pacific coast of North America, where the order issued to the United States battleship fleet to visit the Pacific waters was welcomed as a threat to Japan. The Japanese Government, by an invitation to visit Japan, converted the demonstration, if any such was intended, into a friendly visit, during which the utmost hospitality was lavished upon the visitors, and mutual assurances were given and exchanged that the feeling in California towards Japan could not be regarded as affecting the old friendship between the two great naval Powers of the present day in the Pacific.

Any irritation arising out of what was considered in the American commercial world as Japan's exclusive policy in Manchuria was removed by an exchange of notes at Washington (Nov. 30), soon after the departure of the United States fleet from Japan, under which the two Governments defined their policy as (1) the encouragement of the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific; (2) the maintenance of the *status quo* in those waters and of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China; (3) respect of each other's territorial possessions; (4) the support of the independence and integrity of China by all peaceful means; and (5) consultation with each other if any events arose threatening the *status quo* or the principles defined. This diplomatic action was welcomed in both countries and also approved by China, to whom the text of the notes was previously submitted.

A Treaty of Arbitration between the two Powers had been signed earlier in the year, and another Treaty to protect trademarks in China and Japan had been ratified. Throughout these and all her negotiations with the United States Japan maintained the same dignified attitude of respect for the President's declarations as to the friendly relations which his Government desired to maintain with Japan, while ignoring the clamour against Japanese which was persistently raised on the Pacific coast. In the same way, towards Canada, where Japanese immigration also excited ill-feeling in the West, Japan showed that she was ready to do all in her power to prohibit emigration beyond a certain figure. And this, though the restrictions imposed a serious loss on her shipping companies, which were besides suffering from the diminution in the volume of trade generally.

Despite all the financial difficulties which faced her at home, Japan pursued the development of her projects in Formosa, Korea and Manchuria. The railroad in Formosa, forming an extension by 272 miles of the old Chinese railway (62 miles), from the

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North-West to the capital of the island, was completed in 1908. For the development of the camphor forests energetic measures were taken to drive the aborigines farther east, and the satisfactory result was at last obtained of the revenue of her new possession exceeding the expenditure. Similarly in Korea encouragement was given both by a subsidy and by the guarantee of interest on debentures to the establishment of an Oriental Colonisation Company (*Tokyo Takushoku Kaisha*), the objects of which are to purchase land in Korea and by the introduction of Japanese settlers to effect an improvement in agriculture.

In Southern Manchuria the gauge of the railroad was widened, new shafts were opened at the Fushun Mines near Mukden (one of the most valuable properties which Japan has acquired through the war), and great readiness was shown in advancing funds to China for the construction of branch railroads in Manchuria, where these did not conflict with Japanese interests.

Within Japan encouragement was given to the introduction of foreign capital. Prominent among such enterprises are the Armstrong Hokkaido Works which it is proposed to erect on the east side of Muroran Harbour in Hokkaido. The Company is intended for the construction of naval and mercantile vessels, and the manufacture of ammunition and steel, and the Board is composed equally of representatives of the British firms of Armstrong and Vickers Sons and Maxim and of Japanese. Apart from other points, the enterprise is interesting as calculated to develop industrial activity in a new part of the Empire. It is also expected to supply a steel of a better quality than that produced at the Imperial Foundry at Wakamatsu, on which a much larger capital has been expended.

II. KOREA.

In Korea, Prince Ito, the Resident General, and Viscount Sone, his assistant, continue their arduous task of trying to advance the material interests of the country and to reconcile the people to Japanese influence being predominant. The murder at San Francisco of Mr. Stevens, for many years a trusted adviser of the Japanese Government, by two Koreans for having, as they said, spoken well of Japan's work in Korea, furnishes one kind of evidence of the degree in which the feeling of the country is hostile to Japan. Another kind of evidence is found in a telegram to *The Times* that between July, 1907, and August, 1908, 12,916 Korean "insurgents" were killed by the Japanese with the loss of only 196 men, according to Japanese official returns.

For publishing seditious articles in the *Korean Daily News*, the editor, a British subject, was prosecuted and fined 100*l.*, and subsequently the publication by newspapers of articles "detrimental to public security or morals" was prohibited. An

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attempt was made to wreck a train in which Prince Ito was travelling, and in the earlier part of the year revolutionaries showed considerable activity in the South-West, where the Japanese force had to be strengthened; but in the North-West also and even in the neighbourhood of Soul the repressive measures taken by the Japanese were of a stern character.

Concurrently with the semi-military measures which are necessary for the protection of her own people, Japan is urging on reforms in the system of taxation by the appointment of assessors to secure equality of system; and to prevent corruption in high places is transferring to the State the property in charge of the Imperial Household. The appointments of officials are also transferred in most cases from the Court to provincial inspectors.

The improvement in communications is of a much more tangible character. Trains now run from Wiju on the North to Fusan on the South in twenty-six and a half hours. A bridge across the Yalu River is to be constructed at a cost estimated at 2,000,000 yen. Branch lines from Phyong-yang to Chin-nam-po and from Tai-chong to Mok-pho are under way.

At Court Japanese influence is absolutely supreme. The Emperor's son is in Japan, where he is being educated on Japanese lines. The Emperor's father is in semi-banishment and is not allowed access to the Court. The Emperor himself when he travels, as he has been encouraged to do, moves in company with Prince Ito or Viscount Sone, and has full opportunity of seeing what work is being done for the improvement of the country.

The Customs Returns for 1908 show a falling off in exports from 17,002,234 yen in 1907 to 14,114,510 yen in 1908, but a rise in imports from 40,050,405 yen in 1907 to 41,025,849 in 1908.

III. CHINA.

The difficulties which had faced the Government in 1907 through the popular outcry against carrying into effect concessions to foreign syndicates for the construction of railroads came to a head in the early part of 1908. In Che-Kiang province the opposition to the British and Chinese Corporation's concession for a railroad from Soochow to Ningpo and Hang-chow was practically universal. The officials, in spite of instructions from Peking to assist the Corporation, openly sympathised with the party of opposition. The native merchants had found capital for the construction of a few miles of railway along the route proposed and loudly clamoured for Chinese railways in Chinese hands. In Shanghai an attempt was made to boycott the British firm who were the agents of the Corporation, and the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank who financed it. But the Government showed a firmness and common sense in its treatment of the case which procured a settlement accepted by all

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parties. The boycott movement was checked by ordering the arrest of the Chairman of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and other prominent agitators, and though both Prince Ching and Yuan Shih-Kai were attacked for their connection with the authorisation of a loan on behalf of the Corporation, the Government honourably adhered to the principles of the concession granted in 1898. On their part the Corporation, recognising the difficulties in which the Government was placed, subsequently agreed to abandon their rights in consideration of the payment of 67,500*l.* on account of profits which otherwise might have accrued and, in view of the loan originally proposed, arranged a loan of 1,500,000*l.* to the Ministry of Communications, on behalf of the provinces through which the line would run. The only other British element remaining in the line was in the person of the chief engineer, and the loan was made redeemable after ten years.

A similar difficulty in Shansi with the Pekin Syndicate was settled in January by the payment of 2,700,000 taels for the retrocession of the syndicate's rights in that province. Under the agreement it was, however, stipulated that if the province later on should wish to borrow money for mining, working iron or transport of materials, preference should be given to the syndicate. Immediately following on the conclusion of this arrangement, the late Governor of Shansi, who had signed the concession, was denounced for having accepted bribes in connection with it and was permanently removed from office, together with the Taotai and Prefect who had taken part in the negotiations.

The next move in the same direction consisted in the redemption of the Peking-Hankow Railway from Belgium concessionaires. To effect this a loan of 5,000,000*l.* at 5 per cent. was negotiated in the London and Paris markets. As the concessionaires had under the terms of their agreement been drawing 20 per cent. of the profits, the change ought to be greatly to the advantage of the Chinese Government, *if* the future management of the line is satisfactory.

A small step on the same lines was effected by the recovery from the British-Chinese Corporation of its coal-mining rights at Nan-piao (east of Shan-hai-kuan) for the sum of 14,500*l.* A much larger question and one on which the Chinese official world at Peking felt very deeply was the recovery of the coal mines at Tongshan. The despatch of Tong Shao-yi to Europe at the close of 1908 was probably connected with this matter, which would seem to be almost the only sore point in China's present relations with Great Britain.

Side by side with the question of the recovery to China of rights granted to foreigners in the provinces was that of regaining her position as Sovereign Power in Manchuria. The assertion by Russia of absolute and exclusive rights of administration and of jurisdiction over Chinese and other foreigners resident at Harbin and other places within the railway zone provoked China

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to refuse recognition of regulations made to that end. And the Japanese claim of a permanent right to carry mails on the Chinese railway between Peking and Mukden was declared by China to be an infringement of Chinese sovereignty and injurious to the national postal service. The latter question remained unsettled, but a settlement was arrived at of the lumber question on the Yalu River, which had been pending since 1907, on terms of joint management by China and Japan.

On February 6 a Japanese vessel, the *Tatsu Maru*, was seized near Macao on a charge of landing arms for revolutionaries in Yun-nan. On this the Japanese Government demanded an apology and an indemnity for the seizure of the vessel, which the Portuguese Minister asserted had been improperly seized while in Portuguese waters. Eventually (March 6) in reply to a despatch from Japan intimating that she would be compelled to take action, the Chinese Government expressed regret at the flag having been hauled down and promised the punishment of the responsible official. At the same time it was agreed that China should release the vessel, pay 10,000 taels for demurrage and take over the arms on payment of 21,400 yen. Japan on her side agreed to enforce new regulations against shipment of arms to Macao. The release of the vessel immediately provoked an indignation meeting at Canton, when a boycott of Japanese goods was threatened. Orders were issued by the silk and rice firms not to ship goods by Japanese vessels, and a meeting of 2,000 women in mourning testified to the depth of local feeling on the subject. At Hong-Kong disturbances (p. 397) broke out on the same subject; and the injury done to Japanese trade was so considerable that advice was given by the British Minister to the Viceroy at Canton to suppress the boycott with a strong hand.

The action of Japan in the autumn in determining to withdraw the greater part of her garrison from North China, in some degree allayed the resentment felt in the south. But her attitude towards China on the subject of the construction of a bridge across the Yalu River, and a claim to an island (Chien-tao) in the Tumen River, on the score of its being part of Korea, indicated an intention of asserting herself in Manchuria at the expense of Chinese sovereignty, which was made still more manifest by her refusal to allow China to extend a railway line, *in the country held by China*, from Sin Min-ting to Fakumen. The extension was evidently intended as a step towards Tsitsihar in the north, and Japan claimed that its construction would injure the trade of the South Manchurian line in Japanese hands. The distance of the two routes from each other and their separation by the wide river Liao made the objection appear frivolous, but so far as its legal aspect was concerned Japan was able to claim that both under the original agreement with Russia regarding the railroad and under a subsequent agreement (1906) China was debarred from constructing the line.

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Towards the end of the year Japan's policy towards China seemed to undergo a change more favourable to China, and several of the outstanding questions approached a solution. With regard to other Powers, the announcement by the United States of the intention to forego the payment of 2,500,000*l.* of the 1900 indemnity led to Tang Shao-yi being sent as special Ambassador to the United States, with a letter of thanks to the President, and Prince Yu Lang and His Excellency Liang Tun-yen were sent as Commissioners to welcome the United States fleet on its arrival at Amoy, where entertainments on a lavish scale were accorded to the visitors.

At home China found her main difficulties arise from floods, both in the Yangtse Valley and also on an unusually serious scale in the Kwang provinces. A rebellion in Yun-nan, fomented by the reform party and encouraged by the importation of arms and seditious literature, was suppressed in May. But the apprehensions of the Government of the influence of Sun Yat-sen and Kan Yu-wei among the Cantonese continued, and various regulations were issued imposing checks on the Press and prohibiting students from taking part in political movements.

In spite of occasional reactionary tendencies on the part of the Government, signs of a spirit of progress were evident both in Peking and in the provinces. Improvements in the management of prisons, the abolition of flogging with the bamboo, the institution of Courts of Appeal and Provincial Commissions of Justice, and the establishment of self-government bureaus were among the reforms introduced into different provinces. In Peking an audit of Imperial Household expenditure (!) and the formation of an Imperial Guard from members of the Imperial clan were considered. And at Canton the Manchus were placed on the same footing as Chinese as regards jurisdiction. But the most promising signs of all were the continued spread of education and the growth of that powerful lever of civilisation, the Post Office. In the autumn the department charged with the drafting of a Constitution presented its scheme to the Throne, which commanded the institution of various judicial and administrative reforms in the provinces, pending the announcement of its decision as to the form of the Constitution to be granted and the date of opening a Parliament. The Constitutional Assembly, as sketched out, will include Princes, Dukes, hereditary nobles, Imperial clansmen, officials, certain persons possessed of over 1,000,000 taels of property and representatives of the Provincial Councils, the qualification for which is an educational diploma, official rank or 5,000 taels property. The announcement of the Government's intention to grant a Constitution in 1917, drew from the foreign ministers at Peking a promise that foreign troops would be withdrawn when Constitutional Government was adopted.

As regards opium, while the Central Government continued to display continued interest and energy in the suppression of

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the growth of the poppy and the use of opium, the action of the provincial authorities differed widely. In Yun-nan, where the importance of opium to the revenue and trade and its use as a convenient form of currency seemed to promise the greatest difficulties in its suppression, the most thorough measures were carried through. In other provinces too the same thoroughness was manifested, but in parts of the Yangtse Valley and in Kuei-Chou the officials showed great supineness. The Government's movement was furthered by the Indian Government's undertaking to reduce the amount exported by 5,100 chests yearly, and also by the closing of opium dens in Hong-Kong and in the foreign settlements in China. But the establishment of an official monopoly of opium was opposed by the British Government and discontinued shortly after its introduction. On the motion of the United States Government an International Conference was arranged to meet at Shanghai in February, 1909, to investigate the opium trade and habit.

The visit of a Nepalese Mission to Peking, the reception of the Dalai Lama, the departure of Sir R. Hart from Peking and the appointment of Sir W. C. Hillier as Chinese Adviser were among the interesting events of the year.

But the prominent events of 1908 were the deaths of the Emperor and Empress-Dowager in November. Disquieting reports as to the condition of the Emperor's health had appeared in July, but His Majesty had in August so far recovered as to be able to attend to business again, and the celebration of the Empress-Dowager's birthday (Nov. 3) on an unusually large scale had been marred by no anxiety on her account. The Emperor at the time was ill, and his death, which was stated to have taken place on November 14, excited little surprise, but the announcement of the Empress-Dowager's death on the following day was unexpected, as it was known she had taken part in the choice of the successor to the Throne and that the Emperor's valedictory edict had been drawn up under her supervision. As the new Emperor, a son of Prince Chun, is a child of only five years of age, his father was named Regent. The reins of power were transferred without any serious disturbance. The only outbreak was at Nganking, where some troops mutinied and had to be suppressed by force. It was evident that the rapidity with which events had followed on each other had taken the people by surprise. From the south and from abroad came telegrams urging the nomination of a Chinese to the Throne, but the Regent was supported by Chang Chih-tung and Yuan Shih-kai, the most prominent of the Chinese members of the Government in Peking, and thus a split between Manchus and Chinese, the contingency most to be feared, was averted. The Regent, though only twenty-six years of age, showed great capability as well as promptitude. Two divisions of the Chih-li troops were placed under Tieh-liang, the Manchu Minister of War, and the third directly under the command of

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the Throne. The widow of the late Emperor received an intimation that though the Imperial Household was under her control, her power did not extend further. An Edict confirmed the promise of the grant of a Constitution after nine years. Chang Chih-tung and Yuan Shih-kai received the honour of the title of Grand Guardians of the Heir, and the Foreign Ministers attended the lying-in-state ceremonial within the Palace, by invitation. On December 2, the young Emperor was enthroned with the usual rites, but the power of the Regent was strengthened and his position as *de facto* Emperor determined, and the year closed with the apparent assurance that no change in the Government was likely to occur, a promise rudely dispelled by the dismissal of Yuan Shih-kai from office on January 1, 1909.

Prince Chun, the father of the new Emperor, who has been appointed Regent, is a younger brother of the late Emperor and third son of Prince Chun, better known as "the Seventh Prince," who during his early life was regarded as very anti-foreign, but after being brought into contact with foreigners through the post which he held of Head of the Admiralty manifested a very different disposition and died much regretted by all in 1891, after having displayed considerable ability and taken a prominent part in the Government. The present Regent came into prominence in 1901, when he was sent on a mission to Germany to convey the regret for the murder of the German Ambassador in Peking in the troubles of 1900. It was the first time that a member of the Imperial Family had been sent on a foreign mission, and he distinguished himself greatly by his conduct of the mission and his outspoken refusal to proceed to Berlin if, as was rumoured after his arrival in Europe, it was expected of him that he should kotow to the Emperor. The humiliation of his country at the time and his own youth made his conduct the more striking. Since his return to Peking he has shown himself friendly to foreigners and to progress.

The succession of the late Emperor to the throne had been irregular, as he was of the same generation as his predecessor, who died in 1875. On his appointment he was therefore adopted as posthumous heir of his uncle Hsien Feng (1850-61). The semi-illegality of his position had probably assisted the Empress-Dowager in superseding Kuang Hsû in power and seems to have been borne in mind at his death, which took place in a hall other than that reserved for such occasions, and in the fact that no mausoleum had been prepared for the reception of his body. No heir has hitherto been adopted to pay him the rites of a son to a father, and the new sovereign succeeded as heir to the Emperor Tung Chih, who died in 1875. Apart from the difficulties arising from the introduction of an interloper into the succession from 1875-1900, the nomination of the new Emperor is quite regular, and has been recognised as such by the foreign representatives at Peking.

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As regards trade, the year 1908 was unfavourable to China as to most countries. The Customs revenue decreased by about 1,000,000 taels. No substitute for the falling off in the opium revenue had been found and the Court mourning interfered with the livelihood of several of the humbler classes, while imposing an immediate outlay of several millions of taels. But the most dangerous feature (commercially considered) consisted in the issue of banknotes without restriction and without any adequate security by numerous banks, semi-official and private, in the North and elsewhere. Representations were made on the subject by the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, but strong interests were involved in maintaining their issue and the Government showed much reluctance to interfere.

IV. HONG-KONG.

The finances of the Colony had been seriously affected in 1907-8 by a falling off in the opium revenue and an equally large loss in the postal department due to recent lowering of rates and the carriage of parcels at a loss by the Siberian route. In May, 1908, another and more serious blow was dealt by the Colonial Office which, in consequence of a resolution passed in the House of Commons on May 6 (p. 93), ordered the immediate closure of all opium dens within the Colony. Sir F. Lugard explained that he had asked that no statement should be made on the subject in the House until a despatch from him had been received, but that his request had been refused. The Chamber of Commerce at once protested, not against the prohibition of the trade but against the action of the Imperial Government in directing enforcement of the order without previous consultation with the Colony or any consideration of how the sudden deficit in the revenue might be filled up. But the Governor had to carry the order through, and as the Chinese Government had issued orders to prevent the exportation of prepared opium into Hong-Kong, the Hong-Kong Government responded by an Act of a like character.

Another grave difficulty which faced the Government consisted in the cost of construction of its section of the Canton-Kowloon Railway, which seemed likely to be double the amount estimated. This was aggravated by disquieting reports as to the condition of the bridges, which led to a suspension of the works pending reference to a Committee of experts.

With an increasing public debt and a larger expenditure on the military contribution and its Volunteers, the Colony had a revenue in the first half of the year which though equal to the estimate was considerably short of that of 1907. The necessity for retrenchment and strict economy or of fresh taxation was apparent, but a tax on native and foreign shipping to provide the cost ($1,500,000) of a new typhoon shelter at Mong-kok-tsui was opposed by all the non-official members of Council, partly

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on the ground of the inclusion in the Budget of a sum derived from the Widows and Orphans' Fund, and partly because any taxation of the kind is detrimental to the interests of the port and likely to drive trade away from it.

On August 3 a typhoon, of the approach of which warning had been given, did damage estimated at $5,000,000 and cost 643 lives. The s.s. *Ying King* was lost with her captain and a large number of passengers, but fortunately the warning had reached most vessels in time for them to take necessary precautions. A serious outbreak of plague in May completed the roll of disasters for the year.

In spite of adverse trade conditions, considerable liberality was shown in offers to endow a University if started in Hong-Kong. The project was welcomed by the Governor, who advocated the College of Medicine and Technical Institute being housed in the building.

The unpopularity of the Japanese, excited by the conduct of their Government in the treatment of the "Tatsu Maru" case (p. 392), led to a boycott of Japanese trade, which culminated in November in a riot in which some twenty odd stores dealing in Japanese goods were looted, their contents destroyed, and three Chinese had their noses or the lobes of their ears cut off. The riot was renewed on the following day. Troops were called out to support the police and two of the rioters were shot. It was remarkable that during the riots no Japanese shops were interfered with. Following on the riot, the Hong-Kong Government banished several Chinese merchants and two editors of Chinese papers, a step which excited considerable uneasiness among the Chinese community and led to threats of a boycott of British trade.

V. FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

The ferment among the native peoples of the East, due to Japan's successes in her war with Russia, extended to French Indo-China and was the cause in 1908 not only of seditious movements in the country but of much questioning in France as to the correctness of her policy in administering this possession. Since 1906, tentative measures had been taken to introduce a native element into the consultative bodies of the Government, and the position in 1907 seemed so secure that the military budget was reduced from 19,000,000 frs. to 15,000,000 frs. But in March, 1908, owing to scarcity of food and, as some alleged, to official maladministration, an outbreak occurred in Annam which was not put down until June. In Tong-king a plot of the native garrison was discovered to seize the arms and ammunition in their barracks at Hanoi, with a view to selling them to Chinese revolutionaries across the frontier. To prevent any active movement against the Government it was considered necessary to strengthen the army with a force of 8,000 men sent from France, but though no further rising took

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place sedition was rife and needed all the ability of the Government to cope with it.

Besides these native troubles, difficulties arose with China on the Yun-nan frontier, where a revolutionary body, encouraged if not led by Sun Yat-sen, seized a small Chinese town and when driven back was pursued by Chinese troops across the frontier. This led to two collisions with colonial troops in which three or four French officers and some of their men were killed, and a demand was made for the punishment of the troops concerned and of the Chinese Viceroy. After some months of discussion the Chinese Government conceded the French demands with the exception of the punishment of Hsiliang, the Viceroy, whose administration of the province was generally recognised as most able.

The scheme of public works contemplated by the Government included irrigation on a large scale in Cambodia, measures of protection from inundation in Tong-king and the improvement of the Mekong River for navigable purposes. The railway from Tong-king to Yun-nan was practically completed as far as Meng-tzu, and the Government was authorised from home to raise a loan of 2,100,000*l.*, guaranteed by the French Government for carrying on its extension.

M. Klobukowski, Consul-General in Egypt, was appointed to succeed M. Beau as Governor-General.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA (WITH MALTA).

I. SOUTH AFRICA.

SOUTH AFRICA has not yet emerged from the depression from which the region has suffered since the war, and, in a commercial sense, 1908 has not shown improvement on its immediate predecessors; but the year has been one of unusual political activity, and two questions of permanent Imperial importance have come to the front—that of Asiatics in South Africa and that of the organic union of the five States. At the close of 1907 the situation was that the Indian population of the *Transvaal* refused to register under the new Act. Mr. Gandhi, the leader, and other Indians who had refused to register, were arrested and ordered to leave the Colony. To these orders they offered a "passive resistance," and raised the legal point that the Government had no power to put them over the border by force. Mass meetings of Indians were frequently held in Johannesburg, and it seemed that the entire Indian population was resolved upon resistance. Natal, meanwhile, objected to Indians being put across the Natal border, and negotiations were opened by the Transvaal to arrange for the transit through the Colony to the coast ports. Simultaneously

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a vigorous agitation was opened in England, by the South Africa British Indian Committee, and Lord Ampthill, the President, and Mr. L. W. Ritch, the Secretary, made vigorous and persistent protests against the course taken by the Transvaal Government. In a speech at Pretoria in January, Mr. Smuts, the Colonial Secretary, admitted that the difficulties of working the registration Act had exceeded the expectations of the Government. He defended the Act, claimed that thousands of false permits were in existence, and argued that white opinion was unanimous in demanding the cessation of the system. The Act, he claimed, had frightened out of the country 5,000 Indians who had no right to be in it; 9,500 remained who had refused to register, and of these 5,000 had been licensed to trade. Thousands were willing to register but were intimidated against doing so. The Government would give them another chance of registering, but would show no mercy to the leaders. The law would be carried out. Mr. Gandhi offered to undertake that every Indian in the country would register within a month if a form of registration could mutually be agreed upon: the Indian claim was that a thumb impression was sufficient for identification and that the required impression of ten digits, as in the case of criminals, was offensive to Indian sentiment. And he asked for a judicial inquiry into the allegations that Indians in the Transvaal had entered surreptitiously. Meanwhile, deportation orders continued to be issued, the agitation locally and in England being fed by the fact that in some cases these applied to men who had fought with distinction under the Crown. An understanding was reached with the Natal Government for the acceptance of deported Indians who had come from Natal and for the transit of others to the coast for deportation. Matters reached a crisis by the sentencing (Jan. 10) of Mr. Gandhi and five other leaders to two months' imprisonment, without hard labour; and the daily news thereafter was of batches of other arrests, and wholesale deportations, those failing to comply being heavily fined or imprisoned. The policy of the Government was to differentiate between the leaders and the rank and file; and Mr. Smuts contended that too much leniency had been shown. To a remonstrance that the situation was hurtful to South Africa, he replied that the Government would keep the Transvaal a white man's country and hold their heritage unsullied, whatever badly informed people in England might say. Public meetings for and against the enforcement of the Act were frequently held, and the Indians showed themselves competent in the arts of agitation by frequent appeals to English public opinion, and suggestions that their loyalty was being put to too severe a strain. Their cause was championed energetically by the Indians of Natal (a population which is the fruit of the indenture system) and a defence fund of several thousand pounds was raised. The Transvaal case was well put by Mr. Rissik, the Minister for Native Affairs. It was a question of life

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or death, for Asiatics already formed a fifteenth of the population of the Transvaal. What would England do if she were threatened with an influx of 2,500,000 Asiatics? The object of the law was to stem the tide and the law would be upheld. Mr. Smuts was equally emphatic. The matter was vital to the whole of South Africa. Firm action would have to be taken and strong advice offered to Natal; otherwise Asiatic immigration would overrun the whole of South Africa.

Rumours of negotiations became current in February, and letters passed and interviews were held between Mr. Smuts and Mr. Gandhi and others. The outcome was a "settlement" or "compromise" by which Indians could "voluntarily" take out registration certificates, the requirement as to digit impressions not being necessary in cases of voluntary registration, children under sixteen to be exempt from registration. The Indians who negotiated this compromise understood Mr. Smuts to give a definite promise, pledging the Government that if all the Asiatics in the Colony registered voluntarily the Act of 1907 would be repealed. Voluntary registration proceeded freely, but it broke down on nothing being done to repeal the Act. The Government merely introduced a new Bill "to validate the voluntary registration of certain Asiatics who failed to comply with the Act of 1907." The Indians complained that the pledge to repeal had not been carried out. Mr. Smuts denied emphatically that any such pledge had been given. The reply to this denial was that unless such a pledge had been given there was no inducement for the Indians to register. On the other hand, the text of the letters embodying the compromise contained no statement inconsistent with Mr. Smuts's denial. So far from that being the case, a letter signed by Mr. Gandhi and two other leaders expressly noted Mr. Smuts's repeated public declarations that there was no likelihood of the repeal of the Act. To all these complications another was added by General Smuts, who in effect said to the Indian community that if they wanted the Act of 1907 repealed that would only be done if the Immigrants Restriction Act were so amended as to exclude all Indians in the future. This might mean in the long run the elimination of the Indian community and would certainly prevent its reinforcement and the infusion of new blood; and ultimate elimination seems to have been the real policy of the Transvaal Government. A great outcry arose on this new condition becoming known; and it was based chiefly on the ground that if it became law the Indian community would be deprived of religious teachers, doctors and so forth. They interpreted it as a racial insult. The Bill amending the Act of 1907—a distinct measure from the Immigrants Restriction Act, with which, however, it is interdependent—was passed in a day's sitting of the Transvaal Legislature, and Lord Crewe, who had succeeded Lord Elgin as Colonial Secretary (p. 81), decided against advising the Crown to disallow the project. The Act

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came into force on September 21. The effect of Lord Crewe's decision was that the Imperial Government resisted the view of the Indians that repeal of the 1907 Act was an essential part of the "compromise," and acceded to that of the Transvaal Government and the retention of the rights of exclusion and control in existing legislation. It was in accord also with the decision of Lord Elgin that the 1907 Act could not be disallowed, since it expressed the deliberate policy of the white community, which had been vested with the power of self-government. The amended Act confirmed the rights of those who registered voluntarily. It empowered the signatures of educated or well-known applicants for trade licences to be taken instead of the thumb print; it exempted minors under sixteen from registration; it allowed Indians who were refused a certificate the right of appeal to a special magistrate; and it empowered the governor to issue a permit authorising an Asiatic to enter and reside in the Transvaal for a period named, thus facilitating the visits of priests and doctors and teachers. Unfortunately the agitation was continued vigorously, alike in the Transvaal, in England and in India, though towards the close of the year the situation was easier, cases of recalcitrant Indians, against whom the Transvaal Government found it necessary to enforce the law, becoming less frequent; and it was rumoured that a further "compromise" was in course of negotiation.

The Transvaal estimates for the financial year 1908-9 showed a revenue of 4,682,962*l.* and expenditure 4,682,962*l.* Mr. Hull, the Colonial Treasurer, said that the surplus for 1907-8 was 400,000*l.* The Government's share in the Premier Diamond Mine profits had been only 65,000*l.* instead of the estimated 400,000*l.* No diamond revenue was estimated for in the current year. The chief industrial law of the session was an Act affecting the gold industry. It permitted prospecting on Government lands except those already proclaimed and laid down new conditions. It made the working of claims compulsory, the test being the employment of at least one white man per ten morgen or fifteen claims, this to apply only if the holder of a claim is a mining company. The right to mine under the Bewarplaatzen is vested in the Government, which may waive or dispose of its rights. Elaborate provisions are made against the illicit gold traffic. Natives are not allowed to acquire rights under the Act or to reside on the Rand except in locations or compounds or on the premises of their employers. The law was criticised as an attempt to force the pace in the employment of white labour.

In this connection reference may be made to the question of unemployment in Johannesburg. The distress in the early part of the year was acute. In March it was estimated that there were 5,000 destitute persons in the city. The municipality started relief works, and employment was found for many men on railway works at 4*s.* a day. The Government Commission

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on the subject reported that the number of poor whites was increasing daily and attributed the fact to the prejudice against manual labour. A secondary cause was the backward state of agriculture and the fixed idea that every man who worked on the land must own the land. Modifications of the land laws were advised and the establishment of a labour colony for idlers and vagrants. The prohibition of Asiatic immigration was recommended and the exclusion of undesirables of every race.

Much controversy occurred during the year both in South Africa and in London about the displacement of British-born officials in the Transvaal (pp. 22, 182). Retrenchment was obligatory upon the Pretoria Government, and consequently several posts held by Englishmen appointed under the Milner *régime* were vacated. The charge against the Transvaal Ministry was that Englishmen were dismissed to make room for Boers. General Botha challenged the production of a single case, and claimed that racial considerations had in nowise influenced the manner of the retrenchments, and he retaliated on Lord Milner for having said in a speech in England (p. 119) that the officers who had served under him had been treated with great injustice and scattered like chaff before the wind, by making an attack on Lord Milner's rule to the effect that it was the most unfortunate thing that ever happened to the Transvaal. The Imperial Government were persistently catechised in the House of Commons on the facts of the retrenchment, and it was admitted that many necessary dismissals had occurred; but Colonel Seely defended the conduct of the Transvaal Ministry, on financial grounds, of which they must be allowed to judge, and declined to admit any insinuation that racial bias had entered into the matter.

The Het Volk Congress sat in April and was principally concerned with questions of domestic politics, such as the maintenance of the Dutch language in the schools and the desire of farmers to have the right to distil and sell liquor. Approval was expressed of South African unification. In September there was much native crime and hooliganism at Johannesburg, and stringent police measures were taken for its repression. The town police had been considerably reduced for reasons of economy. A census of Johannesburg shows that the white population in the municipal area on August 13 last was 95,126 or 11,763 more than in 1904, notwithstanding the heavy efflux from the city after the great inrush following upon the peace. The finances of the Colony were improved during the year by the payment of 83,000*l.* by the Imperial Government in settlement of the claim against the Netherlands Railway. A lieutenant of infantry and an ex-civil servant who were arrested in connection with the desecration of Mr. Kruger's grave were declared to be innocent of the offence. On August 31 the total number of Chinese was 17,006. The gold production of the Transvaal for 1908 was of the total value of

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29,957,610*l.*, against 27,403,738*l.* in 1907 and 16,054,809*l.* in 1904. The dividends in the latter year aggregated 4,000,000*l.*; in 1908 they were estimated at 8,500,000*l.*

The *Cape Colony* elections, the issue of which was defined in last year's ANNUAL REGISTER, resulted, as was expected, in a victory for the Opposition and the substitution of Mr. Merriman for Dr. Jameson as Premier. The Bond replaced the Progressives, who had been newly styled by Dr. Jameson "the South African Unionist party." The results of the Assembly elections showed the Merriman or Bond party to have sixty-nine seats—a gain of nineteen; the Unionists thirty-three, and Independents five. There had never been so large a majority in the House. In the Legislative Council elections the Bond also obtained a substantial majority. The composition of the Cape Parliament thus approximated to that of the Parliaments of the new self-governing Colonies. The new Ministry was composed of Mr. J. Merriman, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. J. W. Sauer, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. F. N. de Waal, Colonial Secretary; Mr. H. Burton, Attorney General; Mr. Villiers Graaf and Mr. Currey (without portfolios). The defeat of the Unionists was in part attributed to the votes of re-enfranchised Cape rebels and to the effect of the decisive victories of Het Volk and Orangia Unie. Mr. Merriman interpreted it as a mandate to form a united South Africa. He found himself confronted with a deficit which in 1908 would, he calculated, be 3,000,000*l.*; his task would be that of extricating the country from its difficulties. There were two questions only for the Government—finance and closer union. The country was over-governed; there should be one Parliament for South Africa. Against this utterance may be set one by Dr. Jameson, ascribing his defeat to the apathy of the people, an apathy due to a temporary feeling that the Imperial Government were not upholding the British factor in South Africa, and he prophesied the disintegration of the Bond party. The Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, opened the Assembly in April; Mr. J. Molteno, a supporter of Mr. Merriman, was elected Speaker. Sir Walter described the session as an emergency one for financial purposes. Depression in the diamond industry had resulted in a very regrettable loss of revenue. Pastoral prospects, however, were gratifying. He expressed much satisfaction at the expected discussions on South African Union. Opinion was almost unanimous in favour of union, which he believed would result in a prosperous self-governing Commonwealth under the British flag. Mr. Merriman, at a later date, spoke in the same sense on a resolution, which was passed, pledging the House to the view that the permanent prosperity of South Africa could only be secured by early union under the British Crown. In introducing the Budget Mr. Merriman described the finances as being seriously disordered; 900,000*l.* had to be raised to meet the deficiency, and this he proposed to accomplish by an estate duty (affecting

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the pockets of absentee South Africans), extensions of income tax on a graduated scale, suspending the sinking fund and reducing by 5 per cent. civil service and members' salaries. Meanwhile, the Government were carrying out heavy retrenchment in expenditure. There was much grumbling at this Budget, but it was passed. An Education Bill also excited much controversy because it reopened the language question. A compromise was arranged by which, up to Standard II., the medium of instruction should be the home language of the child; but no pupil was to pass beyond Standard III. unless good progress in English had been made; the instruction after Standard III. was to be in English, save for South African geography, history and religious teaching. This compromise, however, fell through.

During the session loans up to 1,846,124*l.* were sanctioned, chiefly for the purpose of meeting deficits. Among minor incidents may be mentioned an attempt to check a flood of indecent post-cards and similar literature; the formation of a society to preserve rare bulbs and heaths, of which South Africa is despoiled by commercial collectors; a visit paid by Herr Dernburg, the German Colonial Secretary, who spent a week at Cape Town as a guest of the Governor; and a visit of the squadron under Sir Percy Scott during the sittings of the Closer Union Convention at the end of the year.

There was much discussion in South Africa on the question of a capital for the Federated States, the rival claims of Cape Town and Pretoria being zealously debated. The weight of argument seemed to rest with the former city.

Trade in Cape Colony during the year was depressed and that with Great Britain showed large decreases. Mr. Merriman in the House of Assembly in July denied the rumours that Germany had been endeavouring to purchase Walfisch Bay. The Government would not in any circumstances part with it, and they were acting in concert with the other Colonies.

The year 1907 closed in *Natal* with the surrender of Dinizulu after the mobilisation of the Natal forces and their despatch into Zululand; 1908 closed with the charge of high treason against him still undetermined. The forces under Colonel Sir D. McKenzie were demobilised early in the year. The Governor, Sir M. Nathan, thereafter made a tour through Zululand and held a great indaba at Nkandla. The chiefs who attended it were reported to have expressed satisfaction at the removal of Dinizulu and to have asked the Governor not to allow him ever to return. Sir M. Nathan's speech was on the theme that the policy of the Government was to forgive and forget, and he gave effect to it by pardoning the rank and file of those concerned in the rebellion of 1906. He invited the chiefs to co-operate in preserving the tranquillity of Zululand. Nearly 500 native prisoners implicated in the rebellion were shortly afterwards released. Meanwhile a preliminary inquiry into Dinizulu's alleged wrong-doing was proceeding at Pietermaritzburg and

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Mr. Jellicoe, an English counsel, had been retained on the chief's behalf. Mr. Jellicoe printed in the Natal *Witness*, in the form of a letter to the Governor, severe reflections on the Natal Government, whom he charged, *inter alia*, with continuing martial law in Zululand for the double purpose of protecting against prosecution officials who had lashed and shot natives, and of preventing Dinizulu from getting material for his defence. He complained that the Government had put such difficulties in the way of Dinizulu's solicitor that it was useless for him (Mr. Jellicoe) to attempt to defend the prisoner; and he added that he would not be justified in remaining in Natal "to take part in the judicial outrage that is now being perpetrated." These charges raised a storm of indignation, and the *Witness* was fined 25*l.* for contempt of court. Mr. Jellicoe returned to England. A Ministerial minute described his statements as so manifestly untrue as to be too contemptible for Government notice. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Carter, took action for libel against the *Witness* in respect of certain statements reflecting upon himself, and was awarded 500*l.* damages. After Mr. Jellicoe's departure, Mr. W. P. Schreiner, K.C., the former Premier of Cape Colony, was retained as senior counsel for Dinizulu. When the Natal Parliament opened it was announced that a special court would be constituted for the trial of the chief, whose salary, by the way, had been suspended by the Natal authorities.

Lord Elgin objected to this suspension, and the result of a long and unfortunate controversy was that the arrears of salary were paid by the Imperial Government (pp. 182, 183). A Bill was passed constituting a special court for the trial of all cases of native crime committed before July 1, 1908, the court to consist of three Commissioners, two of whom were to be Judges of the Supreme Court. Mr. Carter, the Minister of Justice, in moving the second reading, assured the Assembly that it was intended that the trial of Dinizulu should be absolutely impartial. An Indemnity Act was also passed under pressure from the Imperial Government, which had earlier been urged by a Committee (in England) of defenders of native rights to intimate that the Bill would only be assented to if strong cause for it were shown. In his reply (Jan. 15) Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman intimated his general sympathy with the views of the memorialists as to the undesirableness of employing martial law against unrepresented native peoples, but intimated that in view of all the circumstances there need be no question as to disallowing the Bill.

The leader of the Natal Opposition congratulated Ministers on the Indemnity Bill as an indication of better relations with the Imperial Government. The Bill did not, however, pass without strong objections in the British Parliament from two Liberals, Mr. Mackarness and Mr. G. Greenwood (p. 183), whose attitude was strongly resented in the Colony. The Commissioners ap-

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pointed to the special court were Sir W. J. Smith, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, Mr. H. G. Boshoff, Judge of the Native High Court of Natal, and Mr. Henrique Shepstone, C.M.G., son of the famous Theophilus Shepstone. Dinizulu had meanwhile been committed for trial, and martial law having been ended facilities had been given for the collection of evidence for the defence. The indictment before the special court did not include that of murder, and the various counts resolve themselves into charges of high treason and abetting of treason. Several other Zulus were committed at the same time as Dinizulu. The trial of Dinizulu began in November, but had not concluded when the year ended.

At the close of the year the Natal Government appointed a Commission to consider the question of discontinuing or restricting the immigration of Indians, the alteration of the laws establishing the Indian Immigration Trust Board, and the question of an alternative labour supply from within Central or South Africa. The Commission was directed also to report whether past Indian immigration had displaced the aboriginal native and curtailed his field of labour.

Nyombolwana, the murderer of the Zulu Chief Sitsitshili, was found guilty and executed (Dec. 21) in the presence of members of the Sitsitshili tribe.

The issues underlying the *federation or unification of the South African Colonies* were set forth in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1907 (p. 134 *seq.*), in the form of an analysis of Lord Selborne's memorandum. During 1908 steps were taken in the direction of formulating a scheme, an Inter-State Conference being held at Pretoria and afterwards at Cape Town. This Conference passed a resolution affirming the principle of closer union, the delegates undertaking to submit the matter to their Parliaments with a recommendation for the appointment of delegates to a National Convention constituted for the purpose of drawing up a draft Constitution. A further resolution recommended that this National Convention should consist of twelve delegates from Cape Colony, eight from the Transvaal and five each from Natal and the Orange River Colony. Provision was to be made for the later entrance of Rhodesia in any scheme of union. There was much criticism, especially in Natal, of the proposed composition of the National Convention, the point pressed being that the larger States would have power to coerce the smaller; but the plan was passed in the Parliaments concerned and delegates appointed in the proportion set out above. They met at Durban on October 12, Sir Henry de Villiers, one of the Cape delegates, being President. A message was read from the King expressing his Majesty's deep interest in the subject of the Convention, and his cordial good wishes for the success of the deliberations, which he was confident would be animated by the wholehearted desire and the unswerving efforts of the delegates for the common good of South Africa. The Government also

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sent a message on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom, expressing a profound sense of the importance of the Convention and of closer union. It was a source of gratification to the Imperial Government that the Convention had been rendered possible, and the Government confidently hoped that the labours of the delegates would produce results beneficial to South Africa. Sir Matthew Nathan, the Governor of Natal, in opening the proceedings, said the people of South Africa looked to the delegates to devise a scheme which would unite them into a great nation of white people, maintaining their virility, increasing their numbers, and ruling over a contented native population. Their task was that of welding the States into a nation, so governed that the vast resources of South Africa could be developed, peace and good order maintained within and security provided against attack from without,—a nation that would be a new commonwealth, adding to, not drawing on, the strength of the Empire; one in which the arts and sciences would advance so that in culture as in strength South Africa would be among the foremost nations of the world. The business sittings of the Convention were held with closed doors; but it was understood that on the fundamental principle of union a unanimous vote was taken. Later in the year the Convention adjourned to Cape Town, but it had not concluded its labours at the close of the year. The secrecy of its proceedings was maintained, but an optimistic feeling was current in the Colonies that an acceptable draft Constitution would be drafted, the idea being that of a Unitary State rather than Federation. The difficulties, however, are multifarious. The Boer attitude was well expressed by General Smuts, one of the Transvaal delegates, in a speech at Durban on the occasion of a banquet to the officers of a squadron of the fleet under the command of Sir Percy Scott. General Smuts said that the peace made at Vereeniging was never likely to be disturbed, but until the further and larger steps were taken some discord would remain. Every part of South Africa would have to make sacrifices for the ideal. At Vereeniging the Republic had made the biggest sacrifice they could ever make; and they had not suffered in consequence. Let the other Colonies follow that example. One State, one Government, one people—that was their aim.

The *Orange River Colony* has had an uneventful year. The Bloemfontein-Kimberley Railway was opened by the Governor, Sir H. Goold-Adams, in April. On this line white labour had been very largely employed, and the Governor spoke of the results of the experiment as being most gratifying. It had proved that whites would do manual work in South Africa, and the efficiency of that work was shown by the fact that the construction cost had been 10,000*l.* less than the estimates. The pile of buildings in Bloemfontein, in which the Government offices were situated, was burnt down in October. A new Education Bill was passed, a compromise being effected on the language ques-

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tion, by which children may be exempted from learning either the Dutch or the English language or accepting either as a means of instruction, and by which knowledge of the Taal is not to be an indispensable qualification for existing education officers. The proceedings of the Assembly are otherwise unimportant, except that approval was expressed of the principle of South African unity and delegates appointed. Pensions were unanimously voted by the Assembly to Mr. Steyn, the President at the time of the war, and Mr. Reitz, the Secretary, the amount in the first case being 1,000*l.* a year and in the second 500*l.* The country has suffered from the prevalent depression and, like the Transvaal, has an embarrassing number of poor whites. Deputations of unemployed were not infrequent at Bloemfontein. The Government promised a system of labour bureaux and relief works.

Southern Rhodesia, according to the Administrator's statement at the opening of the Legislative Council, had now reached the self-supporting stage and was making steady progress. The Government were in full sympathy with the principle of closer union. A measure was passed requiring Asiatics to register as in the Transvaal. The British South Africa Company issued new regulations for settlers taking up land. They provided either for purchase outright for cash, with easy occupation conditions, or by instalments, spread over ten years; or by tenancy with the option of purchase, the rental calculated at 5 per cent. on the purchase price, with rebates given for fencing, tree planting and cultivation of a given area. Arrangements were also made to grant large areas for ranching on lease. The price of virgin land ranges from 9*d.* to 4*s.* per acre. Settlers have free conveyance over the Rhodesian railways, with half rates for live stock and implements. The Legislative Council resolved that the Imperial Government be asked to investigate and decide outstanding differences between the settlers and the Company, the chief being the Company's claims to certain land as its private estate and to the appropriation of certain revenues. As a protest against the appropriation of these revenues the Council declined to contribute its share to the London expenses of the Company.

An agreement was concluded between Mr. Robert Williams and the British South Africa Company for the extension of the Rhodesian railway from Broken Hill to a point on the Congo frontier near Maigaba, the Katanga Railway Company then to proceed with the construction of the line from that point to the Star of the Congo Mine, and eventually, as mineral development justifies, to the Lualaba River, a continuation of the Upper Congo. "General" Booth visited Cape Colony during the year and had a very cordial reception. He stated that the Salvation Army schemes for Rhodesian colonisation were in abeyance owing to financial considerations.

Swaziland has remained quiet and there is nothing of note

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to record. The Resident Commissioner announced to a meeting of Europeans at Mbabane, with reference to the closer union movement, that the Imperial Government would not transfer its administration of the country to any central Government that might be the outcome of the National Convention; but would make the transfer at such a time as might be thought fit by all parties. Meanwhile the Imperial Government would continue its administration with the consultative assistance of the South African Colonies.

Basutoland was quiet, but the Resident Commissioner notifies the existence of a spirit of ill-will among the youth of the country, particularly among the elder scholars of the Mission schools. The Paramount Chief, Letsie, works satisfactorily with the High Commissioner; but the chiefs are addicted to drink, and brandy smugglers vex the Administration. The revenue for 1906-7 was 111,903*l.* and expenditure 108,832*l.* The value of the imports was 242,353*l.* and exports 185,155*l.* Nearly 77,000 passes for labour (chiefly to the Transvaal) were issued during the year. Glanders is a serious danger in the country, and other contagious cattle diseases are reported to be on the increase, a fact regarded with growing uneasiness by the contiguous Colonies, and likely to form an argument for the incorporation of Basutoland into the South African administrative system.

II. EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

Egypt and the Soudan have continued their steady progress on the lines of policy laid down by Lord Cromer. Sir Eldon Gorst, the new agent and Consul General, made it plain at the outset that he contemplated no departure from the principles and methods of his predecessor; and his adherence to the ideas of his former chief has not made his task easier, for he has been hotly assailed by the organs of the National movement, which continues with undiminished vigour, notwithstanding the death of its talented young leader, Mustapha Kamel Pasha. But it still appears that there is more noise than solidity in this agitation. Mustapha Kamel died in February, in his thirty-fourth year, and was succeeded in the leadership by Ahmed Farid, who has not yet shown the oratorical gifts and capacity for agitation which his predecessor unquestionably possessed. The funeral of Mustapha Kamel was made the occasion of a great Nationalist demonstration and it was estimated that over 10,000 persons attended the ceremony. They were in great part of the "Effendi" class, and comprised the students from nearly all the higher and secondary schools in Cairo, where the interment took place. Broadly regarded, the Nationalist movement is confined to Cairo and has not yet reached the masses of the people. These remain indifferent, or appear to do so, upon their system of Government. Sir Eldon Gorst in his last report gives some striking figures, showing the apathy, in the capital, in the

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towns and in the villages, of the electorate qualified to vote for the Legislative Council and the General Assembly; and every adult male Egyptian has the right to vote for the delegates, who in turn elect the members of these bodies. In the provinces the general practice is that the Omdeh, or other principal inhabitant, sends out the village policeman, who drives voters to the polls, where they vote as they are told. The delegates, however, do take a keen interest in their part of the proceedings. The circumstances in which the last Egyptian general election was conducted "confirms the opinion," says Sir Eldon Gorst, "that the country is very far from having arrived at the stage when anything in the nature of really representative institutions is possible." If the forms and outward organisation of representative government were set up, "the only result would be to play into the hands of self-seeking politicians, who could easily manipulate the system to serve their own purposes. I have no hesitation in adding that the great majority of the upper and middle classes—that is to say, the people who have a stake in the country—do not wish to see any extension of self-government at the present moment, and would be the first to admit that the country is not ripe for it. As for the fellaheen, who make up the bulk of the population, it would not be possible to make them understand what the idea meant. Until the people have made a great deal more progress in the direction of moral and intellectual development, the creation of representative institutions, as understood in England, could only cause more harm than good, and would, as a matter of fact, give a complete setback to the present policy of administrative reform." In that policy the Legislative Council and General Assembly are taking an increasing share, and Sir Eldon Gorst's report contains in its various administrative sections evidence of the influence of these bodies upon the action of the Government. Sir Eldon agrees that it is desirable that the members should have every encouragement to discuss public questions freely and to gain a better understanding of them; but no fundamental change of organisation or functions is at present expedient. The policy of the administration is therefore unaltered; and it may be noted here that the Home Government have given no indication during the year that they favour any change, though they have been pressed from time to time by questioners in Parliament who are favourable to the Nationalist cause. Its objects are the administrative independence of Egypt under the Khedivial authority; fulfilment of British pledges to terminate the occupation; representative institutions with full political and administrative powers; free primary education with Arabic as the medium of instruction; the preferential employment of Egyptians in the public services, and extension of the jurisdiction of the mixed courts to criminal cases in which foreigners are concerned. This last object is one which the Administration itself desires; but the capitulations stand in the way of equality

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before the law of Europeans and Egyptians alike, and to get rid of the capitulations requires the assent of fifteen different Powers. Lord Cromer left as a legacy to his successor a plan for the solution of this difficulty, but Sir Eldon Gorst reports that so far there is not unanimity of opinion, either European or native. The most important problem for the future, he points out, is to devise a system which will render all the inhabitants of the country equally subject to the same laws. If Lord Cromer's plan is not acceptable in all details, "other methods of dealing with the situation must be sought; but whatever scheme may ultimately be adopted it seems clear that it must embody the main principle underlying Lord Cromer's suggestions." These were briefly outlined in the last issue of the ANNUAL REGISTER (1907, p. 422).

It was claimed by the Nationalists that the elections resulted in the return of men solidly in favour of their programme. This seems to have been the case, for at a meeting of the Council in December a motion was unanimously passed calling upon the Government to initiate a law giving the nation full participation in the internal administration of the country. This, however, is not necessarily an indication of the opinion of the Egyptian people, for, as has been seen, those who voted were few and uninformed; but it may be taken as a fruit of the vigorous and vituperative press campaign carried on by the Nationalist leaders.

In common with all other countries Egypt has felt the effect of the monetary stringency which began in America towards the end of 1907, but Sir Eldon Gorst does not think it has affected the agricultural class as a whole or the public finances. The total amount of debt in the hands of the public was, at the close of 1907, E. 87,448,000*l.*, involving a charge of E. 3,324,000*l.* on account of interest and sinking fund. The estimated revenue for 1908 was E. 15,030,000*l.* and expenditure E. 14,730,000*l.*, E. 970,000*l.* being special expenditure—railways, postal, education, irrigation. The financial adviser, Mr. Harvey, in a note on the Budget pointed out that Egypt will need for many years to come to incur heavy capital expenditure, which is not optional, on irrigation, railways, harbours and buildings. This expenditure is consequent upon the policy of irrigation, which brings constantly increasing areas under cultivation, necessitating new railway lines and administrative buildings. The projects now before the Government, all desirable, and most of them inevitable, mean a capital expenditure during the next few years of 20,000,000*l.* The Budget for 1909 showed that the receipts for the last financial year were E. 15,100,000*l.*, and the expenditure E. 14,850,000*l.*—a surplus of E. 250,000*l.* The 1909 estimates show a net increase of E. 70,000*l.* in receipts and E. 120,000*l.* in expenditure.

Irrigation work of various kinds has proceeded during the year, and Sir William Garstin made his last journey to the upper reaches of the Nile, at least as a servant of the Egyptian Govern-

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ment, when he left to take up the duties of a Director of the Suez Canal Company. Sir William was one of the irrigation officers brought from India in the early days of the British occupation, and has made himself, in Lord Cromer's language, "incomparably the highest living authority on all matters connected with Nile irrigation." Sir Eldon Gorst notes his resignation in language which calls for record here. Sir William's "studies of the problem as to how the waters of the Blue and White Niles may best be utilised for the benefit of Egypt and the Soudan will remain for many years to come the basis of the irrigation projects of the future. In addition to his professional talents, no Englishman in the Egyptian service has succeeded in obtaining a greater hold over the Egyptians with whom he has been brought into contact, or in inspiring more universal affection and esteem among all classes of society. The harshest critics of British administration are obliged by the force of public opinion to make an exception in Sir William Garstin's favour, and his departure will be deplored by the whole community without a dissentient voice." Sir William is succeeded by Mr. A. L. Webb, for some years his right-hand man in irrigation work.

Sir Eldon Gorst gives an elaborate account of the condition of education. The policy of the Administration is to make the Europeanised schools, which are intended primarily for those who wish to enter the Government service or the professions, gradually self-supporting, and to extend elementary vernacular education and industrial schools. The great difficulty in the way of the latter object is the scarcity of native teachers. Sir Eldon Gorst does not think the country is yet ripe for universal and free education, which will, however, become practicable if the draft law on Provincial Councils be passed. This scheme, which it was hoped would be brought into operation early in 1909, provides for Councils consisting of district representatives—village headmen and other leading local inhabitants; and the Councils will be empowered to levy a local school rate and control local elementary education. It appears that at present 24 per cent. of all the boys of school age are in actual attendance. It is noted with regret that the vernacular press has kept up a violent attack upon Mr. Dunlop, the adviser to the Minister of Education, Said Zaghloul Pasha. On the whole Sir Eldon Gorst thinks that education is making steady and, in view of the practical difficulties, comparatively rapid progress in the direction of a national system. In the Soudan it appears that there are 2,643 students receiving a Government education. A distinct change has come over the attitude of the people and several of the Soudan provinces have accepted a local rate for vernacular education. The report of the Gordon College at Khartoum, the income of which exceeded 20,000*l*., of which 12,000*l*. was provided by the Soudan Government, shows that there were over 500 pupils in the different branches. Mr. James Currie, the Principal, was at Kamlin during the Abd-el-Kader disturbances (*post*, p. 415), and found

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himself called upon to act as Inspector of the District. In that capacity he had opportunities of observing the behaviour of several ex-students now in the Government service. They acquitted themselves admirably, and it would appear that the College is amply justifying its existence as a training school for the type of native needed for governing purposes in the Soudan districts.

The trade of Egypt continues satisfactory. The total value of merchandise exported and imported, exclusive of transit re-exportation and specie, was E. 54,134,000*l.*, an advance of E. 5,246,000*l.* on the figure for 1906. The value of imports was E. 26,121,000*l.* as against E. 24,011,000*l.*, and of exports E. 28,013,000*l.* as against E. 24,877,000*l.* As regards the share of different countries in the total trade, England holds the first place, as an importing country, with 32·5 per cent., followed by France with 12·1, Turkey with 11·4, Austria with 7·9, Germany with 5·3, and Italy with 5·2. England took 54·4 per cent. of the exports; Germany, 8·1; America, 7·5; France, 7·3; and Russia, 5·7.

The condition of the *Soudan* shows a steady advance of Government authority in remote districts and a consolidation of influence elsewhere. There seems to be no doubt, says Sir Eldon Gorst, that the population is rapidly increasing and must now exceed 2,000,000. There are now 3,914 Europeans in the provinces and 17,000 Abyssinians, Egyptians and Indians, principally in Khartoum province. From across the Abyssinian border raids are not infrequent and must be expected until the Emperor Menelik can establish a more efficient control of his border provinces. External Soudan difficulties have, however, been much lessened by the settlement of the frontiers of Abyssinia and Uganda, the retirement of Belgian troops from the south-west portions of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and an understanding with the Sultan Ali Dinar as regards the Darfour frontier. But exclusive of the Egyptian frontier and the seaboard there are some 4,000 miles of frontier beyond which the Soudanese tribes are for the most part wild and savage and under merely nominal control. With the force available it must continue to be difficult to keep Soudanese territory free from raids. Telegraphic communication is now established between Khartoum and Gondokoro. All the disputed territory in the Lado enclave is now evacuated by the Belgians and an Anglo-Belgian Commission has been engaged in selecting a route for the Nile-Congo Railway. Captains Newcombe, Micklem and Mackenzie were the Anglo-Soudanese members of the Commission, and Sir R. Wingate, the Sirdar, pays a high tribute to the excellent work they did "under circumstances of considerable hardship and discomfort in a climate trying to Europeans." The Soudan revenue for 1907 was E. 966,000*l.* and the expenditure E. 1,013,000*l.*, a deficit of 47,000*l.* The annual subvention from the Egyptian Government now stands at E. 253,000*l.*,

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and the surplus of E. 206,000*l.* was credited to the reserve fund. The estimated revenue (without the subvention) for 1908 was 1,000,201*l.* and expenditure, including interest on loans, E. 1,253,207*l.* The reserve fund at the beginning of 1908 stood at E. 247,000*l.*, most of which was allocated for public works of various kinds. The imports in 1907 were E. 1,214,859*l.*, an increase of E. 877,705*l.*, and exports (chiefly gum and ivory) E. 357,729*l.*, an increase of E. 159,779*l.* The transit traffic has grown from E. 13,153*l.* in 1906 to E. 22,656*l.* in 1907. The drink imports have fallen owing to stricter Government supervision of the trade. The Soudan railway is carrying increased traffic and the Blue Nile at Khartoum is being bridged for the purposes of a railway into the fertile Gezira district, with an ultimate extension towards El Obeid, within reach of the extensive gum forests of Kordofan. The bridge is expected to be open at the end of 1909. The campaign against slavery continues. The export of slaves from the coast has been practically stopped by the posts in the Red Sea Province, and the latest effort to suppress the traffic is the throwing of patrols from Eliri in South-west Kordofan to watch the main slave route, which is now believed to pass through the districts of Bangassu, Senussi and Gabab (French Congo) and northwards through Kafra-Kingi and Kabalungu (Bahr-el-Ghazal). The district reports are of the usual high interest. One records a tragedy of the desert which deserves mention here. Early in 1907 a small garrison was on its way to a post—Bir Natron —some 280 miles west of Dongola, to reinforce the post with the object of preventing tribal fighting. It was followed by a convoy of supplies, which convoy lost its way. Fearing to run short of supplies, the officer in command evacuated the post and started for Dongola again, expecting to meet the food convoy *en route*. The official narrative briefly tells what happened. "The party carried enough supplies to take them to Abu Tabari, a five days' march, but on the fifth day they found themselves still in the waterless desert, and their remaining guide—the other having previously deserted—acknowledged that he had lost his way. Their supply of water ran out. The officer halted and sent out two scouting parties of four men each, north and south. The first of these came across the food convoy on April 15, and returned with guides and water to where the remainder of the detachment had been left. Here only eleven men, seven women, and a child were found, all in a very exhausted condition, and from them it was ascertained that a few hours previously the officer, with those who were strong enough to move, had proceeded southwards to look for water. The tracks of this main party had, however, been obliterated by a heavy sandstorm, and all efforts to trace them were fruitless. News of the calamity reached Dongola on April 27. On the 28th search parties from the local Arab tribes were organised and sent out with offers of large rewards.

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Although they were handicapped by sandstorms and extreme heat, they succeeded in finding the dead bodies of the officer and one man and in rescuing alive the sergeant and three men of the southern scouting party. The latter had reached Abu Tabari, after terrible sufferings. To the courage and resource displayed by this sergeant he and his companions owe their lives. The total of those who perished was one officer, twenty-one non-commissioned officers and men, and one woman. A special court of inquiry, after holding an exhaustive examination, established that this sad occurrence, which I record with deep regret, was due to circumstances beyond human control. The post of Bir Natron was reoccupied."

In April a body of ex-dervishes under the leadership of one Abd-el-Kader, attacked and killed Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, the Deputy Inspector of the Blue Nile Province, and an Egyptian police commandant, at a village near Kamlin. Dickinson Bey, the Governor of the Province, started for the scene with a small force and was attacked by the band, which numbered about 150. The attack was repulsed, thirty-five of the enemy being killed and the leader captured. Dickinson Bey was slightly and Major Logan severely wounded, and two native officers and eight men were killed. This ended the rebellion, which was not general among the people, but confined to Dervishes who had settled in the district after the fall of Khartoum. Abd-el-Kader was tried at Kamlin before the Mudir's Court under the presidency of the civil judge, Mr. Peacock, and being found guilty was executed and his property forfeited. Twenty-three other persons were tried, twenty of them being convicted, twelve being sentenced to death. These sentences were, however, commuted to life-imprisonment. The Nationalist newspaper in Cairo treated this affair as "A New Denshawi" and grossly misrepresented the facts. Abdul Aziz Shawish, editor of the *Lewa*, founded by Mustapha Kamel, was charged in connection with published statements arising out of this matter and fined 20*l.* and costs. The story circulated by the Nationalist party was that a number of Soudanese captured by the British force were massacred, and on this Abdul Aziz founded certain comments on the Ministry of War. He appealed, however, against the decision of the Summary Court and the conviction was quashed. In the hilly region of South Kordofan there were also disturbances necessitating more effective patrol work. A despatch received from Khartoum in November reported that a force under Major Lempriere punished the tribes in the Jebel Fassu district which had withheld tribute for some years and otherwise defied the administration. A village was stormed on November 3 and the chiefs captured after a fight in which there were twenty-eight casualties.

In the early part of 1908 Sir Eldon Gorst visited the Soudan after an interval of seven years, travelling through a considerable portion of Dongola Province. "I was able to see with my own

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eyes the immense advance, not only in the material well-being of the population but also in their moral and intellectual standard." Two points were especially noticeable: the activity, good feeling and enthusiasm of all branches of the administrative services; and the hold which the Englishmen in Government employ had obtained over the heterogeneous peoples of the Soudan.

The final figures of the census show a population in Egypt of 11,192,000—an increase of 15 per cent. in ten years. This is exclusive of about 80,000 nomad Arabs. The full statistics as to age, religion, etc., are not yet available.

III. NORTH-EAST AFRICA AND THE PROTECTORATES.

The situation in *Abyssinia* remains unchanged, and there is little to record beyond raids, which affected Anglo-Egyptian interests in the Nile Valley, and Italian in the Somaliland region. One of the latter raids early in the year was on a large scale, and there was a pitched battle between the hillmen and Italian friendlies. Representations were made by Italy to the Emperor Menelik, who was able to satisfy the complainants that he had nothing to do with the incursion; he was willing to afford them satisfaction. He arrested the chiefs concerned, sent them to long terms of imprisonment, and appointed other chiefs to be responsible for the peace of the Benadir frontier region. The Emperor's difficulties here are similar to those on the Soudanese frontier; but his goodwill towards both Great Britain and Italy is unquestionable. In June it was reported that he had nominated a successor in the person of Lidj Eyassa, a son of Ras Mikhael and a daughter of the Emperor. The heir-apparent would, it was announced, visit the capitals of Europe and make the acquaintance of the heads of the States. The Emperor instituted in August a Cabinet Council, the first departure from the absolutism of the Monarchy. It is worth noting that Abyssinians have been recruited for service under the British flag in East Africa in lieu of Soudanese, who are no longer available for service outside their own country. A Convention between Abyssinia and Italy was signed on May 16, defining the limits of Italian Somaliland and Daucalia. Under this compact Lugh and the caravan centre at the confluence of the Dau and Ganana were to remain in Italian possession, Abyssinia receiving compensation fixed at 120,000*l.* The agreement regulated the position of the independent tribes on the boundary.

Towards the end of the year evidences of unsettlement in *Somaliland*, beyond the Haud, accumulated, the Mullah resuming his raiding activities. Orders were sent to Nyssaland for reinforcements and 300 of the King's African Rifles (a native force) were sent to Berbera and were drafted to Burao, a post eighty miles inland, and then the extreme limit of interior occupation by the British. But no campaign was contemplated, the

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policy being to leave the Mullah free to assert his predominance in the hinterland, subject, of course, to his non-interference with friendly tribes whom the British are bound in honour to protect. The situation late in December became much more grave. Earlier in the year the Mullah had caused much trouble in the Benadir region of Italian Somaliland, by attacking rival Sultans under Italian protection. He was credited with having committed atrocities, such as burning offending persons alive, and for this the congregation of the Sheikhs at Mecca censured him as an unworthy follower of the Prophet. The Italians managed to inflict sharp defeats upon him, but even more effective work was done by preventing arms and ammunition reaching him from the coast. In this connection mention may be made of the fact that an international conference met at Brussels in April to devise better means of preventing the importation of arms in Africa. The existing Conventions, though of the utmost stringency verbally, have proved to be ineffective in practice. A new draft Convention was agreed upon with the object of stopping gun-running. The trade, however, is so profitable to the Europeans and natives concerned in it that it is doubtful whether the new instrument will be more efficacious than the old.

The report for *East Africa* for 1907-8 shows a revenue (March 31) of 474,760*l.*, an increase of 13,397*l.* over that of the previous year, but a shortage on the official estimate of 72,631*l.* Provincial administration had been much more costly, owing to the development of administrative control and the opening up of new districts. Land sales had fallen owing to the new policy of leasing instead of alienating land, and the applications had fallen off considerably. East Coast fever, drought, lack of capital, financial depression are given as the causes of a check in the development of the country. Among small farmers in the uplands there had been several failures. The total value of the trade of the year was 1,776,072*l.*, an increase of a million in five years, due chiefly to the carrying trade on the Uganda railway of goods in transit to and from German East Africa. The export trade from German East Africa figured at 173,296*l.*, against 157,097*l.* exports from the British Protectorate. The Imperial grant-in-aid was 152,975*l.* and 40,000*l.* extra for work on slave-trade abolition. For the previous year the grant-in-aid was 164,000*l.* The administration of the country has been strongly criticised locally during the year, and in March last some prominent settlers made an unruly demonstration before the Governor's residence. The point of the criticism lies in the charge that the Government are pro-native and do not sufficiently regard the welfare of the white settlers, some of whom in previous years have not exhibited an over-scrupulous regard for native rights. The differences between the settlers and the administration turn upon Land policy, and as to this an important Blue Book (Cd. 4117) was issued in June. It contained

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a new Bill under which land in the uplands, exclusively for European settlement, may be obtained on a ninety-nine years' lease, but subject to re-assessment at the thirty-third and sixty-sixth years. A despatch by Lord Elgin showed that the policy of the Imperial Government, while encouraging white settlement, was to hamper the speculative acquisition and locking up of land, such as had occurred in the earlier years of Australasian development. The settler class, however, complained that the condition as to re-assessment would bar the flow of capital to the country and that white settlement would therefore continue stationary. The controversy did not close with the year. In December an unpleasant disclosure of misconduct with regard to native women by a young official of the Protectorate was made in *The Times;* and Colonel Seely was questioned in Parliament and pressed to explain why the official had not been dismissed the service. The explanation was that the punishment he had received was adequate, seeing that it would affect his entire official career. The situation in *Uganda* was unchanged during the year. Mr. Winston Churchill aptly described the prospects of the coast and inland regions at the Royal Colonial Institute, in March. The regions could never support a white population; planters had to go frequently to the hills to recuperate and at intervals to go home for new energy. Uganda he regarded as the jewel of the Empire in East Africa. Its negroes were most intelligent and it was one of the most beautiful gardens in the world. If the country were developed it would flush the railway with such a stream of traffic as to make the line a paying concern. In the spring there was some fighting on the borders of the Victoria Nyanza (East African Protectorate), a witch doctor having preached an anti-European war and being responsible for an attempted assassination of Mr. Northcote, the British Resident, and the murder of several British subjects. Sir James Hays Sadler, the Governor, took prompt action, and despatched a force by railway to the lake, whence they were conveyed by steamer and lighters to Kendu Bay. The tribesmen were known as the Kisii, and this was the first experience the region had of the long arm of the British Government. The fighting was not severe.

Uganda has suffered terribly from sleeping sickness, concerning which scourge it should be noted that the Second International Conference closed in March without being able to come to an agreement, the French and Italian plenipotentiaries objecting to the proposal for the establishment of a central bureau in London. A despatch from Mr. Hesketh Bell, the Governor, published in April, showed that during the past five or six years 200,000 people had died of the disease, or more than two-thirds of the population of the Protectorate. The disease had worn itself out in parts for lack of people. Famine followed the plague and it was reported in May that in Usoga Province 4,000 people had died, while 50,000 natives were dependent on Government supplies. Having regard to the failure of the

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International Conference, the British Government established a Sleeping Sickness Bureau in London, the Committee consisting of Sir J. West Ridgeway (chairman), Sir P. Mason, Sir Rupert Boyce, Dr. R. Bradford, Colonel D. Bruce, Mr. A. E. Walrond (Foreign Office), and Mr. H. J. Read (Colonial Office). Dr. A. G. Bagshawe, of the Uganda Medical Staff, was made Director of the Bureau, whose chief duty will be that of collecting information of the scourge, and the application of knowledge to affected areas. Segregation camps were established in Uganda, and the Governor's despatch gives an interesting account of the noble work done by the White Fathers of the Algerian Mission, who have established themselves in Uganda. In September the Government sent out a Commission to Uganda to investigate the disease, Colonel Sir David Bruce being the chairman. Sir David was accompanied by Lady Bruce, who has much African experience in similar matters. Lady Bruce was made a member of the Commission, which at the end of the year was at work on the Kampala side of the Lake. An agreement was made with Germany for joint official and medical action. A report by the Government geologist in October was to the effect that gold was found in considerable quantities in various regions of the Protectorate.

German East Africa was visited during the year by Herr Dernburg, the Imperial Secretary of State. He reported that he found the condition of the natives unsatisfactory, and that the judicial system was unfavourable to them. There were too many officials on the coast and too few in the interior. The time had not arrived for encouraging European immigration. He was favourable to East Indian immigration and would do nothing to restrict it. If Indian settlers were expelled trade and revenue would decline. The Colonial Budget passed by the Reichstag gives the financial particulars of all German Colonies in Africa. Dr. von Lindequist, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was on a tour in East Africa at the end of the year with the object of studying the capabilities of the Highlands for white settlement.

Nyassaland marks time. There have been unexpected difficulties in the construction of the railway to Blantyre. The revenue for 1907-8 was 75,197*l.* exclusive of the Imperial grant-in-aid, and the expenditure 105,587*l.* The value of the imports, including railway material and specie, was 169,541*l.* and of exports of Protectorate products 68,604*l.* The markets were overstocked with imports. The European population is 587—a stationary figure. Planting enterprises are meeting with varying degrees of success. Native affairs have been satisfactory save for the appearance of a prophetess, a Chikunda woman known as "Chanjiri," who decreed that no hut tax should be paid, that tribute must be paid to her, and that the Europeans would leave the country. She obtained many followers eager to believe in the exodus of the dominant race, and as she issued her prophecies

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from Portuguese territory there was some difficulty in dealing with her. The hut tax returns showed for a time a serious shortage, but as the prophecies did not "come true" her influence disappeared. There is a considerable exodus of Nyassaland labour into Southern Rhodesia, the Transvaal market being closed. The railway (100 miles) connecting Port Herald and Chiromo on the Shire with Blantyre, the capital, was opened in April. The line will be continued to Zomba and Lake Nyassa, thus giving direct communication from the Indian Ocean to the interior.

Mozambique Province shared in the general depression of South Africa. The report for 1907 tells of diminished trade and population and "the hardships which result from a slow return to normal conditions from the deceptive inflation consequent upon the late war." Great development was expected after the war; liberal provision was made for it, but it has not arrived, nor, as the country is dependent for its prosperity on the transit trade with the Transvaal, can it be looked for, it seems, until the cattle-farming lands between the coast and the Transvaal are developed. Much of the local trade is in Indian hands. The Consular reports from the various ports are not encouraging.

IV. NORTH AND WEST AFRICA.

The great fact of the year in *Morocco* has been the downfall of Sultan Abdul Aziz and the apparently secure establishment on the throne of Mulai Hafid, his half-brother, who had seized the reins of power in the South. In January, Mulai Hafid succeeded in getting himself unanimously proclaimed Sultan at Fez, which had up to that time remained loyal to the legitimate sovereign; and the movement there in his favour seems to have been genuinely democratic. According to Mr. Walter Harris, *The Times* correspondent, upon whose despatches the English public have been almost entirely dependent for trustworthy news from Morocco, Abdul Aziz wrote to the Ulema of Fez for sanction and co-operation in accepting the help of French troops to reassert his power. The Ulema replied that if Christian aid was necessary for that purpose it was clear that Abdul Aziz no longer possessed the confidence of the Moorish people. This news leaked out and the townspeople took the situation in hand themselves and held a meeting for the selection of a new Sultan, the unanimous choice falling upon Mulai Hafid. The Ulema drew up the necessary documents, the Sultan was officially proclaimed, and an embassy sent forthwith to Mulai Hafid, then at Marrakesh, offering allegiance. Abdul Aziz was then at Rabat, and as several other towns followed the example of the northern capital his political position became precarious and that of the French Government one of much delicacy, especially as it was understood that Mulai Hafid had been given the sovereignty on condition that he would resist some of the reforms. The

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next development was the adherence of the Shereefs of Wazan and Alcazar to the cause of Mulai Hafid, the effect of which was to place the whole interior of Morocco under the usurper. It next appeared that Mulai Hafid was marching north and that an army was being collected at Fez to join hands with him; Abdul Aziz was meanwhile collecting what force he could at Rabat; but both brothers were greatly hampered by want of cash. Moreover, there was a third Sultan, Bu Hamara, exercising independent authority on the Riff coast, and Raisuli was in a position of like freedom in the neighbourhood of Tangier and with important prisoners, including Sir Harry Maclean, in his keeping, for whom he was demanding heavy ransom. Meanwhile, Mulai Hafid interested himself in procuring the release of Sir Harry Maclean, and the British Government treated direct with Raisuli through the Legation at Tangier, obtaining the Kaid's release, after seven months' captivity, at a cost of 20,000*l.* ransom (Jan. 24). At the same time the French had had a troublesome task at Casablanca and neighbourhood, and also on the Algerian borders where quietude had not been restored by the submission of the Beni Snassen tribes. There was sharp fighting in February between General d'Amade and one of Mulai Hafid's forces, in the Settat Pass, with severe losses on both sides, particularly on the Moorish. It then seemed to be inevitable that France would be drawn into further military operations in the interior; but from one cause or another, probably the severity of the punishment the Moors sustained at Settat, the necessity to advance passed off. There were, indeed, rumours that Mulai Hafid sought an armistice with the French, and he sent envoys to Berlin, Paris and London with protestations of peace and goodwill, and of willingness to observe the Act of Algeciras, in the hope of obtaining recognition of his sovereignty. Meanwhile the news from Morocco continued to be of the massing of troops under the banners of the rival Sultans and of frequent fighting in the neighbourhood of Casablanca, and on the Algerian frontier, fighting in which the French were invariably the gainers. But the one fact that clearly emerged was that the fortunes of Mulai Hafid were in the ascendant and that the national sentiment was with him. He arrived with a strong force at Fez on June 7 and set about levying taxes and clearing out the "evidences of civilisation" Abdul Aziz had accumulated there. These were, according to Mr. Walter B. Harris, broken and rusty motor-cars (for a roadless country), scores of damaged bicycles; masses of warped cameras and decaying photographic material; a rotting state coach; an uninstalled passenger lift; vast kitchen ranges for coal, unprocurable in Morocco; cases of fantastic uniforms; stores of broken mechanical toys; miles of wall-paper; ladies' underclothing and false hair; fire balloons, pianos, harmoniums and street organs and masses of other worthless stuff which Europeans had palmed off upon the childish Abdul Aziz in exchange for

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hundreds of thousands of pounds. Having cleaned out the palace of this rubbish Mulai Hafid sent out a force to deal with Abdul Aziz, who was marching on Marrakesh, apparently in the belief that Mulai Hafid's position in the South had become intolerable. In August the cause of Aziz was irretrievably lost. His advance guard was attacked by the Hafidist tribesmen in the neighbourhood of Marrakesh and broke and fled. A panic ensued amongst the main body, which also fled and deserted in masses to the enemy. It appeared that Abdul Aziz had been lured to disaster and that many of his followers were traitors to his cause, waiting only for actual contact with the Hafidist forces to disclose their treachery. Any way the defeat of Aziz was complete; but he succeeded in reaching Settat in the Shawia country, chiefly by the gallantry of the Europeans with him—the French military mission which accompanied him and a few Englishmen in his service, two of them, Dr. Verdon and Sergeant Balding, rendering good service. All the arms, ammunition and baggage of the force were captured; the Sultan's life alone survived the wrecking of his plans. The situation then was that the French had a refugee Sultan on their hands, with whose cause they had hitherto identified themselves, and for a time it was doubtful what course they would take. That subject, however, belongs to the diplomatic history of Europe for the year (p. 297); here we are concerned only with what happened in Morocco. Immediately after the battle Mulai Hafid was proclaimed at Tangier, the only important centre which had kept, nominally at least, loyal to Aziz, and he caused it to be known that he would observe the Act of Algeciras and would accept the debts of the Maghzen, subject to inquiry into the personal liabilities of his half-brother. In these circumstances France maintained an attitude of neutrality. Germany, however, sent her Consul, Dr. Vassel, to Fez. The Consuls of Great Britain, Germany, France and Spain had been withdrawn from Fez at the time of the usurpation by unanimous agreement among them, and Dr. Vassel's return was not communicated to his colleagues. The German explanation was that the Consul's presence at Fez was urgently needed in respect of certain outstanding claims by German subjects; but the act was interpreted as a bid by Germany to be regarded as the first Power in Europe to recognise the authority of the new Sovereign. Here again the Moroccan news is interwoven with the story of German and French diplomacy. It should be sufficient here to note the fact that Germany was the first Power to have a Consular representative—whose duties are also diplomatic—at the Northern Court of the new Sultan. Meanwhile, Abdul Aziz seemed to be preparing for a new venture from Settat, but day by day it became clearer that Mulai Hafid was able to crush opponents and complete the assertion of his authority, and that he was desirous of steering a middle course in his relations with the Powers, and had no serious intention of raising a holy war.

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In September he issued a Note to the Powers, recalling the circumstances of his proclamation and asserting his rights of sovereignty. He pledged himself "to carry out the engagements as to which an agreement was reached at the Conference at Algeciras between the Moroccan Government and the friendly Powers." And he asked that his agents in Tangier should be admitted to deliberations with the Diplomatic Corps there for the purpose of devising means to carry out that agreement and that he should himself be recognised by the Powers as Sultan. Meanwhile Spain had initiated negotiations in Europe as to the conditions upon which Mulai Hafid should be recognised; but for this the records of the Powers signatory to the Act of Algeciras should be consulted. By October the situation had so far cleared up that France gave proof of her intentions that only a temporary occupation of Moroccan territory had been undertaken by withdrawing some thousands of her troops from Casablanca. But late in September an awkward incident occurred at that port. Five soldiers of the French Foreign Legion, three of whom were Germans, deserted and took refuge at the German Consulate, the Germans demanding repatriation. They were, with the two others, one a Russian and the other an Austrian, recaptured by French gendarmes after an affray with the native escort sent to put them aboard a German vessel, and were lodged in prison by the French authorities. The German Consul demanded their release, which was refused, and the matter thus became one for European diplomatists. After much trouble the incident was eventually referred to the Hague Arbitral Tribunal. It was reported in November that Abdul Aziz had abandoned hope of recovering his lost kingdom, and that an agreement had been arranged between him and Mulai Hafid by which he was allowed to retain his private properties, and would live at Tangier, drawing a pension of 7,000*l.* a year. He was living there when the year closed. Diplomatically regarded, the situation in Morocco at the end of the year was that Mulai Hafid was in receipt of a Franco-Spanish note on behalf of the Powers who are parties to the Act of Algeciras, which note set forth the conditions for the recognition of his sovereignty, and that negotiations were proceeding upon that document with every prospect that an agreement would be reached, but formal recognition of the new Sultan had not been made up to the time of writing. It appeared that during two years the extra cost to France arising out of the Casablanca and Algerian frontier operations was just under 2,000,000*l.* In March there were 15,000 French soldiers in the expeditionary force at Casablanca; by December they had been reduced to 9,000. The comparative tranquillity that had been gained on the Algerian frontier had enabled the forces in that region to be reduced from 9,500 men in September to 3,500 in December.

The general trade of the Consular district which includes Tangier, Laraiche and Tetuan amounted to 1,284,037*l.*, a decrease

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of 9 per cent. on the previous year owing to the political disturbances. It is apparent from the Consular reports that a forward movement in trade may be looked for when political security prevails in Morocco.

For 1907 the total trade of the district of Casablanca, which includes Rabat, Mazagan, Saffi and Mogador, was 2,479,245*l.* The United Kingdom had the largest share—1,053,457*l.* The town has recovered from the pillage and bombardment, and rebuilding has gone on freely. The presence of the French army has led to much local business and the European population (excluding troops) has quadrupled.

Except for the serious frontier troubles which are so interwoven with affairs in Morocco as to form part of the record of that kingdom, *Algeria* has continued its prosperous career. The imports in 1907 were of the value of 18,440,000*l.*, 150,000*l.* in excess of the figure for 1906; and the exports 15,360,000*l.*, an increase of 2,000,000*l.* By far the largest proportion of the trade is with France. Vegetable products and wine exports show a great increase, and there are steady increases in the output of minerals. German shipping shows an enormous increase at Algiers, the North-German Eastern boats calling there from Southampton. The European population of the Colony is increasing rapidly, notably the Italian and Maltese element. On December 13 forty-eight men of the Foreign Legion, of German nationality, mutinied and left their post at Ain-el-Hadjar, in Southern Oran, marched towards Bu Rechid, stopped the train from Colomb Bechar to Oran, and compelled it to set out on a return journey. The force then marched into the desert. Another force was sent out from Saida and arrested the majority of the men. The affair, which might have been tragic, proved to be little more than an escapade, and such escapades are not uncommon in this singular Legion. There was a question during the year of making military service compulsory on all natives of Algeria; but the Administrative Council decided that to do so would be inopportune.

The latest official report for *Northern Nigeria* is for 1906-7. The general situation then was that the region was quiet and safe, except for Bassa Province and certain pagan zones in the Provinces of Muri, Banchi and Yola, which have since been subject to what the report describes as "peaceful penetration." A Mahdist movement in Bauchi had been crushed by the arrest of the leading Mullah, who had been preaching the extermination of all Europeans, his trial and execution, and the deportation of some of his supporters. The Sultan of Sokoto—a nominee of the British after the overthrow of the Fulani Sultanate—had been made Honorary Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of his fidelity. The chief work of the new Governor, apart from continuing the administration, the lines of which had been settled by Sir Frederick Lugard, was in preparing the way for a railway

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system. His Majesty's Government have sanctioned the construction of a line from Baro, on the navigable Niger, to Zaria and Kano. The primary purpose of the line is that of an "assurance against fanatical outbreaks and possible disaster." It is expected to simplify internal defence and result in economy in administration. It is admitted in the report that "capital will not flow in until a firmer hold of the country has been maintained" and rapid communication established. "Until the iron horse takes the place of the human carrier, Northern Nigeria cannot possibly realise the hopes and wishes of those who are assured of the great future before it." In many of the districts the slave-trade (apart from domestic slavery) is said to have ceased. The resident Europeans in the Protectorate were 347, of whom 65 were not officials; the native population is about 7,000,000. The medical report is unsatisfactory reading and the climate is bad. A report on Senussism is to the effect that no danger is to be apprehended from the West African followers of the prophet, whatever may be the case in Algeria, Tunis and even in Egypt. "Diametrically opposite views are held with regard to it by those best qualified to form and express an opinion. Some maintain that it constitutes a most serious and ever-increasing danger. Others hold that if treated with tact and prudence it could easily be held in check." So great is the mystery surrounding the subject "that it is almost impossible to be certain whether the old chief whose death was previously reported actually died or not." The danger would touch French West-Africa first. Reports from the Nigerian Provinces suggest that it would be less virulent in these, because Mohammedanism is a veneer; but Dr. Cargill (Kano Province) thinks that if the French got into collision with the organisation and drove it into a corner it "might stir up a great jehad and repeat the success of the Egyptian Mahdi." The report [Cd. 3729] has a valuable section on this topic, and there may be significance in the statement that of recent years thousands of Fulani have trekked from the Niger to the Nile Valley. The revenue for 1906-7 was 532,087*l.* and the expenditure 498,848*l.*; but the former item includes an Imperial grant-in-aid of 315,000*l.* and a contribution of 75,000*l.* from Southern Nigeria. In the autumn of 1908 there were difficulties with natives arising out of the work of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission on the Benue River. The southern portion of the Yola Province has long been subject to raids from chiefs across the German frontier and the disputed area was unsafe. A temporary line was agreed upon pending the delimitation by the Commission, Lieutenant-Colonel Whitlock being the British representative and Lieutenant von Stephanie the German. The Commissioners joined forces in the summer, and the report up to November 19, from a place called Sonkwalla, unmarked on the official maps, was satisfactory. But it appears that in the last week in December there was frequent fighting and organised

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opposition by the tribes. This was overcome with the loss of five killed and nineteen wounded among the allied force. The German Commissioner, however, was dangerously wounded, and the last reports were that the Commission was again in difficulties, but had not called for reinforcements. These incidents were at first confused with patrol work in the Munshi country in Southern Nigeria. It is satisfactory to report that in West Africa there is now perfect goodwill between the three Powers, Germany, Great Britain and France, and that the Nigerian authorities work in active co-operation with the French on the north and the Germans on the east.

In *Southern Nigeria* progress continues to be recorded. The revenue for 1907 was 1,459,554*l.* and the expenditure 1,217,337*l.*, and here there is no grant-in-aid from the Imperial Exchequer. The total value of the trade (exclusive of specie) was 7,702,000*l.*, nearly 2,000,000*l.* more than in 1906. This is in part attributable to the opening of the railway to Oshogbo—186 miles from the coast. The revenue of the Protectorate has doubled since 1903. There is a motor service on the Oyo-Ibadan road, the first of its kind in tropical Africa. The expansion of commerce is expected to continue for many years as road feeder routes to the railways are opened out, motor river services extended, and the administration perfected in remote districts. A great economic change is being effected in this and other parts of Africa, railway and motor-propelled transport on land and river setting free for productive work on the land and in the gathering of forest products vast numbers heretofore engaged as head carriers and canoe paddlers. The trade with the north will expand as the railways reach out towards the Western Soudan. Within five years Lagos will be in railway connection with Kano, beyond which there is a dense population whose caravan trade to Tripoli—a long and hazardous journey—will be diverted to the Niger delta. The reports from the pagan delta districts show that steady progress is being made in pacifying and opening out regions which a few years ago were impenetrable.

The report, which is as recent in date as September 7, 1908, is throughout most encouraging. Some trouble in Lagos with the natives in connection with sites for European houses occurred during the year, and also over the acquisition of land for administrative purposes; but it was quietly composed. The conditions of life in the towns both for Europeans and natives have been much improved. Substantial houses and shops have arisen in Lagos and the roads improved. Four years ago there were one or two bicycles in Lagos, now there are thousands—one of many indications of social change consequent on commercial expansion. A Government 4 per cent. loan up to 3,000,000*l.* was issued in May for harbour works and the construction of railways in Southern and Northern Nigeria. The railway to Ilorin was opened in August, and during the year heavy shipments of railway material were made for the Baro-

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Kano line. The first sleeper was laid in January by the Emir of Bida, in the presence of many other Emirs and the Governor, Sir Percy Girouard. In December Lord Crewe appointed a Committee to proceed to Nigeria to investigate the traffic in liquor.

The *Gold Coast* Colony continues to do well. The revenue for 1907 was 708,718*l.*, an excess over expenditure of 91,594*l.* There were substantial increases of revenue from Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The system of interior taxation (caravan tolls) is working satisfactorily and trade is increasing. The import trade with the United Kingdom in 1907 was of the value of 1,758,315*l.* The export trade was 2,041,674*l.* The mining output was of the value of 1,163,517*l.*—four times the value of that of 1903. Coomassie is rapidly becoming an important trade centre, and is now a well-planned settlement—with a thirteen-hole grass golf course. The Northern Territories do not yet pay their way, but the wild tribes appear to be settling down. The report from the Coast Colony and the hinterland regions are encouraging, whether from the standpoint of peaceful administration or that of economic progress. In the early part of 1908 there was a rather serious outbreak of plague (bubonic), and Dr. W. J. Simpson, of the London School of Tropical Medicine, was despatched by the Colonial Office, with Dr. J. A. Haran, of the Medical Service of the East African Protectorate, both officers having great experience of the disease. The epidemic first showed itself among the rats of Accra. Thanks to the vigilance of the medical authorities, the outbreak was confined to a small area and by May all ports were declared free from infection.

Angola has had a set-back pending the railway developments. The total exports for 1907 were 837,799*l.* and imports 1,287,577*l.*; but much of the imports was railway material for the Benguella line. By the end of 1907 earthworks had been completed for 100 miles from Lobito and the rails laid to Katengue. It is worthy of note as illustrating the mobility of labour in Africa and its relative scarcity, that 2,000 Indian coolies from Natal were employed in the construction. The gold and copper discoveries had not realised expectations, but work on them proceeded. The question of slave labour on the cocoa plantations again excited attention, the Foreign Office making representations to the Portuguese Government on the basis of a report by Mr. J. Burtt, who was sent out to investigate the subject by Messrs. Cadbury Bros. The report was published in October, and gives an illuminating account of conditions in Portuguese West Africa.

German South-West Africa appears to be slowly recovering from the disastrous effects of the prolonged Hottentot wars. Administration and military control have been made easier by the opening in July of the railway from Lüderitz Bay to Keetmanshoop. Late in the year there was a renewal of raiding by

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bands who formerly followed Morenga and there was picket fighting in December, some of it on the Cape frontier. A magistrate and a body of Bechuanaland police left Mafeking at the end of the year to join a German mission to the Hottentot chief, Simon Copper, who was thought to be in British territory. In December letters reached Europe reporting the discovery of a diamond field at Lüderitz Bay. Two syndicates were at work on the field, one a British. The reports were of the usual optimistic nature. The Government imposed a duty of 10*s.* a carat on all diamonds exported. Important mineral finds were also reported from the Caprivi enclave in the North-West, which had been reserved, except for immigrants with a special permit, and Captain Streitwolf was put in command at a station at Gobabis.

An administrative revolution—thus far on paper only—has occurred in the *Congo Free State* during 1908 by the transference of the sovereignty from King Leopold of Belgium to Belgium itself (English History, pp. 45, 181, Foreign History, p. 342). Under the new arrangement (assuming that it is sanctioned by all the Powers concerned) the whole of the Congo territory, including the Domaine de la Couronne, passes to Belgium with all assets and liabilities, subject, however, to the rights of the concessionary Companies, the State shares in those companies being taken over by Belgium. The securities (shares and bonus shares in certain forest and mining companies) belonging to the Fondation de la Couronne pass to Belgium—assets of doubtful value. In consideration of acquiring these, Belgium undertakes to pay certain allowances to persons and institutions who were interested in them, namely 4,800*l.* a year to the Crown Prince until he comes to the Throne, and 3,000*l.* a year to the Princess Clementine until her marriage; 2,400*l.* a year in pensions to the *personnel* of the Fondation; an annual subsidy of 2,600*l.* to the missionaries of Scheut for mission stations in the Congo; and to spend 24,000*l.* a year in keeping up the colonial collections at Stuyvenberg and the tropical greenhouses at Laeken. Belgium also undertakes to create two special funds, one of 1,820,000*l.* to be expended on public works in Belgium, and the other of 2,000,000*l.* to be paid to the King and his successors in fifteen annuities, which sum is to be expended for the benefit of the Congo. Apparently, according to the estimate of *The Times* correspondent at Brussels, the effect of the financial arrangements is to impose for the next few years a total charge of 1,300,000*l.* on the Belgian Budget, and an annual charge of about 270,000*l.* on the Congo Budget. This latter sum is apart from the interest on the Congo debt (4,500,000*l.*), for which Belgium does not accept responsibility. The effect is that the Congo Free State will enter upon its new career as a Belgian Colony burdened with enormous charges. Obviously the financial position will in some measure govern the question of administrative reform. That, however, is a matter for the future.

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The attitude of the British Government towards the Act of Annexation was shown in a Parliamentary Paper (Cd. 4396). On November 1 Sir Edward Grey pressed the right of the British Government to obtain assurances as to the future before assenting to annexation. As the territories of the State touch those of his Majesty's Government at many points it could not be a matter of indifference to Great Britain how these territories are governed; maladministration in one State re-acted upon another, especially in Africa. The Government of the Congo State had notoriously been different from that of contiguous regions and had for many years caused great anxiety to his Majesty's Government, lest kindred tribes in British territory should be injuriously affected. The Government were therefore justified in taking every precaution against the new administration repeating the errors of the old, and in requiring a specific undertaking that grievances long complained of shall be redressed within a reasonable time. Besides their right to secure peace on their own borders, his Majesty's Government held most strongly that the terms of the Declarations of 1884 entitled them to satisfy themselves that the transfer would result in a system of Government more closely corresponding with the intentions of the signatories of those Declarations and fulfilling the conditions under which his Majesty's Government originally recognised the creation of the Congo State. Sir Edward Grey pressed for more definite assurances than had been given by Belgium in July, especially with regard to native rights and commercial rights. As to the first the Government did not wish to press the Belgian Government unduly; but they were unable to engage to recognise the transfer of the Independent State to Belgium until they were assured that these native questions would be settled in a manner satisfactory to them and to public opinion in England. As to the second, they required a formal assurance that Belgium would not refuse to refer to arbitration any disputed question of commercial obligations by the State to other Powers, or interpretation of the Declarations. In reply (Nov. 16) Belgium, while recognising the friendly spirit of the despatch, asked for time in which to prepare an answer, owing to the "still incomplete organisation of the Ministry for the Colonies"; and that was the diplomatic position at the close of the year.

From the Congo itself the news of the year resolves itself into a record of native troubles, though not on a great scale, and of complaints against the system of administration, which does not appear to have undergone any substantial improvement, notwithstanding the reform scheme promulgated by King Leopold (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 428). On the other hand the news reaching England during the year was too fragmentary to afford a clear picture of the condition of the region. The effect of such testimony as is available was discouraging, and it is not unfair to say that the exploitation of the Congolese has continued unchecked, reforms waiting upon the institution of

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the new *régime*. It would be useless to give details either of military activity by the administration or of complaints made on behalf of the Congolese. A minor fact worth record, however, is the completion of the work of the Anglo-Congolese Commission entrusted with the duty of surveying the 200 miles of frontier from the German border south-east of Lake Albert Edward to the southern limits of the Lado enclave, now evacuated by the Belgians. The British Commissioner was Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. T. Bright, and on his return home in July it was reported that about 14,000 square miles had been mapped, including the whole of the Ruwenzori. One result of the survey was to reveal an error in the maps on which the Convention of 1894 was concluded, the frontier, on the 30th meridian, being placed twenty miles out of its true position, the effect being to place in the Congo a strip of territory 120 miles long by thirty broad, which should have been British. This strip, if held to be part of the Congo State, would bar British access to Lake Albert Edward, and is meanwhile being treated as a neutral zone. The Commissioners reported that a severe famine was raging in Busoga Province. One of the latest travellers to pass through the Congo from the East is Mr. A. R. F. Wollaston, the naturalist. His book, issued in the autumn of 1908, *From Ruwenzori to the Congo* (John Murray), is on the whole favourable to the administration.

The record of *French West Africa* is chiefly that of minor military operations, especially in the Protectorate of Mauretania to the north of the Lower Senegal River, where it became necessary to organise a primitive expedition against raiding Moorish tribes from the hill region near the Spanish possession of Rio de Oro. The expedition was completely successful. There was some fighting at various times in the neighbourhood of Lake Chad, and the policy of military penetration of the remoter parts of the Soudan has been steadily continued with varying fortunes, but, on the whole, with success. The Anglo-French frontier from the Niger to Lake Chad—a distance of 1,000 miles—is now completely furnished with a line of stone pyramids or other permanent marks. The work was done in accordance with the Convention of 1906, and the British boundary commissioners reported that they had had no trouble with the Tuareg. The French had the country on their side of the boundary so well under control that the robber bands can now cause but little trouble. Lake Chad they found shallower than ever, and it seems to be fast drying up.

In the *Gambia* there is an increase of revenue and the year was without notable incident. The revenue for 1907 was 65,892*l*. and expenditure 57,729*l*. The imports were of the value of 445,359*l*. and exports 428,678*l*. *Sierra Leone* has no history of note, but has raised the duty on spirits from 4*s*. to 5*s*. per gallon. In *Togoland* and the *Kameruns* the Germans have colonies of promise. The former now needs no Imperial sub-

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sidy and the trade of the Kameruns in 1907 amounted to about 1,700,000*l.*

The situation in *Malta* is unchanged and unimproved, the population continuing to increase, and the labour supply being largely in excess of the demand. The economic pressure is not, however, yet so acute as to force emigration, the only remedy for the congestion on the island. The revenue for 1907-8 was 438,348*l.*, and the expenditure 454,069*l.* The imports were of the value of 6,983,589*l.*, a decrease of 113,211*l.*; and the exports 5,913,538*l.*, a decrease of 337,249*l.* The population is now 209,974 and the birth rate is unchecked, being 39·57 per 1,000 in 1907-8. The average birth rate for the past ten years was 38·69. A political change has to be noted, a general election (all the eight candidates being unopposed) having taken place in April. The elected representatives had taken no part in the work of the Council of Government since June, 1903 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1903, p. 419). The new Council met in May for formal business and again in November. Lieutenant-General H. F. Grant, C.B., has succeeded Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke as Governor, and Malta also falls within the newly created High Commissionership of the Mediterranean held by the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICA.

I. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

IN the United States the principal event of 1908 was the Presidential election. In the early part of the year there was considerable doubt in the public mind whether Mr. Roosevelt would not again be a candidate, but he reaffirmed the declaration made on the night of election four years earlier that under no circumstances would he again be a candidate. He let it be known that he hoped to see Mr. William H. Taft, then Secretary of War, nominated, and when the Republican Convention met in Chicago on June 16 it was apparent to every one that Mr. Taft would be the choice of his party. There was some slight opposition to his nomination, but it collapsed before the balloting began, and Mr. Taft was nominated on the first ballot. Mr. James S. Sherman, a Representative in Congress from New York, received the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. It was equally obvious that Mr. Bryan would encounter little opposition from his party, and when the Democratic Convention met in Denver on July 7, he was nominated on the first ballot. Mr. John W. Kern, of Indiana, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

Candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency were also nominated by the People's party, the Socialist party, the Socialist

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Labour party, the Prohibition party, and the Independence party, but none of them polled a vote of any consequence.

In accordance with custom all the parties adopted lengthy declarations of principles, commonly known as "platforms." Space will permit only a brief summary of the platforms of the two leading parties, the Republican and the Democratic.

After eulogising the Administration of President Roosevelt "as an epoch in American history," the Republican platform declared that "in no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington or preserved under Lincoln has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men. . . . Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth to-day exceeds that of England and all her Colonies, and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican party was born the total wealth of the country was $16,000,000,000. It has leaped to $110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but $60,000,000,000 in 500 years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products. In the greatness of civilisation, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn, and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, America's supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great natural wealth has been scarcely touched. . . . With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past, and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunities for all."

On the tariff the platform declared unequivocally for a revision by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration. "In all tariff legislation the true principle of Protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favour the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discrimination by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of Protection at home; the aim and the purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, the security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage-earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the Protective system. Between the United States and

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the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products, with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests."

The party prided itself on having passed laws to regulate the trusts and the railways and to prevent discrimination, and favoured the establishment of postal savings banks. Maintaining its determination to uphold the power and authority of the Courts, it recommended a modification of the issuance of the writ of injunction in labour disputes.

The Democratic platform opened with a declaration reaffirming the belief of the Convention in the principles of the party, and pledging itself to their loyal support. It continued: "We rejoice at the increasing signs of an awakening throughout the country. The various investigations have traced graft and political corruption to the representatives of predatory wealth, and laid bare the unscrupulous methods by which they have debauched elections and preyed upon a defenceless public through the subservient officials whom they have raised to place and power. The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the Government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favour-seeking corporations; it must become again a people's Government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim of 'Equal rights to all and special privileges to none.'" The platform censured the Republicans for their extravagance and for having during the past six years created 90,219 new offices at a cost of nearly $70,000,000. It denounced this growing increase in the number of office-holders as not only unnecessary and wasteful, but also as clearly indicating a deliberate purpose on the part of the Administration to keep the Republican party in power at public expense. The Republicans were charged with having created a deficit of $60,000,000. "This heedless waste of the people's money" was denounced "as a shameful violation of all prudent conditions of government, and as no less a crime against the millions of working women and men from whose earnings the great proportion of these colossal sums must be extorted through excessive tariff exactions and other indirect methods." The tariff plank welcomed the belated promise of Tariff Reform now offered by the Republican party, but declared that the people could not safely entrust its execution to a party under such obligations to the highly Protected interests as the Republican party. It pointed out that the promised relief had been postponed until after the coming election, for success in which the Republican party must be supported as usual by the beneficiaries of the high Protective tariff, and that during years of uninterrupted power the Republican Congress had made no attempt to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities. The platform favoured immediate tariff revision by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products should be placed upon the free list and

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material reductions made upon the necessaries of life, especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as were sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and graduated reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis. Wood pulp, printing paper, lumber, timber and logs, should be free of duty. The platform also demanded "the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States." An income tax was favoured, and so was the exclusion of all Asiatics. The Democrats agreed with their opponents that it was necessary to modify the practice of the courts in the use of injunctions.

When the campaign opened the Democrats seemed more confident than the Republicans. Among the latter there was much factional feeling, labour was dissatisfied because legislation which it demanded had not been enacted by Congress, and the negroes were sullen and vengeful because of the action of the President in having discharged without trial a coloured battalion for insubordination at Brownsville, Texas (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 445); and the effects of the panic of 1907 were still felt in reduced wages and the curtailment of production. On the Democratic side the men who had twice before opposed Mr. Bryan because of his silver views were still unfriendly and gave him either lukewarm support or openly opposed him; and the money contributions to the Democratic Committee were smaller than those to the Republican.

Both candidates took the stump and spoke almost without cessation day and night until election day. The campaign was marked by several exciting incidents. The treasurer of the Democratic Committee was charged with having been improperly connected with certain oil transactions while occupying an official position, and was forced to resign the treasurership. Mr. Hearst, the editor of the *New York American*, formerly a Democrat but now the chief backer of the Independence party, made public certain letters from the files of the Standard Oil Company which showed that various prominent public men, Republicans as well as Democrats, had accepted favours from that company. These disclosures resulted in the retirement from further participation in the campaign of a prominent Senator from Ohio, who prior to the nomination had been mentioned as a Presidential candidate, and of one of the chief officials of the Republican Committee. Considerable pressure had been put on Mr. Roosevelt to take part in the campaign, although it is contrary to etiquette for a President to take the stump to promote the election of his successor. Mr. Roosevelt declined to make any speeches, but he engaged in a correspondence with Mr. Bryan, which was reciprocally acrimonious. The outcome of the election remained in doubt until about the middle of October, when it was seen that the tide was running strongly in the direction of the Republican candidate and that the Democratic hopes that

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the Republican working-men and the negroes would vote for Mr. Bryan were not justified. The vote showed that the Republicans had unnecessarily alarmed themselves. Of a total popular vote of 14,852,841, Mr. Taft received 7,637,636 and Mr. Bryan 6,393,182. In the Electoral College Mr. Taft received 321 votes and Mr. Bryan 162. Mr. Bryan carried no Northern State, and of the Western States only three, Colorado, Nebraska and Nevada. All his other votes came from the "Solid South," the old slave-owning and secession States that have always been Democratic. This was the third time Mr. Bryan had been nominated for the Presidency, and his defeat was as crushing as before.

At the opening of Congress, in December, 1907, the President sent his usual annual message (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 445), and a few weeks later, on January 31, another long message, defending certain of his policies and vigorously assailing his opponents, more especially the Standard Oil Company. "The Standard Oil Corporation and the railroad company have both been found guilty by the courts of criminal misconduct; both have been sentenced to pay heavy fines; and each has issued and published broadcast statements asserting their innocence and denouncing as improper the action of the courts and juries in convicting them of guilt. These statements are very elaborate, are very ingenious, and are untruthful in important particulars." Their attacks on the actions of the Administration had been widely circulated throughout the country by "those writers and speakers who, consciously or unconsciously, act as the representatives of predatory wealth—of the wealth accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage-workers to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition, and to defrauding the public by stock-jobbing and the manipulation of securities. Certain wealthy men of this stamp . . . have during the last few months made it apparent that they have banded together to work for a reaction. Their endeavour is to overthrow and discredit all who honestly administer the law, to prevent any additional legislation which would check and restrain them, and to secure, if possible, a freedom from all restraint which will permit every unscrupulous wrongdoer to do what he wishes unchecked, provided he has enough money." The only way to counteract this movement was to expose the past and present actions of these men. The Administration and its supporters were strenuous upholders of the rights of property. It attacked only the corrupt men of wealth, who found in the purchased politician the most efficient instrument of corruption and in the purchased newspaper its most efficient defender. These the President described as puppets, but his quarrel was not with them, but with "the strong, cunning men and the mighty forces behind the puppets." "We seek to control law-defying wealth; in the first place to prevent it doing

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dire evil to the Republic, and in the next place to avoid the vindictive and dreadful Radicalism which, if left uncontrolled, it is certain in the end to arouse." Great sums of money, the President asserted, had been spent by these corporations "attacking with envenomed bitterness the Administration's policy of warring against successful dishonesty." Most of this money has been spent "in the interest of the Standard Oil Trust and of certain notorious railroad combinations, but they also defend other individuals and corporations of great wealth that have been guilty of wrongdoing. The extraordinary violence of the assaults upon our policy . . . and the enormous sums of money spent in these various ways, give a fairly accurate measure of the anger and terror which our public actions have caused the corrupt men of vast wealth to feel in the very marrow of their being. The attack is sometimes made openly against us for enforcing the law, and sometimes, with a certain cunning, for not trying to enforce it in some other way than that which experience shows to be practical."

The year before Judge Landis, one of the Federal Judges, had fined the Standard Oil Company $29,000,000 for having accepted rebates on freight shipments from a railway company in violation of law. The Standard Oil Company immediately appealed from the decision on the ground that the fine was excessive and confiscatory, and in July the Court of Appeals reversed the decision. President Roosevelt issued a statement saying that he would regard it as a gross miscarriage of justice if the Standard Oil Company were allowed to escape owing to any technicalities of law, and ordered the Government attorneys to enter a motion for a rehearing. This the Court refused, and an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, which upheld the Court of Appeals. Thus all the agitation and fulmination against the Standard Oil Company, owing to the excessive zeal of the Judge, resulted in that company escaping scot-free.

Controversies between labour and capital occupied a large share of the attention of the courts during the year and increased the tension that has long existed in their relations. The most important decision of the year was that of the Supreme Court of the United States holding that a boycott was illegal and a violation of the Anti-Trust Act, which prohibits a combination in restraint of trade. The case arose out of a strike declared by a hatters' union against a manufacturer and led to the American Federation of Labour declaring a boycott against the manufacturer's hats. The union was cast in heavy damages and the officials of the Federation of Labour were restrained by an injunction from publishing in their official organ "the unfair list," or the names of those employers against whom the Federation had a grievance. The Supreme Court held that membership in a union might, under certain circumstances, justify the dismissal of railroad servants; the Amalgamated Association of Window

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Glass Blowers was dissolved by legal process as being a combination in restraint of trade; the Supreme Court declared the Employers' Liability Act unconstitutional because of its wording. Later a law correcting the defects of the former statute was passed.

The maintenance of the *status quo* in the Far East and the integrity of the Chinese Empire has become almost as settled as a principle of American diplomacy as the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Hay, when Secretary of State, laid the foundation for the policy by committing the Powers to the open door and the preservation of the "administrative entity of China," and that policy has met with approval of the country. While the relations between the Government of the United States and Japan have been correct and cordial there has been a bitter feeling aroused in California against the Japanese, and the people of that State endeavoured to create adverse sentiment in other parts of the country. Various rumours as to strained relations existing between the two Governments were set at rest on November 30, when official announcement was made that important Notes had been exchanged between the Japanese Ambassador at Washington and the Secretary of State "concerning the preservation of the existing *status quo* in the regions of the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese Empire."

The conclusion of these Notes marks an important phase in American diplomacy. Under the provisions of the Constitution the treaty-making power is divided between the President and the Senate; the former having the sole power to initiate, the latter having the sole power to ratify, without which no treaty is effective. American traditions being opposed to "entangling alliances," it was obvious to the President and the Japanese Government that it would be impossible to secure the assent of the Senate to a treaty defensive or offensive, but the Notes serve almost the same purpose. Legally and constitutionally they are not a treaty, and they are not binding on either side, but they have a moral weight, and as a declared purpose of intention they are effective. The American Government has never before conducted a serious diplomatic negotiation by the exchange of Notes but has always reduced everything to treaty form. This incident, therefore, opens a new chapter in American diplomacy and establishes a precedent; it makes the President, to a certain extent, independent of the Senate, and gives him a freer hand in the conduct of foreign relations. The Japanese Note addressed by Baron Takahira, the Japanese Ambassador, to Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, and dated November 30, 1908, states that a recent exchange of views had shown that the Governments of Japan and the United States were animated by a common aim, policy and intention in the Pacific Ocean, in which they hold important outlying possessions. Believing that a frank avowal of that aim would not only tend to strengthen their immemorial relations of friendship and good

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neighbourhood but would materially contribute to the preservation of the general peace, the Imperial Government had authorised him to present the following outline of their understanding of it: "1. It is the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean. 2. Their policy, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo* in the region above mentioned, and to the defence of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China. 3. They are accordingly firmly resolved reciprocally to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in said region. 4. They are also determined to preserve the common interests of all Powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire. 5. Should any event occur threatening the *status quo* as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined, it remains for the two Governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take. If the foregoing outline accords with the view of the Government of the United States, I shall be gratified to receive your confirmation."

Mr. Root on the same day acknowledged Baron Takahira's Note and confirmed it in these words:—

"It is a pleasure to inform you that this expression of mutual understanding is welcome to the Government of the United States as appropriate to the happy relations of the two countries and as occasion for a concise mutual affirmation of that accordant policy respecting the Far East which the two Governments have so frequently declared in the past."

On the following day Baron Takahira gave out an official statement in which he pointed out that the Notes did not constitute a treaty or agreement; but he added that, being exchanged between Governments of such great moral standing as the United States and Japan, they would have a great importance in the carrying out of their common policy. Japan had entire confidence in the great moral strength of the United States Government, and the latter fully trusted in the strong good faith of the Japanese Government, as had been amply proved by past experience.

On April 22 the Senate ratified a treaty of arbitration with Great Britain. It provided that differences which might arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it had not been possible to settle by diplomacy, should be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at the Hague by the Convention of July 29, 1899, provided that they did not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honour of the two contracting States, and did not concern the interests of

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third parties. In each individual case the High Contracting parties should previously conclude a special Agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the Arbitrators, and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the Arbitral Tribunal and the several stages of the procedure. Such special agreements on the part of the United States will be made by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; his Majesty's Government reserving the right before concluding a special agreement in any matter affecting the interests of a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire to obtain the concurrence therein of the Government of that Dominion. Such agreements should be binding only when confirmed by the two Governments by an exchange of Notes. The Convention should be ratified by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by his Britannic Majesty. The ratifications were to be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible, and the Convention would take effect on the date of the exchange of its ratifications. The Convention would run for five years from the day of the exchange of its ratifications.

The importance of this treaty lies less in the settlement of questions by arbitration than in the recognition of the right of "a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire" to veto any agreement that might injuriously affect its interests. This is the first time that this privilege has been accorded by treaty to a Colony.

In April the President sent a special message to Congress urging that an appropriation be made for the construction of four first-class battleships. In view of his solemn responsibility as Chief Executive of the Nation, and as Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, he declared emphatically, "that this is a measure of peace and not of war. I can conceive of no circumstances under which this Republic would enter into an aggressive war; most certainly, under no circumstances, would it enter into an aggressive war to extend its territory or in any other manner seek material aggrandisement. I advocate that the United States build a Navy commensurate with its powers and its needs, because I feel that such a Navy will be the surest guarantee and safeguard of peace. . . . Great Britain has been saved by its fleet from the necessity of facing one of the two alternatives—of submission to conquest by a foreign Power or of itself becoming a great military Power. The United States can hope for a permanent career of peace on only one condition, and that is, on condition of building and maintaining a first-class Navy; and the step to be taken toward this end at this time is to provide for the building of four additional battleships." Congress, however, appropriated for two ships only.

Congress met on December 7, and the following day the

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President's annual message was read; the last Mr. Roosevelt would address to the Legislature at the beginning of a session. Space permits only a very brief *résumé*. He urged that greater powers be given the Federal Government in the control of railways and other corporations. There were many sincere men who now believed in unrestricted individualism in business, just as there were formerly many sincere men who believed in slavery. These men, however, had not great weight by themselves. "The effective fight against adequate Government control and supervision of individual, and especially of corporate, wealth engaged in inter-State business is chiefly done under cover; and especially under cover of an appeal to States' rights. It is not at all infrequent to read in the same speech a denunciation of predatory wealth fostered by special privilege and defiant of both the public welfare and law of the land, and a denunciation of centralisation in the central government of the power to deal with this centralised and organised wealth." The President argued that the central government must be given this control or else chaos would follow. "The danger to American democracy," he said, "lies not in the least in the concentration of administrative power in responsible and accountable hands. It lies in having the power insufficiently concentrated, so that no one can be held responsible to the people for its use. Concentrated power is palpable, visible, responsible, easily reached, quickly held to account. Power scattered through many administrators, many legislators, many men who work behind and through legislators and administrators, is impalpable, is unseen, is irresponsible, can not be reached, can not be held to account. Democracy is in peril wherever the administration of political power is scattered among a variety of men who work in secret, whose very names are unknown to the common people. It is not in peril from any man who derives authority from the people, who exercises it in sight of the people, and who is from time to time compelled to give an account of its exercise to the public." He called attention to the steps taken toward providing old age pensions in many private industries. "These may be indefinitely extended through voluntary association and contributory schemes, or through the agency of savings banks. . . . To strengthen these practical measures should be our immediate duty; it is not at present necessary to consider the larger and more general governmental schemes that most European Governments have found themselves obliged to adopt." Reverting to his favourite theme—the crimes of the rich—the President said: "Our great clusters of corporations, huge trusts and fabulously wealthy multi-millionaires, employ the very best lawyers they can obtain to pick flaws in these statutes after their passage; but they also employ a class of secret agents who seek, under the advice of experts, to render hostile legislation innocuous by making it unconstitutional, often through the insertion of what appear on their face to be drastic and sweep-

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ing provisions against the interests of the parties inspiring them; while the demagogues, the corrupt creatures who introduce blackmailing schemes to 'strike' corporations, and all who demand extreme, and undesirably Radical, measures, show themselves to be the worst enemies of the very public whose loud-mouthed champions they profess to be. A very striking illustration of the consequences of carelessness in the preparation of a statute was the Employers' Liability Law of 1906. In the cases arising under that law, four out of six courts of first instance held it unconstitutional; six out of nine justices of the Supreme Court held that its subject-matter was within the province of Congressional action, and four of the nine justices held it valid. It was, however, adjudged unconstitutional by a bare majority of the court—five to four. It was surely a very slovenly piece of work to frame the legislation in such shape as to leave the question open at all."

One of the most sensational passages in the message was an attack made on Congress for having interfered with the operations of the Secret Service, a corps of detectives under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury maintained to suppress counterfeiting. A law that Congress had amended, the President said, "has been of benefit only, and could be of benefit only, to the criminal classes. If deliberately introduced for the purpose of diminishing the effectiveness of war against crime it could not have been better devised to this end. . . . The amendment in question was of benefit to no one excepting to criminals, and it seriously hampers the Government in the detection of crime and the securing of justice. . . . The chief argument in favour of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men. . . . But if this is not considered desirable, a special exception could be made in the law, prohibiting the use of the Secret Service force in investigating members of Congress."

Members of Congress hotly resented this imputation on their integrity and asserted that the President had no justification for declaring that they feared investigation by the Secret Service. A Committee was appointed to report to the House whether the President should be censured; but it had not reported when the year closed.

On December 15 the President sent a special message to Congress denouncing Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, the proprietor of the *New York World*, and other newspaper publishers, for having libelled the Government. The *New York World* had asserted that certain favoured individuals had profited greatly by the sale of the Panama Canal concession to the American Government, and it insisted that it was the duty of Congress to investigate the transaction. He declared that the charges of the *World* were "simply a string of infamous libels," in fact wholly and in form partly a libel upon the United States Government. The real offender was not any of the authors of the articles in

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question, but Joseph Pulitzer, editor and proprietor of the *World*. While the criminal offence of which Mr. Pulitzer has been guilty is in form a libel upon individuals, the great injury done was in blackening the good name of the American people. Mr. Pulitzer should be prosecuted for libel by the governmental authorities. "In point of encouragement of iniquity, in point of infamy, of wrongdoing, there is nothing to choose between a public servant who betrays his trust, a public servant who is guilty of blackmail or theft or financial dishonesty of any kind and a man guilty as Joseph Pulitzer has been guilty in this instance. It is therefore a high national duty to bring to justice this vilifier of the American people," who (the message continued) had no shadow of justification of any sort for the charge. The Attorney-General had under consideration the form in which the proceedings against Mr. Pulitzer should be brought.

The *World* answered defiantly. "Mr. Roosevelt," it said the following morning, "is mistaken. He cannot muzzle the *World*. While no amount of Billingsgate on his part can alter our determination to treat him with judicial impartiality and scrupulous fairness, we repeat what we have already said—that the Congress of the United States should make a thorough investigation of the whole Panama transaction that the full truth may be known to the American people. . . . The *World* fully appreciates the compliment paid to it by Mr. Roosevelt in making it the subject of a special message to the Congress of the United States. In the whole history of American Government no other President has ever paid such a tribute to the power and influence of a fearless, independent newspaper. . . . This is the first time a President ever asserted the doctrine of *lèse-majesté* or proposed in the absence of specific legislation the criminal prosecution by the Government of citizens who criticised the conduct of the Government or the conduct of individuals who may have had business dealings with the Government. Neither the King of Great Britain nor the German Emperor would venture to arrogate such power to himself. John Adams' attempt to enforce the sedition law destroyed the Federalist party in America. Yet Mr. Roosevelt, in the absence of law, officially proposes to use all the power of the greatest Government on earth to cripple the freedom of the Press on the pretext that the Government itself has been libelled—and he is the Government." As the crime of libel against the Government of the United States is not recognised by statute some curiosity was expressed as to the method the President proposed to follow to bring Mr. Pulitzer to justice.

In December Mr. Taft made an important speech. Both during the campaign and after his election he had made it apparent that he was anxious to have the goodwill of the Southern States. Addressing the North Carolina Society of New York, he said: "The recent election has made it probable that I shall become more or less responsible for the policy of

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the next Presidential administration, and I improve this opportunity to say that nothing would give me greater pride—because nothing would give me more claim to the gratitude of my fellow-citizens—if I could so direct that policy in respect to the Southern States as to convince its intelligent citizens of the desire of the Administration to aid them in working out satisfactorily the serious problems before them, and of bringing them and their Northern fellow-citizens closer and closer in sympathy and point of view. During the last decade, in common with all lovers of our country, I have watched with delight and thanksgiving the bond of union between the two sections grow firmer. I pray that it may be given to me to strengthen this movement, to obliterate all sectional lines and leave nothing of differences between the North and South save a friendly emulation for the benefit of our common country."

Mr. Tower having resigned his post as American Ambassador to Germany, Mr. Hill, then American Minister to the Netherlands, was designated as his successor and pronounced acceptable by the German Government. Some time afterwards, but before the transfer had been made, the President was unofficially informed that Mr. Hill was no longer regarded as *persona grata*. The President declined to accept the unofficial intimation as sufficient; and it was understood that the only objection to Dr. Hill was his limited private income, which the German Government regarded as insufficient to enable him to maintain the necessary state required of an Ambassador. What threatened at one time to cause great resentment in the United States was removed by the German Government withdrawing its objections and making an unofficial *amende*, which the President made public in this form: "In addition to the communication already made public from the German Foreign Office the German Ambassador has also conveyed to the American Government the assurance of the Emperor that there has never been any change in his attitude toward Mr. Hill and his cordial willingness to welcome Mr. Hill to Berlin. The Emperor's favourable opinion of Mr. Hill was communicated to the Washington Administration last November and his attitude has never changed since. Apparently some remarks in a casual conversation have been distorted by gossip and exaggerated by rumour so as to give a totally erroneous impression of the whole matter. The two Governments have never shared this misunderstanding. The design of the President and the Secretary of State in choosing Mr. Hill was to choose the man who of all men in the Diplomatic Service was best fitted for this particular position." After a eulogy of Mr. Hill's special qualifications for the post, Mr. Roosevelt added: "This purpose is, and has always been, fully appreciated by the Emperor personally and in Germany at large."

The most conspicuous death of the year was that of Mr. Grover Cleveland, twice elected President as a Democrat, who

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died at Princeton, New Jersey, early in the morning of June 24 in his seventy-second year. He had been ill for some time, but his death was unexpected, and it came as a great shock to the country, which had profound admiration for Mr. Cleveland's high character and lofty conception of patriotism.

The cruise around the world of the battleship fleet of sixteen vessels, which sailed from Hampton Roads in December, 1907, held the attention of the American people during the entire year, and its progress was followed with absorbing interest. "Nothing better for the Navy," the President said in his annual message, "from every standpoint has ever occurred than the cruise of the battle-fleet around the world. The improvement of the ships in every way has been extraordinary, and they have gained far more experience in battle tactics than they would have gained if they had stayed in the Atlantic waters. . . . I do not believe that there is any other service in the world in which the average of character and efficiency in the enlisted men is as high as is now the case in our own. I believe that the same statement can be made as to our officers, taken as a whole."

An agreement between the Postmasters-General of Great Britain and the United States reduced the rates on letter postage to a penny, and further marked the continually increasing bonds of friendship between the two countries.

In December the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution announced that: "In March, 1909, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt will head a scientific expedition to Africa fitted out by the Institution, and starting from New York." It would gather natural history materials for the Government collections (which were deficient in African specimens), to be deposited in the United States National Museum at Washington, D.C. The main effort would be to collect the large and vanishing African animals. . . . The party would reach Mombasa in April, 1909. No detailed itinerary had been decided upon; but the general route would be up the Uganda Railway to Nairobi and Lake Victoria Nyanza, a distance of about 650 miles by rail, thence crossing into Uganda, and, finally, passing down the Nile to Cairo. Much of the hunting would be done in British East Africa, where the Uganda Railroad could be used as a base of supplies and means of ready transportation. At least one great mountain, possibly Mount Kenia, would be visited. Khartoum would be reached, if all went well, about April, 1910. The expedition might be expected to spend about one year on African soil.

In the face of rapidly increasing governmental expenditures there was an almost equivalent decrease of revenue, and the condition of the Treasury caused some concern. The decrease was due partly to reduced importations, the effect of the panic restricting the use of imported goods, and in part to a falling off in inland revenue as a result of the temperance movement, which curtailed the production and consumption of beer and

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spirits and also the use of tobacco. The gross receipts for the year were $599,895,763 and the expenditures $659,553,125, or a deficit of $59,657,362, with a tendency to increase. Customs yielded $285,680,653; inland revenue, $250,714,008, and the sales of public lands $12,715,709. The chief expenditures were war department, $110,284,864; naval establishment, $118,726,347; pensions, $153,887,995; civil establishment, $146,898,930; Indians, $14,550,758; interest on the public debt, $21,424,900. The total exports were valued at $1,991,127,472 and the imports $1,387,337,210. As usual, Great Britain was the best customer of the United States. The British imports amounted to $190,355,475 and the exports to $580,663,522.

Progress on the construction of the Panama Canal was maintained at a satisfactory rate. For the twelve months ended November 1, 35,016,024 cubic yards had been excavated, a large increase over any previous year. Colonel Goethals, the engineer in charge, unofficially estimated that the canal would be completed in 1915. The cost of the work and its probable stability was much discussed in the Press. When the canal was first authorised by Congress it was on estimates prepared by the engineers placing its total cost at, in round figures, $140,000,000, exclusive of $40,000,000 paid to the French Panama Canal Company for its concession and property, and $10,000,000 to the Republic of Panama for the right of way across the isthmus; but it was soon made apparent that these estimates were mere guesswork and far short of the actual cost, as with the end of the year a sum approximating $160,000,000 had been spent. The unofficial estimate was raised to $250,000,000 and still later to $300,000,000, but clearly no one in a position of authority has sufficient data on which to base the probable cost. But more important even than the cost is the value of the canal, and both in Congress and in the Press the plans were vigorously attacked when completed, and it was declared that the millions poured into the great ditch were simply thrown away. The plans approved by the President provided for locks on both the Pacific and Atlantic sides, with a great lake and dam at Gatun having an area of 164 square miles; but it was asserted that, owing to the nature of the soil, it would be impossible to impound the waters in the artificial lake at Gatun, which would be a constant menace to the canal, and perhaps destroy it. The critics advocated the construction of a sea level canal, which was the type recommended by a majority of the board of international engineers appointed by President Roosevelt to report on the type of canal to be constructed. After receiving this report Mr. Roosevelt declined to follow its recommendation and urged Congress to sanction the lock plan. So violent became the controversy that at last the President yielded to the demand for further examination, and announced that early in 1909 Mr. Taft would visit the isthmus accompanied by a board of eminent civil engineers, who would make still another

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report and determine whether the plans as approved were practicable.

The United States remained in military possession of Cuba during the year, but in January the President announced that not later than February 1, 1909, the Government would be restored to the Cubans. Some 5,000 American troops were kept on the island, but they had little to do and tranquillity was maintained. On November 14 a general election resulted in the Liberals electing by a heavy majority their candidate for the Presidency, Major-General Jose Miguel Gomez, and Dr. Alfredo Zayas, Vice-President.

Little legislation of an important character was passed by Congress. The panic of the previous year had shown the necessity for a greater elasticity of the currency, and the national banking law was amended so as to provide for the issue of notes under certain restrictions in cases of emergency. A commission was appointed to investigate the fiscal system of the United States and report such changes as were considered necessary. An Act was passed reorganising the Militia so as to make it more efficient and place it at the command of the President in time of invasion or to quell disorder in case the regular forces at his command are insufficient. An Employers' Liability Law was passed (p. 437). The President was authorised to remit to China, as an act of friendship, $11,000,000 of the sum awarded as indemnity for the Boxer outrages in 1900. The Postal laws were amended so as to exclude from the mails "matter of a character tending to incite to arson, murder, or assassination." This action was taken to strike at various anarchistic newspapers, mostly printed in Italian, urging the assassination of foreign Sovereigns.

In May, on invitation of the President, a notable conference was held at the White House when the Governors of all the States and other distinguished men met to discuss the conservation of the natural resources of the country. The Conference adopted resolutions declaring that the "conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremittingly the attention of the nation." Congress was urged to take suitable action and to enact laws "looking to the prevention of waste in the mining and extraction of coal, oil, gas and other minerals, with a view to their wise conservation for the use of the people, and to the protection of human life in the mines." As an outcome of this Conference the President appointed a "National Conservation Commission" to study the several questions involved.

The year was entirely without interest so far as the foreign possessions of the United States were concerned. The Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii pursued their way uneventfully and demanded little attention from the home Government. There were no disorders in the Philippines.

A. Maurice Low.

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II. CANADA.

Parliament, which met formally on November 28, 1907, and adjourned for the holidays on December 18, resumed business on January 8, 1908. The first business was a demand by the Opposition that the Commercial Treaty with France (signed Sept. 18, 1907) should be submitted to a Committee of the House for critical examination. This was refused by the Government. On January 14 and 16 the treaty was laid on the table of the House and explained by the Ministers who had been concerned with the British Ambassador in negotiating it. A prolonged debate took place which gradually developed into a discussion of the treaty-making power (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 458). Dr. Thompson of the Yukon elaborately (Feb. 27) detailed the whole history of diplomatic negotiations concerning Canada, and asserted the necessity of securing for her the right to negotiate for herself all treaties which affected her interests. The Prime Minister in reply clearly stated his views. He did not agree that Canada's position was one of subserviency; so long as she remained under the British Crown, the treaty-making power must remain with the British Crown. But under the present conditions, in all treaties affecting Canada she was either consulted or not involved unless after her assent, and in connection with commercial treaties was allowed to negotiate absolutely with a foreign Power and prescribe the terms under which she wished to deal with it. There was no grievance whatever; certainly no subserviency. The discussion was not long continued, and it was obvious that there was very little support in the House for the views of Dr. Thompson.

The French treaty was finally carried through the House of Commons on March 3 and through the Senate on March 26. Owing to delays in France due to the Protectionist feeling of certain manufacturers, and to the revision of the Tariff which was proposed early in the year and was going on at its close, the treaty was not officially accepted in France. The Finance Minister of Canada was engaged at the close of the year, in Paris, in further negotiation, but nothing further was decided at the close of the year. (For earlier particulars see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 458-9.)

On January 20 the report of the Commission appointed to investigate the riots in Vancouver (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 457) was laid on the table of the House. The Commissioner reported that Japan was not responsible for any undue influx of Japanese; that the introduction of labourers in 1907 was due to the operation of immigration supply companies in Vancouver and Hawaii; and that restrictive measures should be taken regarding the action of such companies as were not controllable from Japan (Sessional Paper No. 74, g., 1907-8). On the same day the Postmaster-General, who had been sent to Japan to conduct correspondence with the Japanese authorities,

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reported the result of his mission. He also relieved Japan from any responsibility for an undue encouragement of immigration into Canada; and he announced the agreement by Japan to supervise further the emigration of Japanese to Canada, so as to prevent disquiet among the populace of the Pacific Coast, while at the same time the terms of the Imperial Treaty of 1894, accepted by Canada without any limitation in 1896, were reasserted and maintained by Japan. Count Hayashi (Sessional Paper 74, 1907-8) said that although the existing treaty between Japan and Canada absolutely guaranteed to Japanese subjects full liberty to enter, travel and reside in any part of the Dominion of Canada, yet it was not the intention of the Japanese Government to insist upon the complete enjoyment of the rights and privileges guaranteed by those stipulations when that would involve disregard of special conditions which may prevail in Canada from time to time. That Government had, therefore, decided to take efficient means to restrict emigration to Canada. In carrying out this purpose, it would give careful consideration to local conditions prevailing in Canada, with a view to meeting the desires of the Government of the Dominion as far as might be compatible with the spirit of the treaty, and the dignity of the States.

The whole subject was again discussed on January 28. It appeared from official papers that the British Colonial Office had given Canada the opportunity to have a restrictive clause as to immigration made part of the Treaty of 1894 before acceptance, but that Ministers had decided to accept in 1896 the Treaty without any restrictions. On this the leader of the Opposition based a detailed motion of want of confidence in the Government. After a prolonged debate the motion was defeated (Jan. 29).

This being the last session of the Parliament elected in 1904, the Opposition exhibited unusual vigour. A very warm discussion began on January 13 regarding the production of documents called for. Copies only of some were brought down. Dissatisfaction was strongly expressed, and the originals were demanded. The Minister in charge refused to bring down these originals unless sufficient reasons were given or some specific charge made regarding them. The leader of the Opposition moved (Jan. 21) a resolution asserting, subject to such considerations of public policy as can be validly urged, the undoubted right of the people's representatives in Parliament assembled to be informed of everything necessary to explain the policy and proceedings of the Government, and for that purpose to have an opportunity of seeing and examining all documents connected with the transaction of public business; and that the denial of such right by the Government justified the refusal of further supplies to the Crown. The Prime Minister accepted this motion, though it implied a threat of withholding supplies, and though some reluctance was openly expressed by Ministerialists. On

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the 23rd the Government took a more rigorous line of action in refusing papers; the Opposition violently protested; and when the House went into Committee of Supply, no items were allowed to pass. On the 26th the Government consented to allow the original documents to be brought down for inspection under conditions as to safety. When the documents were produced the Opposition demanded a Committee to examine the facts in regard to the grants of timber limits as contained in the original papers referred to. The debate was exceedingly vehement, and continued till February 7, when the demand for a Committee was rejected by a majority of fifty-five. This whole subject was discussed on every platform during the ensuing general election, and was made the ground of attack on the Administration.

The dissatisfaction more than once expressed in Parliament regarding the composition of the Senate broke out once more. On January 20 a new resolution was moved for the reform of the Senate by changing the mode of appointment. The speakers, as usual, all differed in opinion, and no acceptable plan was proposed. The Prime Minister, in concluding the debate, admitted the need for reform, but was unable to suggest at present any practicable plan. A like debate took place in the Senate on January 23, during which it was proposed to institute Under-Secretaries after the British fashion. The same differences of opinion prevailed in the Senate as in the Commons, and the debate was inconclusive; the motion for reform was withdrawn on February 18. The proposals for the reform of the House of Lords will probably precipitate further debate regarding the Senate of Canada.

On March 26 the Commission appointed to investigate the state and methods of the Civil Service presented an epoch-making report. It recommended many changes in classification and salaries, and made sweeping charges against the party spirit manifested in appointments. It also pointed out the equivocal methods of business prevailing in certain specified departments. As the report justified to some extent the charges made by the Opposition, there was much debate. On April 1 the Prime Minister announced the appointment of Mr. Justice Cassells to investigate the charges made against the Marine Department. This investigation was continued during the summer and autumn, and many serious irregularities of long standing were exposed. The report of Mr. Justice Cassells had not been made public at the close of the year. Meanwhile, the classification of the service under the Act which followed the Civil Service report, was carried out slowly and not completed at the end of 1908.

On February 19, Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, paid another visit, of apparent importance, to Canada (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 454). Of its details nothing authentic was published, but there is good reason to believe that the following subjects were discussed during the year between Great Britain and the United States concerning Canada:

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(1) Transit free of duty of merchandise across portions of American and Canadian territory; (2) transit of merchandise without payment of duty until arrival at points in the interior; (3) the application of the alien labour laws to citizens of the United States and Canada; (4) reciprocal mine-owning rights; (5) conveyance of American prisoners through Canadian territory and *vice versa*; (6) reciprocal salvage and wrecking rights; (7) the use of logging booms in the St. John River; (8) the disposition of certain pecuniary claims; (9) the exemption of Canadians coming temporarily to the United States from payment of head tax; (10) distribution of power from Niagara Falls.

In the reference of the Fisheries question to the Hague Tribunal (primarily regarding Newfoundland) Canada is much interested. The Chief Justice of Canada is now a member of the Tribunal; and eminent legal talent will present the case for Canada to the Court.

On March 17 the Budget was submitted by Hon. W. S. Fielding, the Minister of Finance. The actual revenue for the nine months ending March 31, 1907—a broken period caused by the change in the close of the fiscal year from June 30 to March 31—was $67,969,328; the actual expenditure was $51,542,161; the surplus was $16,427,167. This was the state of things on Consolidated Fund account. Then there were expenditures chargeable to capital, amounting to $14,235,977; which ran the total expenditure up to $65,778,138. The total revenue being $67,969,328, there was a surplus, over all expenditure, of $2,193,971 for the broken period in question. For the full fiscal year ending March 31, 1908, the figures were given as follows. The revenue, $96,500,000, the expenditure $77,500,000, a surplus of $19,000,000, all on Consolidated Fund account. On capital account there was an expenditure of $33,000,000. This made the total expenditure for the year $110,500,000. The total revenue being only $98,500,000, there was an apparent actual deficit of about $12,000,000. The excess of expenditure was largely due to payments on account of the Transcontinental Railway; the total expenditure on that head amounting to $25,912,478 up to March 31, 1908. For the fiscal year 1908-9, the estimates were, revenue about $90,000,000, estimated expenditures, in the main Budget, $119,247,091, to which $10,665,657 was added in supplementary estimates, making a total of about $129,912,748, and involving a threatened deficit of $39,912,748. The latest statement, as published in the *Canada Gazette* of December 5, 1908, gives the figures for the nine months so far elapsed of the fiscal year, 1908-9, as follows. Revenue, $55,115,227; expenditure on Consolidated Fund and Capital account, $67,533,351—a deficit of $12,418,124, which the remaining three months of the year may increase or decrease. Of the large expenditures, $19,508,821 was for public works and railways.

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The trade returns for the period available at the close of the year were as follows: Total imports, for the twelve months ending September 30, 1908, $306,364,419; total exports for same period, $260,523,351; duty collected, $49,994,882. The total harvest of the calendar year, from an area of 27,505,663 acres, was valued at $432,533,000, distributed as follows: Prince Edward Island, $9,408,000; Nova Scotia, $20,083,000; New Brunswick, $38,042,000; Quebec, $80,896,000; Ontario, $185,308,000; Manitoba, $66,660,000; Saskatchewan, $37,614,000; Alberta, $14,522,000.

The average value of field crops for the dominion in the year was $15·72 per acre, and the average value, computed on an estimated population of 6,940,000, was $62·34 per head.

The sum of $2,850,000 was voted for loans to farmers for the purchase of seed grain. How far the funds were utilised and what the effect was on cultivation will not be known till official reports have been published. The return of loans so made is always uncertain.

A question of some importance to the Empire arose in regard to Oriental immigration. Large numbers of immigrants having arrived from India in Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia, an agitation arose in British Columbia. Mr. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., was sent to London to discuss the question with the Imperial authorities. His report (Sessional Paper 36*a*, 1908) was presented on May 5. The British Government agreed that climatic conditions were not favourable to Orientals. The right of Canada to regulate immigration was conceded. The Indian Immigration Act (No. 26, 1883, India) makes immigration, under contract, from India illegal, except to countries specified in the Act. The Canadian regulations prohibit the like immigration under contract, and, in the case of personal immigration, require that the immigrant shall have not only a through ticket for a continuous voyage, but also the sum of $25 on landing. These various laws and regulations, when thoroughly enforced, are expected to protect the immigrant and prevent agitation. At the close of the year Colonel Swayne of Honduras was sent by the Imperial Government to report regarding Oriental immigrants. He found them unwilling to go to Honduras. Moreover he had to report that there was no unemployed class among them. Their leaders had purchased land in large quantities, and all who were not employed in the cities, in mills and railways and other works, were engaged in agriculture. Thus, in all probability, a question which threatened to cause much bad feeling in India has been satisfactorily settled, at least for the present.

In the course of the investigation the attention of the Commissioner was called to the existence of a large opium traffic on the Pacific Coast. A strong report by Mr. King (Sessional Paper 36*b*) followed by prompt legislation (chap. 50, Acts, 1908) provided the necessary remedy. At the close of the year Mr. King

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was sent to represent Canada at the International Conference regarding the opium trade, to be held at Shanghai on January 1, 1909 (p. 394). To complete the settlement of all the Pacific Coast troubles, the losses sustained by the Chinese residents in the riots of September, 1907, to the extent of $26,900, were paid by the Canadian Government, after a thorough examination, the fairness of which was acknowledged by the Chinese representative, unofficially present (Sessional Paper 74*f*, 1908).

Parliament resumed on April 21 after the Easter recess. The most contentious measure submitted to the House of Commons was the Dominion Elections Act Amendment Act, which was explained by the Minister of Justice on May 5. The Bill was strongly opposed by Mr. Borden, the Opposition leader, on the general ground that it practically gave the control of the voters' lists in Manitoba, British Columbia, and Northern Ontario, to the Government and its agents, contrary to the policy previously pursued of leaving the lists in the control of the Provinces. The debate was long and vehement. Supplies were only granted in part, in view of the near approach of general elections in Ontario and Quebec. These resulted unfavourably to the Liberals in both provinces. The approach of the general elections for the Dominion was therefore hailed with satisfaction by the Opposition. Meantime investigations into irregularities in the administration of departments were pushed on and some unpleasant revelations were made; but the Government was invariably sustained, both in the Committees and in the House when matters were pushed to a division. In June the Insurance Bill, in which so many English companies were interested (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 460), was dropped for want of time. All the companies were dissatisfied with the details, and the subject was postponed till 1909.

On July 4 the Prime Minister gave notice of a resolution favouring further negotiations regarding the "All-Red Route" for ocean transit, which occupied the attention of the Imperial Conference in 1907 (Report Cd. 3523, p. 565), and urged that the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and Canada should, with as little delay as possible, agree upon a scheme to be submitted to the Colonial and Imperial Parliaments. A long debate took place on July 8 and 9. At the close of the year nothing had been effected.

On January 2 the Ottawa branch of the Royal Mint was opened by Lord Grey in the presence of a large company. The first coins were struck in copper and silver, and copper coins were distributed as souvenirs on the occasion. No report of operations was made before the close of the year. The Ottawa branch is under the charge of Mr. James Bonar, M.A., LL.D., formerly senior examiner to H.M. Civil Service Commission, and a political economist of authority.

On July 6 the official report on the Georgian Bay Canal (which had been debated at length on January 27 and subse-

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quent days) was brought down. For two generations this enormous undertaking has been before the country, and has had the strongest backing from military, political and commercial authorities. The cost has hitherto deterred all Ministries, but opinion has been growing, the revenue has been increasing, and large figures no longer seriously deter. The main features of the report show that the estimated time of construction is ten years, and the total cost $100,000,000. This estimate is worked out in most complete and accurate detail, as to individual locks, stretches of improved channel, necessary aids to navigation, etc. The details have all been worked out on the basis of a 22-foot waterway along the entire 400 miles from Georgian Bay to Montreal. Taking Port Arthur or Fort William as the starting point, the distance to Montreal *via* the proposed waterway is 934 miles; *via* Lake Erie and the Welland Canal, 1,216 miles; *via* Buffalo and Erie Canal to New York, 1,354 miles—leaving a difference in favour of the Ottawa River route of 282 miles as compared with the St. Lawrence route, and of 424 miles as compared with the Buffalo and New York route. The time of transit is affected by the length of the restricted channels on the route, where speed has to be reduced, and by the number of lockages and consequent delays. A careful computation of the speed allowable in the different stretches, with about three-quarters of an hour allowed for delay in the passage of each lock, gives about seventy hours as the time from Georgian Bay to Montreal. With the advantage of shorter distance between terminal harbours, the route would be from one and three-fifths to two days faster than any other existing water route from the head of the great lakes to an ocean port.

On July 7 the Annuities Bill, which was postponed from the previous session, was carried in the House. The resolution on which the Bill was introduced provides that for the promotion of thrift, opportunity shall be given to provide for old age by means of Government annuities of not less than $50 nor more than $600 per year, the annuities to be purchasable either by one payment or periodical payments; the Governor in Council by regulation to fix the rate of interest to be allowed in computation of values in the tables which are the basis of such purchases; such annuities to be payable after the annuitant has reached the age of fifty-five years or has become disabled; should he die before the annuities are payable, the moneys paid in are to be repayable to his heirs, with 3 per cent. compound interest.

On July 8 the terms of the extension of the boundaries of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec were placed before the House. The Province of Manitoba was made to include the two ports of Fort Churchill and York Factory. Quebec was given the territory of Ungava, which includes all the portions of Labrador undisputed by Newfoundland. To Ontario was accorded all the territory lying between the newly extended boundary of Mani-

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toba and the waters of James Bay and Hudson Bay. These terms are subject to agreement by the various Provinces.

The celebration (July 20 to 31) of the tercentenary of the foundation of Quebec, which had been started by Lord Grey in an address to the Women's Canadian Club in 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 460), was carried out in July with unhoped-for success. Everything conspired to render the event memorable. The presence of the Prince of Wales, of the representatives of France and of the United States, the perfection of the arrangements, the beautiful weather, the immense fleet of ships, the pageants, receptions and varied proceedings, all contributed to a historical spectacle. The winds from all quarters carried to Canada notes of congratulation and applause. As an example of national spirit, generosity, skill and discipline, the event must always be remarkable. The expense was very great, but the accounts were settled without a single disagreement. The various Committees worked in singular harmony. Many honours were conferred on the occasion. Lord Grey's proposal, which was at first deemed rather daring, was carried to a glorious finish. His spirit and energy contributed much to the ultimate success of the unique undertaking. The official guests of the nation were as follows: L'Amiral Jauréguiberry, M. Louis Herbette, Conseiller d'Etat, M. de Loynes, Consul General of France at Montreal, representatives of France; the Mayor of Brouage (the native place of the explorer Champlain); Vice-President Fairbanks, representing the United States; the Right Hon. the Earl of Dudley, G.C.V.O., etc., Australia; the Right Hon. the Earl of Ranfurly, G.C.M.G., New Zealand; the Right Hon. Sir Henry de Villiers, K.C.M.G., Chief Justice of the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa; Hon. James Stewart Pitts, C.M.G., Newfoundland, and the Marquis de Lévis, the Marquis de Lévis Mirepoix, M. le Comte Bertrand de Montcalm, George Wolfe, Esq., Captain the Hon. Arthur Murray, M.P., Captain the Hon. Dudley Carleton, the Lord Lovat, C.V.O., C.B., D.S.O., Field-Marshal the Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G.

After a brief vacation the general elections for the Dominion drove the Parliamentarians to the hustings again. The Prime Minister, after opening his campaign at Sorel on September 5, made a vigorous campaign in Ontario, where his party was supposed to be weak. The leader of the Opposition, who had accepted a nomination for Halifax, where he was defeated in 1904, opened his campaign at Bridgewater in Nova Scotia, and after a series of meetings in that Province, extended his campaign into the West and Ontario, where he was supposed to be strong. The Prime Ministers of New Brunswick, Ontario and British Columbia joined him in his meetings. The elections took place on October 26. The result was a general surprise. The Opposition leader was indeed elected in Halifax, but the Government was sustained by a majority nearly as large as in 1904. The Prime Minister was elected both in Ottawa

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and in Quebec East. Ontario returned more Liberals than before, Nova Scotia rather fewer, New Brunswick more, and Prince Edward Island more. In British Columbia a Minister was defeated and the Opposition strengthened. The general result was entirely favourable to Ministers. Those of them who had been most severely attacked on personal grounds were very strongly supported. Several of their strongest opponents were defeated. The great additions to the population since 1904, in the West especially, confounded all calculations of the election managers. The Opposition, indeed, will meet Parliament in 1909 with increased numbers, but the Ministerial majority remains great.

The affairs of the various provinces were more than usually notable. In British Columbia the Legislature met on January 2. An attempt was made to impeach the Governor for reserving the Provincial Immigration Act for the consideration of the Federal Government. The attempt was frustrated, and a motion censuring the Government for permitting the reservation was defeated. But the Act in question was re-enacted and assented to by the Governor. The Provincial authorities arrested some Japanese who refused to leave the Province. The Japanese took their case to Court. Demonstrations were made by local agitators. On February 21 the Act was declared *ultra vires* by the local court. This ruling was sustained on the 25th by the Supreme Court of British Columbia. Hindoos were also arrested, and legal proceedings resulted in their release. Subsequent negotiations (p. 451) resulted in a settlement of the question.

In Alberta the Province purchased the whole of the Bell Telephone system in that new province for the sum of $675,000, and on April 1 the Province took possession of the lines. The experiment is being watched with interest, but it is too soon to form an opinion as to its success.

In Saskatchewan the Legislature met on April 2. The finances showed a small surplus. The constituencies were readjusted. Under this readjustment the general election was held on July 14. The old House consisted of only twenty-five members, sixteen of whom were supporters of the local Scott Government, and nine Opposition. The new House consists of forty-one members, with a large unascertained majority for the Government.

The Manitoba Legislature met on January 2. The chief announcement was that the Government, following the example of Alberta, had purchased the Telephone System and would operate it as a Government work. The revenue showed a surplus of $294,353. The House adjourned on February 26.

The Ontario assembly opened on February 5. The chief measure was one for the reform of legal proceedings. A measure was also passed to secure purity of election. The finances showed a surplus of $606,000. The estimates for the year

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ending June 30, 1909, were: expenditure, $7,501,875; revenue, $7,921,772; surplus, $419,897, which will probably be largely increased. The sum of $1,600,364 was voted for education. The general elections were held on June 8, and the Whitney Government obtained a largely increased majority. On September 9 Hon. J. M. Gibson was appointed the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.

The Quebec Legislature met on March 3. The increase in crime, due to increased immigration into the large centres, was specially noticed. The finances showed a surplus of $1,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908. The estimates for the year ending June 30, 1909, were: revenue, $5,370,484; expenditure, $4,974,037; surplus, $396,447. A general election was held on June 8. The result was unfavourable to the local Government, the Opposition increasing its number from nine to twenty-two. The Premier was defeated in Montreal by M. Henri Bourassa. The Government was, however, sustained on the whole. On September 16 Sir Alphonse Pelletier was made Lieutenant-Governor in place of Sir Louis Jetté, whose term had expired.

The New Brunswick Government, which had undergone many changes, dissolved the Legislature on March 3. The Robinson Government was badly defeated by the Conservative leader of Opposition, Mr. Douglas Hazen, who formed a strong Ministry.

The Nova Scotia Legislature met on February 13. The progress of last year's measure for technical education was reported. A proposition was made for the purchase by the Federal authorities of all the provincial railways forming part of the Intercolonial System. At the close of the year various projects for the entire transfer of the Intercolonial Railway and its branches to private hands were being promoted. The finances of the Province showed a surplus, though the expenditures, especially for education, had been liberal.

The Prince Edward Island Legislature met on February 26. The Prime Minister, Hon. Arthur Peters, had died and was succeeded by Hon. L. L. Haszard. A general election was held in November, but the result was so close that at the end of the year the position of the Ministry was uncertain, though it was understood to have secured a majority.

III. NEWFOUNDLAND.

The year 1908 in Newfoundland opened with every prospect of great prosperity. The fisheries were abundant and the prices continued abnormally high, but towards the close of the year the markets collapsed and less than half of the 1907 prices were realised, and so the year that opened so favourably closed with depression, and a less hopeful outlook for the New Year.

The value of the products exported was as follows:—

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Fishery	$10,058,052
Forests	494,910
Mines	1,382,793
Manufactures, Miscellaneous, etc.	165,406
	$12,101,161

The public revenue for 1907-8 was $2,750,690·73, the expenditure $2,625,336·31. The debt of the Colony stands at $22,371,866·87. The total imports were $10,426,040 and the exports $12,101,161; the excess of exports over imports, $1,675,121.

The exports and imports were as under:—

Exports.		Imports.
$1,437,154	United Kingdom	$2,669,934
1,552,608	Canada	3,669,098
452,604	Other British States	341,103
1,342,380	United States	3,417,359
1,841,961	Portugal	46,104
1,331,518	Italy	—
2,063,439	Brazil	327
994,308	Spain	75,522
1,105,182	Other Countries	206,793

At the end of the fiscal year the cod fishery showed an increase of 16 per cent. in catch and of 77 per cent. in value; but with the price of fish so low the outlook for the end of the next financial year is not so promising.

The herring fishery showed a decrease caused by bad weather, and by the uncertainty brought about by the trouble with the Americans over the treaty rights. The export of this fish amounted to $406,409. The Whale Fishery remained stationary and was not likely to increase.

The *modus vivendi* effected between the Imperial Government and that of the United States was revoked by an Imperial Order dated September, 1907, and the *status quo ante* has been resumed with the consent of the Colonial Government pending the settlement of the whole question by the Hague Tribunal. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, of the Supreme Court of Canada, was chosen to represent Newfoundland in the arbitration proceedings. The selection of an outsider by the Bond Government gave considerable offence.

The seal fishery, which precedes the cod fishery, and which in 1908 was valued at $642,267, was in process of change. Hitherto it had been carried on by wooden sheathed steamers, old whalers mostly, built to battle with the ice floes, but of no use as freight carriers. Two years ago a very powerful steel steamer was built. She was specially reinforced for the work, could steam through the ice, no matter how thick, and reach the seals when the poor old wooden tubs were left behind. The promoters reaped a rich harvest and proved conclusively that a steel ship could be built suitable both for sealing and ordinary freighting purposes, and so 1909 will witness a sealing fleet of

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six steel sealing vessels which, after the season is over, will take up the work of ocean freight-carriers.

Shipbuilding.—The Government gave a great impetus to shipbuilding this year by an improved system of bounties. Fifteen years ago the vessels owned in the Colony numbered 2,260, now the number is 3,308.

Lumber.—The value of the exports of the forest amounted to $494,910, an amount not likely to be exceeded in future years. Much of the lumber cut in 1908 was used in the building and equipping of the new town and paper mills of the Harmsworth Company, at Grand Falls on the Exploits River. The Company hoped to manufacture their own paper by September, 1909, when Newfoundland would have for the first time a real inland town. New pulp mills were being erected at Bishops Falls and at Hawkes Bay. Their erection indicated a large increase in the lumbering industry in the direction of cutting pulpwood, not for export, but for manufacture into paper in the Colony. The waste of timber was beginning to attract attention, and the Government would soon be forced to take up the important question of re-afforestation.

Sport and Fishing.—The opening up of the country by the railroad has been the means of inducing many visitors from both sides of the Atlantic to visit these shores for the sake of sport. Caribou are very plentiful in the interior, and the rivers and lakes teem with trout and salmon. Licences to kill caribou cost ten guineas, but the fishing is free. The salmon are small, running from ten to twenty pounds, but they give great sport. The male caribou of Newfoundland carry fine sets of antlers, the finest head brought down in 1908 having sixty-four points. Other wild animals are to be found, the black bear being the commonest; the wolf is occasionally met with, and the willow grouse affords good sport to the man who likes rough travelling.

Legislation.—The session of 1908 was very short, twelve Bills passed through both branches of the Legislature. The majority of these referred to the internal economy of the country. One, dealing with workmen's compensation, was modelled on the English Act. Another provided for the proper supervision of mines and the protection of the miners. This Act was rendered necessary by the frequency of accidents in the iron mines at Bell Island. The Model Farm Act was passed to encourage farming. By this Act an experimental farm was established and an agricultural college commenced. Newfoundland imports every year an increasing quantity of vegetables, dairy produce, cattle and sheep, and it is hoped that this Model Farm Act will in time induce a taste for farming in a country hitherto dominated by the fishing industry.

Perhaps the most interesting event in the year's history was the result of the colonial elections. Sir Robert Bond, who had held the reins of Government for the past eight years, had as his opponent his late colleague and Minister of Justice, Sir

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Edward Morris. The elections were carried on with much bitterness, and the result was a tie, 18 being returned on each side. This is a result unique in the history of self-governing Colonies, and the singular occurrence awakened much interest both at home and abroad. The outlook was entirely obscure when the year closed. The only solution of the difficulty seemed to lie in another election in the spring.

Education is denominational. Each denomination takes charge of its own schools, teachers, Government grants, and maintains a staff of superintendents. The Government supports a Council of Higher Education, which is undenominational, and which carries on a system of public examinations for all the denominations similar to the Examinations of the College of Preceptors in England, who are the examiners for the Council. In 1908 close on 3,000 students entered for these examinations, which rise by grades to the standard of the London University Matriculation Examination.

During the year there died at the age of eighty Sir William Whiteway, P.C., K.C.M.G., who was Premier of the Colony from 1898 to 1907, and for twenty years before that was its most conspicuous figure. He was a native of Devonshire. He will ever be remembered in Newfoundland as the statesman who projected and carried through the railway policy of the Government. He really discovered the country, for, till the railroad was built, the interior was *terra incognita*. He was Grand Master of English Freemasons in Newfoundland for fifty years. Sir Robert Reid, the great Scottish railway builder of Canada and the States, who was brought to the country by Sir William Whiteway to build the railroad, also died during the year. His family, under the name of the Reid Newfoundland Company, are now the lessees of the railway which he built. They own much land in the country, steamers, docks, and electric power works. Sir Robert Reid was much respected in the Colony as an honest, generous and shrewd business man. Other deaths were those of Lady Winter, the wife of Sir James Winter, K.C.M.G., Premier of the Colony in 1898-9; and of Mr. J. R. MacCowen, the head of the police of the Colony and of the Fire Department of St. John's.

IV. MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

[This and the subsequent sections of this chapter are by H. Whates.]

Except for an unimportant insurgent movement in July by a band of "outlaws" in the mountainous region of the United States frontier the year in the Republic of *Mexico* has been uneventful. Señor Limantour's estimated revenue for the year from July 1, 1908, to June 30, 1909, was 10,338,500*l.* and expenditure 10,320,382*l.*—an estimate of revenue less than that collected in 1906-7, which is taken as a basis. It is complained against the Finance Minister that he is excessively cautious and

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takes no account of the expansion in the revenue-producing powers of the Republic; but his prudence gives a stability to Mexican finance which that of no other Spanish-American Republic possesses. The total imports in 1906-7 were of the value of 23,336,338*l.* and exports 24,801,801*l.* In dealing with these figures Señor Limantour discussed the trade balance of 1,465,463*l.* in relation to Mexican liabilities and treated it as clearly inadequate to cover the indebtedness of the country to foreigners. The American financial crisis had sharply disturbed Mexican business, and he was of opinion that the effects of this "tremendous economic disturbance" would not quickly pass, and that much time must elapse before confidence in Europe would be restored. It would be unwise to expect that the stream of European capital that had poured into Mexico would resume its flow immediately. His forecast for 1909-10 showed an estimated revenue of 10,338,500*l.* and an expenditure of 10,320,382*l.* The mining industry had been less healthy owing to low prices and heavy stocks in the markets of the world, especially of copper and lead, but the agricultural and industrial outlook was more favourable. The total public debt calculated up to June 30, 1907, was 24,453,071*l.* As illustrating the progress of Mexico it may be added that the cash revenue is more than twice the amount of ten years ago.

The *Central American States* have had a relatively quiet year under the Washington settlement of 1907, composing the warfare between Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador. The inauguration of the Central American Court of Justice established by this settlement took place at Cartago, Costa Rica, on May 25, with considerable ceremony and in presence of representatives of the other four Central American Republics, Mexico and the United States. In *Guatemala* the Transcontinental Railway was opened at the end of January with some ceremony, a special envoy from the United States being present by invitation. The President, Señor Cabrera, suffered an attempt on his life in April, his assailants being cadets of the Military Academy and part of his bodyguard. The President lost a finger; one of his staff officers was killed. The commandant of the Military Academy and a prominent civilian implicated in the affair were tried and executed. Reports were current at the same period of the year of plots in *Nicaragua* against the life of President Zelaya and of wholesale executions, but these were officially denied. The Republic of *Salvador* raised a new loan of 1,000,000*l.* In *Costa Rica* a contract was signed on August 31 for the completion of the Transcontinental Railway before the end of 1909, and new railways were in contemplation reaching the Nicaraguan border. The affairs of *Panama* were not notable otherwise than for progress made in the cutting of the ship canal. According to the report of the United States Commission for the year ended June 30, 1908, there were then at work 100 steam shovels, and 28,000,000 cubic yards of

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material had been removed, of which about 12,000,000 was from the Culebra "divide" or cut, where the chief work of excavation has to be done. The average number of men employed during the year was 43,000, of whom about 12,000 were whites. The death rate was 18·32 per 1,000, that among the whites being 15·34. The report tells of landslides, of altered plans in the building of dams and locks on the Pacific side, and of remarkable engineering difficulties yet to be overcome. (For the subsequent controversy as to the plans see p. 445.)

V. WEST INDIES AND GUIANA.

The record of *Jamaica* is one of satisfactory revival from the effects of the destructive earthquake of January, 1907. Sir Sydney Olivier, who succeeded Sir Alfred Swettenham as Governor, announced to the Legislative Council that the year 1907-8 showed a cash balance of 220,000*l.* The financial outlook was promising. The Earthquake Relief Fund had been of great benefit in the restoration of Kingstown, and there was an unexpended balance which would be applied to further rebuilding. The Council appropriated 100,000*l.* as the nucleus of an insurance fund against future disasters, the possibility of which had been brought home to the Colony by new disturbances along the south shore. The insurance companies and policy holders settled their differences in December by a compromise by which the holders accepted 85 per cent. of the face value of their policies on property affected by the fire that followed the earthquake. The amount involved was estimated at 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The Colonial Office had not issued in January, 1909, the annual report for 1907-8, and the commercial figures are not therefore available. *Barbados* has suffered in reputation as the health resort of the West Indies by the appearance of sporadic cases of yellow fever, but it has had a prosperous year, its teeming negro population finding abundant employment in contract labour on the isthmus. In 1907 nearly 37,000*l.* was received in money orders from labourers on the canal zone, and returning labourers brought with them over 26,000*l.* in cash. Up to March, 1908, 16,000 Barbadians had left for the canal works. The economic effect of this outlet for labour has been an improvement in the revenue, which was (1907-8) 209,817*l.*; the expenditure was 188,296*l.* The value of imports (1907) was 1,271,529*l.* and exports 935,255*l.* The United Kingdom supplied 44 per cent. of the imports, and the United States 36 per cent. The sugar crop was short; much of the sugar now goes to the Canadian market instead of the United States, under the preferential arrangement offered to British Colonies, and imports from Canada, though still small, have shown a marked increase. The cotton industry is progressing satisfactorily, but the tourist traffic is not extending. *Trinidad* (with *Tobago*) continues to be prosperous. The revenue for 1907-8 was 871,201*l.*, 105,929*l.*

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more than the previous year. This was due to a larger cocoa crop and better prices. The expenditure was 781,038*l.* The debt of the island is 1,075,053*l.* The total trade was of the value of 7,282,327*l.*, of which imports yielded 3,374,824*l.*; the total for 1906-7 was 5,993,042*l.* The trade with Canada, both in cocoa and sugar, is increasing under the preference system, and Canadian capitalists are at work developing the petroleum resources of the colony. The coolie immigration system is still in operation in Trinidad, which received 1,860 such immigrants in the year, while 752 returned East. The net influx by immigration of this kind and others was 3,000. The population now stands at 334,543. The Government have in hand proposals for a permanent agricultural department for laboratory and botanical work and experimental farms as part of the policy of developing agricultural industries and the proper utilisation of the Crown Lands, which are now being taken up at the rate of some 10,000 acres yearly. In the *Leeward Islands* (Antigua, St. Kitts, Dominica, Montserrat and Virgin Islands) progress continues to be made in the policy of restoration initiated while Mr. Chamberlain was at the Colonial Office. The revenue shows a satisfactory increase in each Presidency, the total for all in 1907-8 being 152,608*l.*—an increase of 14,454*l.* over that of the previous year. The Imperial grant-in-aid of the Agricultural Department amounted to 3,935*l.* The expenditure, exclusive of this grant, is well within the revenue. The total value of the imports was 499,990*l.*, an increase of 92,739*l.*, and of exports 516,861*l.*, an increase of 117,653*l.* Sugar is still cultivated extensively, but the policy of the Administration is to supplement that crop with others. The Agricultural Department of the West Indies has done valuable work in these islands, and the schools appear to be successful in turning out young negroes and creoles competent to take up land and manage estates on approved lines. Antigua is now independent of Imperial aid, and there is a shortage of labour owing to the demands of the Panama Canal. The fruit products of this group—and bottled fruits are in great demand as a winter food in Canada—are finding an extending market in the Dominion, whose continued expansion is the most hopeful sign of a permanent revival of West Indian industries. It may here be mentioned that Sir Daniel Morris, who for thirty years has been associated with West Indian agriculture either in the Colonies or at Kew, and since the Royal Commission of 1896 has been the Imperial Commissioner for Agriculture, resigned that post towards the end of 1908. He is succeeded by Dr. Francis Watts, C.M.G., but will continue to give his services to the Colonial Office in matters affecting tropical agriculture. A minor fact of the year, worthy of note, is that the doubloon has ceased to be legal tender in the British West Indies.

In the mainland Colony of *British Guiana* affairs have been uneventful. The feeling of uncertainty as to the sugar industry

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in the near future has been ended by the declaration of the Imperial Government against the renewal, from September, 1908, of the penal clauses of the Brussels Convention; but the effect of this, if any, in reducing the area under sugar was not observable when the year closed. Of the exports sugar accounted in 1907-8 for 1,004,025*l.* of a total value of 1,711,543*l.* The value of the imports was 1,765,358*l.* The revenue was 548,293*l.* and the expenditure 520,046*l.* The public debt on March 31, 1908, was 919,320*l.* The village communities of negro peasant proprietors "continue to make progress in the management of their affairs, and the giving to them of a considerable measure of self-control has been amply justified." Rice and rubber cultivation show increases and the minor agricultural industries are progressing. The gold industry is marking time, but there are extensive areas, officially known to be auriferous, where no prospector has yet been. The gold won in 1907-8 was 67,209 ounces—18,295 ounces less than the previous year's output, owing to the exhaustion of the earlier alluvial fields. Quartz mining continues in the Puruni River district. Diamond workings yielded 29,007 stones—a heavy decrease, partly attributable to the depression in the diamond market. New and more favourable conditions [*vide* Cd. 3729] were drawn up by the Government for the prosecution of forest industries on the Crown Lands and for rubber cultivation along the river banks. Notwithstanding the introduction of 1,800 East Indian immigrants during the year a scarcity of labour was reported. The population is about 300,000. Of other and minor places in the Caribbean, and of the French and Dutch possessions in the Guianas and the islands, there is nothing of note to record except the revolution in *Haiti*. President Nord Alexis seemed to have subdued the revolt in the early part of the year, but it broke out violently again in December, and he took refuge on a French cruiser. A new Government was instituted. The other Republic on the island *Santo Domingo*, has enjoyed comparative tranquillity. Its total trade in 1907 was of the value of 2,500,000*l.*, chiefly with the United States and Germany. The new Franco-Haitian commercial treaty gives France predominant advantages in the Haiti market, or would do so if trade were not paralysed by civil troubles. The negro population of Haiti is 1,500,000, and the resources of the two Republics are almost untapped.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

The year in the United States of *Brazil* has been remarkable in a political sense for the pursuit of an ambitious policy of naval armaments, which was variously attributed in Europe to fear of German aggression and to a desire to speculate in warships which a European Power might find it convenient to buy; the unavowed apprehension, however, was that protection was necessary as against Argentina. The Government was reported to have placed orders in England for thirty warships, four of

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them being Dreadnoughts and the rest cruisers, torpedo-boats and gunboats. Liberal orders for rifles and field artillery were also placed with German firms. It was denied on behalf of Brazil that she had any warlike intentions against her neighbours, and it was pointed out that she had a long coast-line to protect and unsettled boundaries in the interior which might lead to difficulties. The question whether this new and heavy expenditure for military and naval purposes is or is not justifiable, having regard to the state of Brazilian finance and trade, led to much discussion, and to a lively controversy in South America on the subject or what was called "Equilibrium of Armament." It also led to a decision by the Argentine Republic to increase her own naval and military equipment. The position at the end of the year was that Brazil had no navy other than a few obsolete vessels, and that the new fleet had yet to be built. At the opening of the National Congress in May President Penna declared that the international relations of Brazil were perfectly good and made the usual professions of amity and peaceful intentions; but the fact remains that the two chief States of South America have now entered upon a burdensome race in armaments which may conceivably imperil their peace. On the question of boundaries President Penna made the interesting statement that the source of the Cotinga River (British Guiana) had been found to be in the Roraima Mountains, not where it was assumed to be in the award by the King of Italy under the treaty of arbitration. This will necessitate a new and amending treaty. It should be observed, as throwing light upon Brazilian official declarations, that the new warships were not intended for use against the Argentine, that a treaty of arbitration was concluded between the two Republics. If acted upon there could be no war between them. The Budget for 1908 provided for an expenditure of 65,625,210 milreis gold, and revenue estimated at 91,493,713 milreis gold. The Presidential message gave the revenue for 1907 at 535,443 contos and the expenditure 525,722. According to the *Jornal do Commercio*, the consolidated external debt of Brazil was 34,697,300*l.* in 1898; in 1908 it was 72,133,357*l.* Notwithstanding this enormous increase the financial and trade facts of the Republic are so handled by the *Jornal* as to demonstrate a continuous expansion in the development of Brazil. The Government statistics of trade show that from January 1 to October 30, 1908, the value of imports of merchandise was 29,806,379*l.* as against 33,222,379*l.* for the corresponding period of 1907. The exports for the nine months were of the value of 34,263,423*l.* as against 46,857,645*l.* in the previous year. The total for the year was imports 35,491,410*l.*, as compared with 40,527,603*l.* in 1907; and exports 44,094,992*l.* as against 54,176,898*l.* That is how Brazil is "expanding," and that is the commercial basis on which Brazil intends to become a great naval power.

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A National Exhibition to celebrate the centenary of the opening of Brazilian ports to foreign commerce was opened at Rio de Janeiro in August.

In February the United States fleet on its way to the Pacific was enthusiastically received at Rio, and escorted by an Argentine squadron through the Straits of Magellan. It was reviewed at Valparaiso by President Montt, and the torpedo flotilla called at Buenos Ayres and had an enthusiastic reception.

At the opening of the year the *Argentine Republic* was disturbed, and there was an attempt to assassinate the President, Señor Alcorta. Many arrests were made in connection with this incident and others, but the elections to renew half the *personnel* of the Chamber showed that the Government had the situation well in hand and was able to return its own candidates. In opening Congress in May, President Alcorta justified the measures he had taken for the preservation of the peace and for the termination of conflict between the Executive and the Chambers; the latter had declined to sanction the estimates for 1907. Because of this the executive had itself sanctioned the Budget, and withdrawn Bills and other matters from the Legislature. It appeared that the revenue for 1907 was 21,196,250*l.*, an increase of 2,250,000*l.* above the estimate. The expenditure was 18,030,000*l.*, or 2,000,000*l.* less than the sum provided. The external debt had been reduced to 63,902,501*l.*, but the internal gold debt had increased to 11,101,140*l.* The Budget Committee estimates for 1909 show a revenue of $66,700,433 gold and a small surplus. This result is obtained by an expectation of increased revenue and considerable diminution in expenditure. But there was to be an additional expenditure ($15,000,000) on the army and navy, and $3,000,000 for the cost of the Revolution Centenary in 1910. It was stated that the proposed armaments would be paid for out of revenue, not by new loans or new taxation. In the Government statements much optimism was expressed as to the economic conditions and future of the Argentine. It appeared that for the first half of 1908 imports were of the value of $131,273,361 gold, and exports $233,076,267. A comparison with the corresponding figures for the first half of 1902 shows that both imports and exports had more than doubled their value. This remarkable increase in prosperity was due to a succession of good seasons, an expansion of areas under cereals, and the growth of the cattle trade. The area under wheat was over 6,000,000 hectares, under linseed 1,500,000, and under corn 633,000. The harvest prospects at the end of the year were reported to be excellent. The number of immigrants in 1908 was 255,710, but there was an outflow of 85,000 steerage passengers.

Uruguay has had a peaceful year. The Customs revenue, which, in the absence of trade statistics, forms the best indication of the condition of the country, amounted to 2,807,491*l.* in 1907, or 70,556*l.* more than in the previous year. The revenue

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is raised from imports, and the duties, and consequent cost of living, are extremely high. A movement for tariff reduction was ineffectual. Progress has been made with the judicial reforms instituted in 1907, and judges have been appointed to conduct *viva voce* trials. A difficulty is pending with the British Government owing to an attempt to establish jurisdiction in River Plate waters beyond the three-mile limit, the Canadian Government claiming compensation through the Foreign Office for the seizure of a Canadian sealer, the *Agnes Donohoe*. President Williman continued in office, but late reports from the Republic indicated the probability of a revolution before the close of his term in 1911.

Chili is still suffering from the commercial disruption caused by the destruction of Valparaiso in 1906; the nitrate trade has suffered a set-back, and there have been frequent labour troubles. Exchange has been low, but the law for the conversion of paper money, which is to come into effect in January, 1910, is expected to lead to a revival in the affairs of the country. Meanwhile new paper has been issued and, except among Chilians who benefit by the low rate of exchange, there is dissatisfaction with President Montt's Administration. The Budget for 1908 estimated the expenditure at 3,623,938*l.*, and it was claimed that economies of over 1,000,000*l.* had been effected and that a surplus would accrue. The policy of the Cabinet was defined as aiming at the removal of difficulties in the way of restoring a sound currency system, of carrying out reforms likely to develop the resources of the country, and of devising means for removing the causes of labour disputes. The Chilian naval programme covers the construction of a first-class battleship at a cost of something under a million sterling. During 1908 the Customs receipts at Valparaiso amounted to $40,000,000. The first Pan-American Scientific Congress met at Valparaiso on December 1. *Peru* has suffered renewed internal disturbances, and in August an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate President Pardo, who was succeeded on September 24, after revolutionary trouble and an unopposed election, by Señor Leguia. Proposals for new external and internal loans were made at the close of the year. A serious revolution occurred in *Paraguay* in July, resulting in the overthrow of President Garcia and the installation of Señor Emiliano Naveiro as President. The revolt was led by the military faction, which rose against Señor Garcia, and a British eye-witness of the scenes estimated the killed and wounded at from 600 to 1,000. Events have thus falsified hopes that the upheaval of 1904 would be the last of its kind, and have seriously checked the revival of prosperity. The imports in 1907 were of the value of 1,572,255*l.* and exports 647,222*l.* The revenue was estimated at 635,000*l.* and the expenditure 677,982*l.* The external debt (Dec. 31, 1907) was 792,269*l.* In *Bolivia*, Señor Fernando Guachalla was elected President on May 4 for four years from August 6. The country

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has been in dispute with the Argentine Republic respecting a railway convention (May 18, 1907) committing it to the construction of a railway from Tupiza to Potosi, Congress overriding the convention on grounds of expense and substituting a line from Tupiza to Uyuni.

In *Ecuador* the Guayaquil and Quito Railway from the coast to the capital was at last opened on June 25, amid general rejoicings. As an engineering feat it has probably no parallel, unless it be the Oroya Railway in Peru. The engineers and promoters were American, and it was carried to completion by Mr. Archer Harman. Financially the line, which took over the State debt in 1897, has been unfortunate, but a settlement was effected with the bondholders in August through the secretary of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders. *Colombia* gave promise of active development under the firm rule of President Reyes. A redivision of the country into new departments was announced to take effect on January 1, 1909.

The troubles of *Venezuela* continued throughout 1908 and culminated in December in the departure of President Castro and the formation of a new Administration. In June the situation was that the United States, France, Great Britain and Holland had serious difficulties with President Castro, the chief grievance of the two latter Powers being the seizure of trading sloops by Venezuelan coastguard vessels, apparently in retaliation for alleged harbouring of Venezuelan enemies of the President, in the Dutch and British possessions in the Caribbean. The dispute with Holland led to the expulsion of the Dutch Minister from Caracas and the Dutch Government thereafter sent gunboats to the coast. Early in December it became known that President Castro, who was reported to be taking a visit to Europe to undergo an operation and to settle difficulties with Holland and France direct, had left Venezuela under circumstances which ended his presidency. He landed at Bordeaux in the company of Señora Castro and some Venezuelan officials or ex-officials, and proceeded to Berlin, where he was at the end of the year. It was reported that he had amassed a fortune of 1,500,000*l.* sterling. Both in France and in Germany he was treated as a private person. Meanwhile, the Dutch navy had captured the whole of the Venezuelan "fleet." General Gomez, the Vice-President, protested against this aggression in a manifesto. "The national sovereignty is threatened and the territorial integrity, honour and dignity of the Fatherland are in danger." Meanwhile, there were anti-Castro demonstrations in Caracas and a bonfire was made in the Plaza Bolivar of all the statues and pictures of the ex-herdsman that could be collected. Notwithstanding Venezuelan repudiation of himself Castro posed in interviews with French and German journalists as the ruler of the country on a diplomatic mission. General Gomez placed Castro's brother under arrest, seizing him with his own hands on an allegation of complicity

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in a plot for his assassination. Other arrests of the ex-Dictator's partisans were made, and a proclamation issued declaring that a new Government had been formed. None of Castro's party was included in the new Ministry, which forthwith cancelled Castro's letters of credit and appointed Dr. Paul, an ex-Foreign Minister, to proceed to Europe to negotiate with France and Holland. The proclamation also revoked the decree against the admission of merchandise from Holland which had been transhipped at Willemstad, and thus showed a readiness to terminate the dispute with that Power. Moreover, it terminated trade differences of long standing with Colombia. The policy of the new Government was set forth in a proclamation by the Minister of the Interior, Señor Alcantara, to the State or provincial governors. It appealed for unity of action (there had been a futile effort to upset the new *régime*) and declared that the Government would aim at the restoration of Venezuelan credit and the improvement of her economic resources, so as to remedy the poverty of the people, the causes of which were apparent to all. "Venezuela," the proclamation continued, "wishes for frank and continuous friendship with all nations. We must, therefore, try to come to some definite conclusion regarding questions at issue, always consulting, however, the dignity of the nation and its inalienable rights."

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRALASIA.

I. THE AUSTRALASIAN COMMONWEALTH.

THE year 1908 saw the first check imposed upon the remarkable expansion of Australian trade that had continued ever since the break-up of the drought in 1903. Compared with the trade figures of 1907, both the imports and exports of 1908 reveal an appreciable falling off, as the following details will show:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	£	£	£
1907	51,317,000	72,772,000	124,089,000
1908	49,283,000	64,439,000	113,722,000
Decrease	2,034,000	8,333,000	10,367,000

A decline of over 10,000,000*l.* in the oversea trade of the Commonwealth must be regarded as rather a serious set-back to Australian prosperity, especially as over 8,000,000*l.* of the total is accounted for by exports, due to a diminution in the quantities of wool, butter, and wheat sent away, and to the fall in the price of copper, lead and zinc. The year closed, however, with a promise of a record wheat harvest and the most gratifying reports of agricultural and pastoral production, so that 1909 should more than atone for the shortcoming of 1908.

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Nor did the year pass by without the troubled waters of Commonwealth politics being stirred to their very depths. Ever since the general election of 1906, Mr. Deakin, the Prime Minister, had stood at the head of the smallest of the three parties in the Australian Legislature. But for the wide differences of opinion between the Conservatives, led by Mr. Reid, and the Labour Party, with Mr. Fisher at their head, the life of the Deakin-Lyne Administration would not have been worth a day's purchase. Nevertheless, by the exercise of considerable adroitness, and by playing one section of its opponents against the other, the Ministry survived one stormy session and provided the country with a new tariff considerably higher than its predecessor, and containing provisions under which Great Britain enjoys preferential treatment over foreign nations. In order to secure the support of the Labour Party to this protective tariff, Mr. Deakin and his colleagues had undertaken to hedge it round with provisions for the protection not only of the manufacturer, but also of the consumer and the worker. The theoretical working of this "New Protection," as it is called, has been explained at length in previous volumes (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 473 *seq.*; 1906, p. 475 *seq.*); but it is now interesting to note how it brought its devisers to grief.

The first attempt to enforce the "New Protection" was by the Excise Tariff Act of 1906, the provisions of which applied to the manufacturers of agricultural machinery. The Act compelled those engaged in this industry to sell their goods at a "fair" price, and to pay their workmen a "fair" rate of wages. Under these conditions they enjoyed the protection of a heavy duty upon foreign manufactures; failing to comply with them they were subjected to a heavy excise duty which rendered their protection a negligible quantity. In 1907, the workmen employed by several important firms engaged in this industry complained that they were not receiving a "fair" rate of wages, and applied to the Commonwealth Arbitration Court for the enforcement of the Excise Tariff Act. The case was a long and interesting one, Mr. Justice Higgins finally deciding in favour of the men, and fixing a "fair" rate of wages for each class of workmen, in a long judgment which promises to remain historical in Australia. He further decided that the firms concerned must either pay "back wages" to their men, or excise duty for the whole period covered by the Act. Against this decision the employers appealed to the Commonwealth High Court, the ground of appeal being that the Commonwealth Constitution did not provide for legislation on the lines of the Excise Tariff Act of 1906. After a long hearing, the High Court supported this contention, two of the five judges dissenting. The effect of the decision was to render the New Protection unconstitutional, and to force the Government to devise a measure for the amendment of the Constitution. A Bill to that effect was accordingly introduced into the House of Representatives, but to

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the surprise of everybody some details of this measure failed to prove acceptable to the Labour party. Mr. Fisher, the Labour leader, accordingly moved a vote of no confidence in the Government, stating that his party considered it was time they took the matter of industrial legislation into their own hands. He was supported by the Conservatives, and the Government was defeated by 49 votes to 13. Mr. Deakin formally resigned and the Governor-General sent for Mr. Fisher, who succeeded in forming the following Ministry:—

Prime Minister and Treasurer, Mr. Fisher; Attorney-General, Mr. Hughes; Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Batchelor; Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Mahon; Postmaster-General, Mr. Thomas; Minister of Defence, Mr. Pearce; Minister of Trade and Customs, Mr. Tudor; Vice-President of the Executive Council, Mr. McGregor; Honorary Minister, Mr. Hutchinson.

Thus entered into office the second Australian Labour Ministry, and the sixth Commonwealth Administration in the eight short years of Australian national life.

Securely installed in office, the new Ministry pursued the tactics obvious under the circumstances, walking very circumspectly throughout the remainder of the session and relying upon the opportunity afforded by the recess for the formulation of measures for the enforcement of the much-discussed Labour "platform." At the outset Mr. Fisher announced that he would go no further, for the present, with the Land Defence Scheme of his predecessors, which provided a substantial period of enforced military training for every adult male citizen. The vexed question of the Australian capital site, however, the newcomers succeeded in settling, a bill fixing the seat of Government in an area of land entitled Yass-Canberra passing both Houses of Legislature. The district so chosen is less than 200 miles from Sydney, has an elevation of some 2,000 feet above the sea level, and communicates with the excellent but little used port of Jervis Bay. It is claimed for this area that it commands a sufficient rainfall and a temperate climate, and is situated conveniently to the main line of railway which connects Melbourne with Sydney.

During the year Lord Northcote's term of office as Governor-General expired, and he returned to Great Britain, to the genuine regret of Australians, with whom he was very popular. The appointment of the Earl of Dudley to succeed him was generally acclaimed, and the new Governor-General was very warmly received on arriving in Australia to take up his new duties. The visit of the American fleet, occurring about the same time, created widespread excitement throughout Australasia; and the vehemence of the welcome accorded to these visitors excited remark in every part of the world. It would be idle to deny that a special significance attached to these Australasian demonstrations at the visit of the fleet of a Power which, equally with Australia and New Zealand, feels the

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pressure of the Far Eastern problem. Attention from the Old World was also called to Australia by the excellent display made by the Commonwealth—or rather by the six States which are its component parts—at the Franco-British Exhibition in London. The Australian Court was visited by several millions of people during the progress of the exhibition, with the satisfactory result that the volume of British emigration to Australia was substantially increased. The appointment of a High Commissioner to represent the Commonwealth in London remained in abeyance throughout 1908, in spite of Ministerial promises. Before he resigned office, Mr. Deakin had entered into an arrangement for the purchase of a site near Trafalgar Square for the erection of suitable Commonwealth offices in London. This arrangement was subject to the approval of Parliament, and was promptly abandoned by the Labour Administration which succeeded the Deakin Ministry. During the year Mr. J. H. Reid, who had been the leader of the Conservative party ever since the Federation was completed, and had once been Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, retired from the leadership of the party. This step was due to his increasing practice at the Sydney bar, and in some measure perhaps to a natural pessimism born of the tangle into which the three-party system has complicated Australian national politics. Mr. Reid was succeeded as leader of the Opposition by the Hon. Joseph Cook, formerly his political lieutenant and a member of his Administration. The year also saw the death of the Hon. C. C. Kingston, a member of the first national Government.

The year brought no solution of the conflict between the Federation and the States, which had manifested itself during the two preceding years in a movement by some States in favour of secession. In 1908 the differences centred chiefly in the financial relations between Commonwealth and States, and especially in the distribution of the enormous Customs revenue which is the backbone of Australian finance. This revenue is collected by the Commonwealth, which is bound, under what is known as the Braddon Clause of the Constitution, to return at least three-fourths of the money so derived to the State in which it was collected. This arrangement, which was merely tentative, holds good for ten years only from the inception of Federation, *i.e.*, till the end of 1910. It is part of the Commonwealth policy to make some fresh adjustment of the financial arrangements between Commonwealth and States which shall include the consolidation and transference to the Commonwealth of Australian State indebtedness. The Nationalists would prefer to pay the interest on the national debt from Customs revenue, to passing the money over to the States for that purpose. The advantage and economy of consolidating the Australian State debts was, it will be remembered, one of the chief arguments employed by the advocates of Federation.

Each year the Commonwealth Treasurer has devised some

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scheme for the adjustment of financial relations between States and Commonwealth after the year 1910, and submitted it to the annual conference of State Premiers. Every scheme has been rejected by the States with something like indignation. In 1908 the State Premiers met at Melbourne during the month of May, and Sir William Lyne, the Commonwealth Treasurer, made a series of proposals which may be outlined as follows:—

The National Government to take over the State debts and place their administration under a Council of Finance, which should raise new loans and provide for a sinking fund. A sum of 6,000,000*l.* out of Customs revenue to be credited to the States, which should make up the difference between this sum and the annual interest and expenses of the whole debt, a matter of some 2,750,000*l.* This payment by the States to decrease automatically and annually until at the end of thirty years it should be extinguished altogether. The loans taken over by the Commonwealth to be replaced by 3 per cent. Australian Consols as they reached maturity, and all new loans to be arranged by the Council of Finance. The sinking fund to be under the control of the Council of Finance, and to benefit by a charge of ½ per cent. to be made by the Council of Finance to all States incurring fresh loan obligations.

Such were the main lines of the most satisfactory solution of Australia's financial difficulties yet proposed. It was met by the State Premiers with the customary criticism, the whole gist of which is that the money returnable from Customs revenue is insufficient. In short, the State politicians are making common cause to obtain an extension of the Braddon clause, under which the State revenues have been so handsomely benefited during the recent years of Australian prosperity. On this point of financial adjustment there will undoubtedly be a grave dispute in the near future, for the expiration of the Braddon clause will necessitate some fresh provision in the Constitution for the division of the Customs revenue. A comparison of the modest Budget of Commonwealth expenditure with the enormous surpluses the State Treasurers have recently been able to announce is enlightening in this connection. New South Wales had 1,676,000*l.* to spare in 1908, Victoria £440,000, Queensland £115,000, and South Australia £480,000, and this in spite of a substantial fall in production for export. It is hardly possible, with such figures before their eyes, that the Nationalists should not claim that the States enjoy an undue advantage under the present system of dividing Customs revenue.

However, the State Premiers met Sir William Lyne's proposal with the following conditions: (1) The payment to the States of a fixed annual sum *plus* a proportionate part of any increase in revenue from Customs and Excise; (2) the States to be the sole judges in raising loans without interference by a Council of Finance; (3) in the event of the debts being taken over, the total indebtedness of the respective States to be reduced

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by the value of the properties transferred from the States to the Commonwealth. In this spirit of sheer hard bargaining the Conference of Premiers concluded its sittings, having postponed the day of reckoning yet another year.

As already remarked, *New South Wales*, after meeting all the expenditure charges customarily liquidated from the revenue, had a surplus of 1,676,000*l.*; easily a record in the history of the State. This solid proof of the material prosperity of New South Wales is the more remarkable because the commerce of the State was disturbed by a series of industrial disputes of an unusually serious nature. The breakdown of the Arbitration Court, which was unable to cope with the many cases referred to it for settlement, was met by the introduction of a Wages Disputes Bill, providing for the establishment of Wages Boards on the lines which have proved so successful under the Factory Act of the State of Victoria. In spite of this measure, great strikes took place in the coal mines at Newcastle, and among the lumpers and other unskilled labourers on the wharfs at Sydney. Then the Government was forced to deal with a strike among its own employees, the drivers and conductors engaged upon the Sydney tramway lines. The dispute was due to the system of espionage in force there, to which the conductors objected bitterly. After a few days of idleness, fresh drivers and conductors were obtained, and the strikers were reduced to submission. The Sydney tramway strike is notable as being only the second strike of State workmen recorded during the long history of State Socialism in Australasia. Before the year had ended yet another grave industrial dispute had begun in New South Wales, the scene being the famous silver mines of Broken Hill. Owing to a difference of opinion on the wages question, a number of the largest mines were closed, the managers maintaining that work could not be carried on profitably if the men received the wages they asked. Thus many thousand miners were thrown out of employment, and in the struggles that followed the workmen resorted to the most violent expedients. Dynamite was exploded in an unsuccessful attempt to blow up the water-mains and so cut off the supply of water from the mines. Portions of the railway line were wrecked, and other acts of useless violence were committed, the quarrel being at its height when the year closed.

In spite of these industrial upheavals, the general prosperity of the State was maintained in a very remarkable manner. The policy of throwing open lands to the settler was pursued with great advantages, many hundreds of thousands of acres being subdivided into comparatively small holdings during the year. At the same time every inducement was held out to young British farmers with small capital, and to agricultural labourers as well, the State gaining handsomely by the immigration of these desirable classes of new-comers. The coming into operation of the Local Government Act of New South Wales has also

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put a new aspect upon the land question in Australia. Under the provision of this Act, municipalities are empowered to strike rates upon the unimproved value of land alone, and are indeed forced to make such a rate of one penny in the pound, the State remitting land tax to that amount. Nearly all the municipalities are already taking advantage of this new legislation, the first effects of which may be seen in the impetus given to building operations in and around Sydney.

In the neighbouring and rival State of *Victoria* a curious contrast is noticeable. The problem of industrial legislation, which is shaking New South Wales to its very foundation, affords no trouble worth mentioning in Victoria. On the other hand, the question of the land, which is being dealt with on satisfactory lines by the mother State, remains the disturbing factor in Victorian politics. For many years the rural population of the State has been slowly drifting away, farmers taking advantage of the easier land conditions of New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia. Striking figures have been published from time to time, showing the gradual depopulation of the very finest agricultural counties of Victoria. Public dissatisfaction at this state of affairs led to the overthrow, in 1908, of Sir Thomas Bent, who during recent years has made political history in Victoria. As Premier of the State he proved himself a politician of the old Colonial school, bluff, forcible, and somewhat dictatorial. His forecasts of amended land legislation extend over some years, but the consideration of the exact scheme to be put forward invariably led to Cabinet differences and Ministerial reconstructions. Twice during 1908 Sir Thomas Bent found it necessary to announce important Cabinet changes, and consequent delay in the expected land legislation. Finally public feeling crystallised in Parliament, where the Premier sustained a defeat which forced him to appeal to the country. He arranged that the election should be fought on the nominal lines of Anti-Socialists *versus* the Labour party, and the results were: Anti-Socialists, 39; Labourites, 21; Independents, 5. At the close of the year the new Parliament had not assembled, but it was understood that Sir Thomas Bent was far from commanding the unanimous support of the Anti-Socialistic party.

The most serious railway disaster recorded in the history of Australia occurred near Melbourne on April 20, when a collision took place between two trains containing Easter excursionists. Forty-two persons were killed and 143 seriously injured, involving the Government in the payment of 120,000*l.* in compensation.

During the year an Adult Suffrage Bill passed both Houses of Legislature, thus giving to the women of Victoria the right to vote at State elections. Similar measures had been annually rejected by the Legislative Council for many years past, but the Upper House at last gave way, to the great joy of Australian suffragists. Sir Reginald Talbot, Governor of the State, re-

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signed his office, and Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael was appointed to the vacant post.

The general prosperity of the State is shown by the Budget statement which revealed a surplus of 440,000*l.* The population, however, shows but little increase, and up to the present Victoria fails to attract immigrants, who nearly all go to New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia.

The first day of 1908 found *Queensland* in the throes of a constitutional crisis that is likely to leave its mark on Australian history. During the Parliamentary session of 1907 Mr. Kidston, the Premier, had carried in the Legislative Assembly a proposal to extend the provisions of the Wages Board to agricultural labourers. This proposal, had it become law, would have fixed a minimum wage and maximum hours of labour for all farm and station hands. Naturally, it was very distasteful to the country party, and was twice rejected by the Legislative Council. Mr. Kidston was intent upon passing it into law, and therefore proposed to swamp the nominee council by the creation of fresh members. To this scheme Lord Chelmsford, the Governor, refused to accede, and Mr. Kidston's resignation promptly followed. Lord Chelmsford sent for Mr. Philp, the leader of the Opposition, who was unable to form a Ministry in the face of a heavy majority of opponents in the Legislative Assembly. He demanded and obtained a dissolution from Lord Chelmsford, who was subjected to severe criticism, not only in Queensland, but throughout Australia, for thus appearing to take sides in a constitutional struggle.

The general election that followed was eloquent of the attitude of the State, the strength of parties in the new Parliament being Kidstonites, 25; Labourites, 22; Philpites, 25. As the Labour members supported Mr. Kidston in his attitude towards the Council, that gentleman was enabled to form a new Administration. The address in reply to the Governor's opening speech contained a clause expressing regret that the Governor should have dissolved a newly elected Parliament capable of carrying on the business of the country; practically a vote of censure on Lord Chelmsford. Later in the session a resolution affirming the desirability of the local appointment of State Governors received strong support in the House of Assembly, but was eventually talked out by Opposition members. In order to prevent future deadlocks between the two Houses a referendum Bill was introduced, and has since secured the Royal assent. It provides that measures which have passed the House of Assembly and been twice rejected by the Council, may be submitted to a vote of the whole body of State electors. In dealing with the history of other Australian States, it will be necessary to refer again to the attitude of Lord Chelmsford, which was responsible for a strong Australian opposition to the appointment of State Governors by the Colonial Office.

Having settled the constitutional troubles in Queensland

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Mr. Kidston visited London, and made new arrangements for the representation of the State in that city. Central offices were taken in the Strand for the advertisement of the resources of the State, and an active policy of attracting immigrants was initiated, with the result of attracting a very desirable class of worker to Queensland. On his return to Queensland Mr. Kidston, who had been hampered by the extreme views of his Labour supporters, held several conferences with Mr. Philp, the result being the formation of a coalition Ministry. This stroke of policy put an end, for the time being at any rate, to the three-party system in Queensland politics, the Labourites and their sympathisers being forced to sit in direct Opposition. The material prosperity of the State during the year is evidenced by the surplus of 115,000*l.* which the Treasurer was able to announce in making his Budget statement. A progressive land policy pursued by the Government resulted in the substantial extension of the area of land under cultivation in the State, and a very remarkable development in the dairying industry. The experiment of employing white labour in the sugar fields continued to yield satisfactory results, though the last word is far from being said on this subject.

The loudest echo of the dispute between the Premier and Governor of Queensland was heard in the Parliament of *South Australia*, where a Labour-Liberal Ministry governs, with the Hon. T. Price, a Labour member, as Premier. In the House of Assembly a motion recommending the local appointment of State Governors was introduced, and after a short debate, was carried by a heavy majority. Introduced into the Legislative Council, the same motion was forcibly rejected, the Upper House pronouncing it tasteless, if not disloyal. None the less, the views of both Houses were conveyed to the Colonial Office. Possessed with the spirit of innovation, South Australia also sought to make changes in the method of floating and renewing the loans of the State in London. Armed with this mission, Mr. Price, the Premier, visited London in the early part of the year, to arrange for the renewal of a loan of 3,000,000*l.* shortly falling due. He found, however, that it is easier to introduce new methods into South Australian politics than into London finance, and the State had finally to fall back upon the accepted custom. In the meantime, owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding, the negotiations led to the resignation of the South Australian Agent-General, the Hon. J. S. Jenkins. The vacant post remained untenanted at the end of the year. The London visit of Mr. Price, though failing in its main object, was nevertheless successful in many other directions. He attracted much attention as the first Australian Labour Premier to visit Great Britain, and was able, by a number of judicious and temperate speeches, to remove many false impressions as to the objects and intentions of his party. Indeed the State of South Australia, with a record surplus of 480,000*l.*, a record wheat crop, and the

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very general and genuine prosperity, affords a striking object lesson of the careful administration and the moderation of Labour in power.

Western Australia had also something to say upon the subject of State Governors and the method of their appointments. The question was raised ingeniously by a private member, who seized the opportunity afforded by the discussion of the estimates to move the reduction of the Governor's salary by 1*l.* In the debate that followed all personal inferences were disclaimed, but the principle of local appointments was stoutly maintained. In the end the reduction was carried, and the Colonial Office was again notified of the wish of an Australian State to appoint its own Governors. The year saw Western Australia at the polls, the general election giving the Moore Government a good working majority over the Labour party, which sits in direct opposition. The support accorded to the Government by the country was justified by the progressive policy pursued, both in the opening up of agricultural land and in the construction of railways and other public works. The State was rewarded by a further marked improvement in agricultural and pastoral development, while signs are not wanting of a sound and genuine revival in the gold-mining industry. During the financial year the Treasurer contrived to make both ends meet, the Budget statement showing a nominal deficit of 2,365*l.*

In *Tasmania* the land question was as much to the fore as in the other States of the Commonwealth, the result being a moderate Income and Land Values Tax Bill which passed the Lower House of Legislature but was hung up by the Council. The principle of free education for all was at last passed into law, many years after its adoption throughout Australia, and, indeed, in older countries nominally more Conservative than Tasmania. A small surplus proclaimed the financial soundness of the island. During the year Tasmania lost the services of its Agent-General in London, the Hon. H. Dobson, who met a tragic and mysterious death while returning from the Continent on one of the Channel steamers (Dec. 3).

II. NEW ZEALAND.

A striking contrast to the political turmoil of Australia is afforded by the peaceful course of events in New Zealand. It was thought that the death of Mr. Seddon would deal a blow at the political fortunes of the party he led victoriously through so many years' vigorous administration of the Dominion's affairs. Sir Joseph Ward, who succeeded Mr. Seddon, appears, however, to have grasped the full measure of his old chief's hold upon the people of New Zealand. In 1908 he was called upon to fight his first general election, and signs were not wanting that a vigorous struggle would be made against the Government throughout the Dominion. The result of the polls, however, showed that the Government had forty-five supporters, against

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twenty-five Opposition and five Independent members. Sir Joseph Ward was therefore returned to power with a following practically as strong as that formerly commanded by Mr. Seddon; and New Zealand shows no sign of tiring of its long Liberal Administration.

The local option poll, held at the same time as the general election, was more significant as expressive of public opinion in New Zealand upon one important topic. The result was a very substantial extension of the prohibition of the retail liquor traffic. Seven fresh districts voted in favour of total prohibition, while the six districts in which the no-licence system was already in force confirmed their choice by more powerful majorities. Ten more districts pronounced themselves in favour of a reduction in the existing number of retail licences, the whole effect of the poll being the total extinction of 150 licences. It might be thought, with such a wave of temperance reform sweeping through the islands, that the statistics of the Dominion would show a marked decrease in the consumption of intoxicants. It is surprising to find that the contrary is the case. The consumption of alcohol per inhabitant—never very heavy in New Zealand, be it said—is steadily increasing, while the criminal statistics are even more eloquent of an increase in drunkenness. This paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that liquor can be bought wholesale instead of retail, and that the possession of a quantity proves a continual temptation to men who might have been more moderate had they been able to limit their purchases. The comfort of the inns in the no-licence districts is also said to have declined, in some cases as an effect of the prohibition; though the full effect of the experiment cannot yet be measured.

The still more interesting experiment of compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes was subjected to a severe test during the year. A strike of miners took place in the Blackball Company's mine, and was referred to the Arbitration Court, which decided against the men. The Court also imposed a fine of 75*l.* on the Miners' Union for continuing the strike in the face of its decision, but failed to induce the men to return to work, or to collect the fine. The Court then made each striker responsible for a proportion of the fine, the maximum liability for each being fixed at 10*l.* An attempt to enforce this decision by seizing the property of the men and selling it failed rather farcically, no bids being made when the goods were submitted for auction. In the end a compromise was made between the mine-owners and the men, leaving the Court with its dignity still to vindicate. The result was an amendment of the Arbitration Act, to which the Government pins its faith.

In his Budget speech, Sir Joseph Ward was able to announce a record revenue and a record surplus. The revenue was 9,063,989*l.* and the surplus slightly over 800,000*l.*, a remarkable figure for a community of but 1,000,000 people. In

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a vindication of the land policy pursued by his Government, the Prime Minister was able to point to 150,000 people settled on the soil in a period of eighteen years. To these, new-comers with capital and farming experience are constantly being added, owing to the judicious but enterprising means employed for advertising the Dominion in Great Britain. The retirement during the year of the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, High Commissioner for New Zealand in London, deprived the Dominion of the services of a statesman whose claim to distinction has been established on both sides of the world. He was succeeded by the Hon. W. Hall Jones, a prominent member of the Government, who had also been closely associated with the late Mr. Seddon.

An estimate of the wealth of New Zealand in 1908 set the figure at over 300,000,000*l.* as against 142,000,000*l.* in 1890.

III. POLYNESIA.

The chief items of interest in island history during the year are the settlement of the long-standing Marshall Islands dispute and the rapid development of Papua. The claim of Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co. against the German Government for the loss sustained by their vessels trading to the Marshall Islands was originally 12,500*l.*, but after a long delay the sum accepted was 4,100*l.* At one time the incident had excited the liveliest excitement in Australia, and the final settlement of the difference was hailed with relief. A more amusing incident was the rebellion of Rakatanga, one of the Cook Islands, nominally a portion of the Dominion of New Zealand. To express his dissatisfaction with this arrangement, a native chief hauled down the British flag, which was promptly hoisted again by the three white residents of the place. With some trouble the flag was kept flying until the periodical mail delivery relieved them of an irksome duty.

The development of *Papua*, or British New Guinea, was very remarkable during 1908. The applications for areas of land for tobacco and rubber growing were very considerable, and the grants made ensure the investment of much capital in these industries. In addition to the ascertained goldfields of the district, valuable and important discoveries of copper were made, which promise to play a strong part in the opening up of the country. The difficulty of obtaining labour was met with an ordinance of the Papuan Council entitled "A Bill to Encourage the Natives in Habits of Industry," compelling landless, non-tax-paying natives to work for at least one month in each year, in return, of course, for payment. All reports in New Guinea, whether by settlers, officials or visitors, point to a very remarkable advance in the development of the British settlement there. That Germany is also aware of the value of her possessions in New Guinea was proved during the year by a substantial increase in the shipping subsidy paid for the monthly service to the German Protectorate.

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PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1908.

JANUARY.

1. A pastoral letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury was published, laying stress on the significance of the coming Pan-Anglican Conference. (See English History, Chapters I. and IV.)

— The *Nimrod*, under the command of Lieutenant Shackleton, R.N.R., left Lyttelton, N.Z., for the exploration of the Antarctic regions.

— In a Rugby Football match at Colombes, near Paris, England beat France by three goals and two tries to nothing.

2, 3. A severe frost took place over the United Kingdom, the temperature in London falling to 23° F. In Munich it fell to 1° F.

3. In Berlin, Herr Maximilian Harden was convicted of libelling Count Kuno von Moltke and sentenced to four months' imprisonment and to pay the costs.

6. In New York the second trial began of Harry Thaw for the murder of Stanford White on June 25, 1906. The prisoner withdrew his plea of guilty and pleaded insanity at the time. The jury was not completed until January 10. On February 2 Thaw was acquitted on the ground of insanity.

7. At Melbourne, the M.C.C. beat Australia by one wicket, after a very exciting finish.

10. It was announced at Tangier that Mulai Hafid had been formally proclaimed Sultan of Morocco at Fez on January 6.

11. At a cinematograph entertainment at Barnsley a number of children turned back from the gallery blocked the staircase. Sixteen children were killed and over thirty injured. At the inquest (Jan. 17) it was found that the deaths were attributable to negligence in the want of a proper staff of attendants, but that such negligence was not criminal.

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11. At York, Mrs. Sarah Rushworth, wife of a solicitor who was also Secretary to the Education Committee, was convicted of gross cruelty to two girls whom she had adopted, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Her husband was fined 50*l.*

12. Suffrage reform demonstrations in Berlin.

13. Severe frost; skating in many parts of England. At Lingay Fen, near Cambridge, the Amateur Championship was won by F. W. Dix, who skated 1½ miles, with three turns, in 4 min. 37⅘ sec.

— At Issy, Paris, Mr. Henry Farman, an Englishman, travelled on an aeroplane of his own invention for a kilometre towards a fixed goal. He turned easily and came back to his starting-point in 1 min. 28 sec., equal to nearly 41 kilometres (26 miles) an hour; thus winning a 50,000 franc prize given by MM. Archdeacon and Deutsch.

— At Boyertown, near Reading, Pa., an explosion during a cinematograph exhibition set up a panic and, by the upsetting of oil lamps, a fire; 167 persons were reported killed and seventy-five injured.

14. The appointment was announced of a Royal Commission, to make an inventory of historical monuments in Scotland.

— It was announced that Mr. H. O. Wills of Bristol had promised 100,000*l.* towards the endowment of the University for Bristol and the West of England, provided a charter was granted within two years.

— Seventy-five County Associations under the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, for which schemes had been made by the Army Council, were specified in the *London Gazette*, together with their Presidents, Chairmen, and Vice-Chairmen. The remaining eighteen Associations were completed before the end of the month.

16. The Bank of England reduced its rate to 5 per cent.

— At Cambridge, Vernon Musgrave was sentenced to nine months' hard labour for cheating at cards. He had become acquainted on a pleasure cruise with an undergraduate and entertained him and his friends at a local hotel.

— At Adelaide, the Australians won the third test match against the M.C.C. by 245 runs.

— It was announced that Lord Brassey had been appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports *vice* the Prince of Wales, resigned.

17. Women's suffrage demonstration in Downing Street. (See English History, Chapter I.)

— In the Parliamentary bye-election for the Ashburton or Mid-division of Devonshire, consequent on the appointment to a judgeship of Mr. Eve, K.C., Captain Morrison-Bell (U.) was returned by 5,191 votes, Mr. C. R. Buxton (L.) receiving 4,632—a severe and unexpected Liberal defeat.

20. The appointments were announced of Sir Louis W. Dane, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub *vice* Sir Denzil Ibbotson, K.C.S.I., resigned through ill-health; and of the Rev. Prebendary William Barker, Rector of Marylebone, to the Deanery of Carlisle *vice* the Rev. C. S. Ridgeway, D.D., Bishop-elect of Chichester.

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21. At Launceston, Tasmania, the M.C.C. cricket team beat the Tasmanian eleven by 120 runs.

22. The G.E.R. steamer *Amsterdam*, from Harwich to the Hook of Holland, collided near the latter port in a fog with the ss. *Axminster* and was beached. No loss of life. One boat, missing for two days, was subsequently discovered to have been picked up by the Norwegian ss. *Songa*, fog-bound.

24. Mr. Lloyd-George was presented with the freedom of Cardiff.

25. At Newnham College, Cambridge, Mr. Balfour delivered the Sidgwick Memorial Lecture, taking for his theme national decadence, and concluding that there was no present indication of a check to progress in Europe.

— The hopes of the preservation of Crosby Hall were finally abandoned, Mr. L. Harcourt, M.P., First Commissioner of Works, refusing the expenditure necessary for housing the commercial department of the Board of Trade at the Hall. (*Cf.* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 30.)

29. In a letter from the Primate particulars were published of a scheme for the augmentation of the minimum income of poor benefices to 200*l.* where the population exceeded 1,000 and to 150*l.* where it was not less than 500. About 1,000 benefices were affected.

— It was announced that Sir W. S. Robson had been appointed Attorney-General *vice* Sir J. Lawson Walton deceased, and that Mr. S. T. Evans, K.C., M.P. for Mid-Glamorgan, had been appointed Solicitor-General *vice* Robson.

— The King opened Parliament. (See English History, Chapter II.)

30. Suffragist disturbance. (See English History, Chapter II.)

31. At the bye-election for the Ross division of Herefordshire, caused by the death of Captain Alan Gardner (L.), Captain Percy Clive (U.) was returned by 4,947 votes, Mr. Whitley Thomson (L.) receiving 3,928.

FEBRUARY.

1. The King of Portugal and the Crown Prince were assassinated at Lisbon. Prince Manuel was slightly wounded, and Queen Amélie had a narrow escape. Two of the murderers and one innocent passer-by were shot. (See Foreign History, Chapters II. and IV.)

4. At Melbourne, the M.C.C. cricket team defeated Victoria by 300 runs.

5. In the Upper House of Convocation (the session of which had begun on the previous day) the Bishop of Salisbury presented a report from a Committee of Bishops on the ornaments of the Church and of its ministers. (See English History, Chapter II.)

— In the St. Austell Division of Cornwall, vacant by the resignation of Mr. W. A. McArthur (L.), Mr. T. Agar-Robartes (L.) was elected without opposition.

— At the Parliamentary bye-election at Worcester, where the writ had been suspended since the trial of the election petition of 1906, Mr.

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E. Goulding (U. and Tariff Reformer) was returned by 4,361 votes against 3,069 recorded for Mr. Elverston (L.).

5. At Glamorgan, Mr. S. Evans, appointed Solicitor-General, was re-elected unopposed.

7. The *Tribune*, a London Liberal daily paper started in 1906, ceased publication owing to a difficulty in raising further capital.

— At the Guildhall Library, a Dickens library and collection, formed by Mr. F. G. Kitton, deceased, and purchased by subscription, was presented to the City on behalf of the subscribers by Lord James of Hereford.

8. The King and Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, with members of the diplomatic body and other eminent persons, were present at a Requiem Mass at St. James's, Spanish Place, near Manchester Square, for the murdered King and Crown Prince of Portugal. No English King had attended a Roman Catholic service in Great Britain since the Reformation.

— At Fawley Court, near Henley, Mr. F. H. Holmes, a brewery director, while insane after influenza, murdered his wife and daughter and two maid-servants in their beds, afterwards shooting himself.

— The great shipbuilding works of Sir James Laing & Sons, Ltd., at Sunderland and Deptford, suspended payment. (A reconstruction scheme was announced in November.)

— At the Central Criminal Court, Henry Boulter, convicted of blasphemous libel in open-air addresses in London, undertook not to repeat the offence and was bound over to come up for judgment if called on. The libels, which were not published, were understood to be attacks on Christianity and its Founder. The case was the first for some twenty-five years.

— At Christie's, a Van Dyck equestrian portrait belonging to the Duke of Sutherland, was sold for 2,100 guineas.

— At Richmond, under Rugby Union Rules, England defeated Ireland in an international football match. At Stamford Bridge, under Northern Union Rules, New Zealand defeated England.

9. The King and Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales attended a memorial service for the King and Crown Prince of Portugal held at St. Paul's Cathedral.

11-14. Women's suffrage demonstrations at Caxton Hall and outside the Houses of Parliament. (See English History, Chapter II.)

12. In the Scottish Episcopal Church, Provost Plumb of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews *vice* Bishop Wilkinson deceased.

— Mr. George Meredith's eightieth birthday was celebrated by the presentation to him of an address signed by 200 persons eminent in literature, public life, letters, learning, journalism and art. Some of the signatures came from France and the United States, and a separate address from the latter country.

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12. At the Central Criminal Court, Franz von Veltheim, whose real name was Karl Kurze, was convicted of demanding money by menaces from Mr. Solomon B. Joel, and sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude. He claimed to have rendered services to Mr. Joel in connection with the alleged promotion of a revolution in the Transvaal in 1895-6.

13. Lord Kinnaird appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland for 1908.

— In the Parliamentary bye-election for South Leeds, due to the death of Sir J. Lawson Walton, Attorney-General, Mr. W. Middlebrook (L.) was elected with 5,274 votes; Mr. R. T. Neville (U.), 4,915; Mr. A. Fox (Labour), 2,451.

— At Bristol Assizes, Arthur Hyne pleaded guilty to charges of bigamy and fraud, and was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. It was stated that he had married and deserted five women since 1905. There was reason to suppose that he was identical with one Witzhoff, who was wanted for similar offences in the United States.

— In the Library of the House of Lords (History Room) marble busts were unveiled by the Marquess of Lansdowne of the eighth Duke of Argyll, presented by his widow, and by the Earl of Crewe of Lord Kimberley, presented by a committee of Liberal and Conservative Peers.

14. Dr. H. T. Bovey, F.R.S., of McGill College, Montreal, appointed Rector of the Imperial College of Science.

15. Under the will of Mrs. Rylands, of Manchester, according to a statement authorised by her executors, fifty-three charities and institutions would benefit to the aggregate amount of 473,000*l.*; 200,000*l.* was left to the John Rylands Library, Manchester; 50,000*l.* to the Victoria University; 25,000*l.* to Owens College, and 20,000*l.* to the Manchester Warehousemen's and Clerks' Orphan Schools.

— The Oxford and Cambridge Association football match was won by Oxford, at Queen's Club, by four goals to one; and an international match between England and Ireland at Belfast was won by England by three goals to one.

17. It was announced that Mr. M. E. Sanderson, deceased, had bequeathed 60,000*l.* to the See of Wakefield, besides 10,000*l.* for providing pensions for women, and his residuary estate.

19. At Brooklands' motor racecourse, Mr. F. Newton, on a 60-h.p. Napier car, covered 50 miles in 35 min. 7·76 sec.; 100 miles in 1 hr. 10 min. 20·31 sec.; 150 miles in 1 hr. 46 min. 6·17 sec.; 85 miles 55 yards in 1 hr. and 169 miles 615·6 yards in 2 hrs. All these were records.

20. The Right Rev. W. J. Robberds, D.D., Bishop of Brechin, was unanimously elected Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church *vice* Wilkinson deceased.

— In an explosion in the Glebe Coalmine, Washington, Durham, fourteen persons were killed.

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21. The Parliamentary bye-election for North Leitrim, necessitated by the resignation of Mr. C. J. Dolan to test the opinion of the constituency, resulted in the return of Mr. F. Meehan (Nationalist) by 3,103, Mr. C. J. Dolan (Sinn Fein) receiving 1,157. The result, however, was regarded as encouraging to the Sinn Fein party.

— At the dinner of the Militia Club, at the Trocadero Restaurant, London, Mr. Haldane read a special message from the King expressing His Majesty's keen appreciation of the services of the Militia in the past and his conviction that the officers and men would continue to show their devotion to duty in the future, whatever calls might be made upon them.

— Coursing.—At Altcar, the Waterloo Cup was won by Mr. E. Hatton's Hallow Eve.

— At Edinburgh, Lord Rosebery addressed a meeting of school children in connection with the presentation of Union Jacks to fifty Board schools by the Victoria League, sketching the history of the flag, saying that it stood for liberty and good government, "that it must never cease to be the Union Jack," and that if they were ever tempted to do anything base or cowardly they should "look up to that flag and forbear."

22. A sudden south-west gale did great damage, especially in the Midlands, North Wales, and the north and east of Ireland. A lightship foundered off Grimsby and a train was blown off the line at Owencarrow Viaduct, Co. Donegal.

— At Toulon, Lieutenant Ullmo, of the French Navy, was convicted of high treason (in endeavouring to sell French naval secrets to Germany) and sentenced to transportation for life.

25. A deputation of authors waited on the Home Secretary (owing to the disablement of the Prime Minister by illness) to advocate the discontinuance in its existing form of the censorship of plays. It was introduced by Mr. J. M. Barrie, Mr. Pinero, and Sir W. Gilbert, the last-named proposing an appeal from the censor to an arbitration tribunal. Mr. Gladstone made a sympathetic reply.

— The first pair of tunnels under the Hudson River—the Hoboken and Christopher Street Subway, connecting New York with Jersey City—was opened, the President starting the first trains by pressing a button in Washington.

26. At the Hague, Queen Wilhelmina and Prince Henry narrowly escaped serious injury in the collision of their carriage with a tram-car.

27. The Edward Medal, recently instituted by King Edward VII. for acts of bravery in mines, was presented for the first time by His Majesty. The recipients were Francis Chandler, of Barnsley, and Henry Everson, of the Penallta Colliery, South Wales.

— Lord Churchill was elected Chairman of the Great Western Railway *vice* Mr. Alfred Baldwin, M.P., deceased.

— At Sydney, the final test match—which had been much interrupted by rain—was won by the Australian eleven by 49 runs.

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27. At Christie's, at the sale of the Braikenridge collection, a ciborium of copper gilt and enamel, believed to be English thirteenth century work and to have belonged to Malmesbury Abbey, was sold for 6,000*l*., and a Henry VIII. mazer bowl of maple wood and silver gilt for 2,300*l*. The oak cradle of King Henry V. was bought (for King Edward VII.) next day for 230 guineas.

28. At Coburg, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was married to Princess Eleanor of Reuss-Köstritz.

29. At Goppenstein, Valais, Switzerland, near the southern mouth of the Lötschberg tunnel, a building serving as a residence for engineers and others connected with the work was destroyed by the rush of air accompanying an avalanche; thirteen persons perished.

— The Parliamentary seat in West Worcestershire, vacant by the death of Mr. A. Baldwin, M.P. (U.), was filled by the unopposed return of his son, Mr. Stanley Baldwin.

MARCH.

1. In St. Petersburg, seven persons were hanged for planning to murder the Grand Duke Nicholas and the Minister of Justice. One of them had personated Mario Calvino, a well-known Italian journalist, and special efforts had been made in Italy to save him.

2. The Railway and Canal Commission decided that the working agreement between the Great Northern and Great Central Railway Companies, concluded December 3, 1907, was not within their Parliamentary powers. The decision was appealed from, but without success.

3. At the bye-election at Hastings, due to the resignation of Mr. Harvey du Cros (U.), Mr. Arthur du Cros (U.) was returned by 4,495 votes, Mr. R. Vernon Harcourt (L.) receiving 3,477.

4. At the Hamstead Colliery, near Birmingham, a fire broke out, cutting off twenty-five men in the pit from escape. Heroic efforts to reach them resulted only in the discovery of thirteen dead bodies on March 12 and the remainder subsequently. Acute interest was manifested throughout the country, and telegrams of inquiry and sympathy were sent by the King. One of the rescuers, Amos Welsby, lost his life.

— At Collinwood, near Cleveland, Ohio, a fire in a primary school caused a panic among the children, of whom 180 (out of 360), with nine teachers, were burnt, suffocated, or crushed to death. The disaster was due to an overheated furnace and defective exits.

4-6. At Christie's, the sale took place of the porcelain collected by Mr. C. J. Dickins, deceased. A set of three old Sèvres vases realised 3,200 guineas; an old Sèvres éventail jardinière, 3,050 guineas; a Dresden group, 1,050 guineas. The total realised was 44,293*l*.

5. The King left London for Biarritz.

— Bank rate reduced to 3½ per cent.

6. Announcement of the German Emperor's letter to Lord Tweedmouth. (See English History, Chapter II.)

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7. At Christie's, at the sale of the Dickins and Tatham collections of pictures, a drawing by Fred Walker, "The Harbour of Refuge," of which his version in oils is in the Tate Gallery, sold for 2,580 guineas; a drawing of Constance by Turner, 2,200 guineas; Burne Jones's drawing, "Love Among the Ruins," 1,575 guineas; G. Mason's "The Gander," 1,900 guineas.

13. In the Chancery Division of the High Court, after ten days' trial, the action "Marquess Townshend and Another *v.* Robins and Another," relating to the improper sale of heirlooms, was concluded. Mr. Justice Swinfen Eady directed an order removing Mr. A. G. Robins from the trusteeship of the Townshend property, with an inquiry into the disappearance of certain pictures and other articles, and an order for Mr. Robins to pay the value of those missing and the costs.

14. On the Great Central line, near Wembley, Middlesex, five carriages of a train were derailed and two rolled down an embankment; none of the passengers were seriously hurt.

— Football.—Under Rugby Rules, at Belfast, Wales beat Ireland by a goal and two tries to a goal; and under Association Rules, Scotland beat Ireland at Dublin by three goals to none.

— At Christie's, at the Connal sale, two pictures (out of eleven sold) by Albert Moore brought respectively 1,000 and 800 guineas; and one by Sir E. Burne Jones (out of five sold) 1,130 guineas.

— At Capetown, a war memorial to the regiments raised in the Cape Peninsula for the South African War was unveiled by the Governor.

— At Hasskeuy, Constantinople, about 400 houses were burnt down and 3,000 persons, chiefly poor Jews, rendered homeless.

16. At the Guildhall, the freedom of the City of London was presented to Miss Florence Nightingale, and received on her behalf by her nephew, Mr. L. Shore Nightingale.

— The last match of the M.C.C. cricket eleven in Australia ended in a draw, and the team sailed for England in the evening. In all, they had played nineteen matches in Australia, of which they won seven and lost four, while eight were draws.

18, 19. It was announced that the Goldsmiths' Company had given 10,000*l.* to Cambridge University for a Readership in Metallurgy, and 10,000*l.* to establish a Readership in English at the University of Oxford.

19. It was announced that the Royal Medals of the Royal Geographical Society had been awarded, with the King's approval, to the Prince of Monaco [for deep-sea researches] and Lieutenant Boyd Alexander [for his journey from the Niger to the Nile]; the Murchison bequest to Colonel Delmé Radcliffe; the Gill memorial to Dr. T. C. Longstaff, and the Cuthbert Peek fund to a native Indian surveyor, Roy Sahib Singh.

20. The Earl of Dudley appointed Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth, in succession to Lord Northcote.

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20. At the Parliamentary bye-election for West Down, caused by the resignation of Lord Arthur Hill (U.), Mr. McGeagh McCaw (U.) was returned by 4,051 votes, against 2,760 given to Mr. A. Beattie (L.).

20, 21. The library of the late Bishop Gott of Truro was sold by auction, realising 12,380*l.* A copy of Voragine's "Golden Legend" (Caxton, 1483) sold for 1,200*l.*; a "Biblia Pauperum" for 1,290*l.* A set of the first four folios of Shakespeare was withdrawn, the bidding reaching 3,850*l.*

21. Special Army orders were published dealing with the organisation and establishment of the Territorial Force, including the provision for officers' training corps, and the transfer to it of the Honourable Artillery Company, the Imperial Yeomanry and the Volunteers.

— A Rugby international football match between England and Scotland at Edinburgh was won by Scotland.

23. In Paris a financier, company promotor and ex-hotel porter, M. Rochette, was arrested on charges of fraud and issue of false balance sheets; many small investors suffered.

23-26. A National Congress on Infantile Mortality sat at Caxton Hall, Westminster. Mr. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, delivered the opening address. Resolutions were passed favouring (*inter alia*) the general adoption of the Notification of Births Act and the training of school girls in domestic and personal hygiene and the duties of motherhood.

24. Prince Bülow made a statement in the Reichstag respecting the attitude of Germany towards the Morocco and Macedonian questions, and the Kaiser's letter to Lord Tweedmouth. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

— The Duke of Devonshire died at Cannes. (See English History, Chapter II.)

— At the bye-election at Peckham caused by the death of Mr. Goddard Clarke (L.), Mr. H. C. Gooch (U.) was returned by 6,970 votes against 4,476 given to Mr. T. Gautrey (L.). There was a considerable increase of Unionist and decrease of Liberal votes as compared with the general election. (See English History, Chapter II.)

25. The German Emperor and King Victor Emmanuel met at Venice.

— The stage of Drury Lane Theatre, with much scenery and properties, was burnt. No one was injured.

26. Lord Rosebery opened the new library at University College, Gower Street, and delivered an address.

27. At Liverpool, the Grand National Steeplechase was won by Major Douglas Pennant's Rubio; Mr. Cooper's Mattie Macgregor was second, and Mr. P. Whitaker's The Lawyer III. third. Time, 10 min. 4⅘ sec. The winner started at 66 to 1.

28. The Oxford and Cambridge sports at Lillie Bridge were won by Cambridge by six events to four.

— In the final match in the County Rugby Football Championship contest Cornwall beat Durham by a goal and four tries to a penalty goal.

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28. At Christie's four portraits by Romney of ancestors of the Poulter family were sold for 4,950 guineas; a drawing in pastel by Daniel Gardner, 1,250 guineas; and George Morland's "Blind Man's Buff," 1,100 guineas.

30. The Transvaal Gold law was published at Johannesburg. (See Foreign History, Chapter VII.)

31. Under the Territorial Army Act, the Volunteer and Yeomanry forces ceased to exist. (See English History, Chapter II.)

— The Report by the Inspector of the Local Government Board, Mr. Willis, of his inquiry into the administration of the Mile-End Guardians, declared that certain contractors, supported by a group of the Guardians, had corruptly overcharged the Board and that other contractors were also favoured at the expense of the ratepayers. On May 7 James Calcutt, one of the contractors in question, pleaded guilty to a charge of obtaining money by false pretences from the Guardians and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

APRIL.

1. The General Council of Glasgow University unanimously elected the Earl of Rosebery to the Chancellorship, vacated by the death of Lord Kelvin.

2. H.M.S. torpedo destroyer *Tiger*, while engaged in manœuvres off St. Catherine's, Isle of Wight, was run down by H.M.S. cruiser *Berwick* and cut in two: thirty-four lives were lost.

2-4. At Christie's, at the sale of the collection of pictures of Mr. T. H. Ismay, deceased (one of the founders of the White Star Line), a set of Chippendale furniture (three settees and five chairs) sold for 1,700 guineas; "A Forest Road," by J. Linnell, 1,280 guineas; and Millais's "The Fringe of the Moor," 1,100 guineas. At the same time Linnell's "Timber Waggon" realised 2,150 guineas; Turner's "Beach at Hastings," 6,000 guineas; and twelve Turner water-colours altogether 6,115*l*. The Turners belonged to Sir A. Acland-Hood.

3. The Rev. Cyril Alington, assistant master at Eton, was appointed Head Master of Shrewsbury School, *vice* the Rev. H. W. Moss resigned.

— At Harrow School, between 9 and 11 P.M., Mr. Somervell's boarding-house was burnt down; no lives lost.

4. The Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race from Putney to Mortlake was won by Cambridge by 2½ lengths; time, 19 min. 20 sec.

— Under Association Rules, an international football match at Glasgow between England and Scotland resulted in a tie of one goal each.

6. It was announced that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had resigned the Premiership and that the King had summoned Mr. Asquith to Biarritz as his successor.

— Two houses in Castle Street, Oxford Street, London, suddenly collapsed at 2 A.M.; eight persons were killed and about twenty injured.

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7. The body of Emmanuel Swedenborg, the famous mystic, buried in 1772 in the Swedish Church near Ratcliff Highway, was removed to Dartmouth for conveyance to Sweden in a Swedish cruiser after a short religious ceremony.

— At the London County Council, the Budget statement for 1908-9 was made by Mr. Hayes Fisher, Chairman of the Finance Committee. The income was estimated at 10,261,942*l.*; the expenditure at 10,557,935*l.*; the deficit of 295,993*l.* was to be met out of balances carried over from 1907-8. The expenditure on education alone was estimated at 5,276,902*l.* The education rate was 1*s.* 7*d.* in the £ as against 1*s.* 4*d.*, the general rate 1*s.* 7*d.*, making a total of 3*s.* in the £. The gross liabilities of the Council were estimated at 80,693,531*l.*, but various assets, including surplus lands, reduced them to about 50,000,000*l.*

8. Mr. Asquith resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and was appointed Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury by the King at Biarritz.

9. It was announced that Sir T. Gibson Carmichael had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria *vice* Major-General Sir R. Talbot.

— At an explosion at the Norton Hill Colliery, near Radstock, Somerset, ten men were killed.

10. Lord Rayleigh was unanimously elected Chancellor of Cambridge University by the Senate. The Earl of Plymouth and Lord Alverstone declined nomination.

— The subway extension for tramcars from Aldwych to the Victoria Embankment was formally opened by the Chairman of the London County Council, Mr. R. A. Robinson.

— At the Central Criminal Court, Mary Ann Robinson, who had pleaded guilty to perjury in the Druce case, was sentenced to four years' penal servitude.

12. The list of the new Ministry was issued, with the announcement that Mr. John Morley and Sir Henry Fowler, while retaining their offices in the Ministry, had been raised to the dignity of Viscount. (See English History, Chapter II.)

— At Lemberg, Count Potoski, Governor of Galicia and a Pole, was murdered by a Ruthene student, Siczynski. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

— At Chelsea, a suburb of Boston, Mass., a fire during a gale destroyed many public buildings and caused damage estimated at upwards of $5,000,000; four persons were killed and some 10,000 left homeless.

16. The report of Lieut.-Colonel Yorke to the Board of Trade on the Shrewsbury railway accident of October 15, 1907 (see Chronicle of that date), suggested that the driver Martin had been asleep and failed to see the signals, and recommended that no engine-drivers should be on duty through two consecutive nights.

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18. The repairs of the Bell Harry Tower of Canterbury Cathedral, executed at a cost of 15,000*l.*, were formally completed, the coping-stone being placed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

20. At Braybrook Junction, near Melbourne, an Easter Day excursion train for Bendigo ran into the rear of another from Ballarat; twenty-seven persons were killed and forty badly injured.

22. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the late Premier, died at 10 Downing Street. (See English History, Chapter III.)

23. At the bye-election at Dewsbury Mr. Walter Runciman, who had vacated his seat by accepting the Presidency of the Board of Education, was returned by 5,594 votes, Mr. Boyd Carpenter (U.) receiving 4,078, and Mr. Turner (Labour) 2,446. The Liberal poll compared with 1906 showed a decrease of 1,170, the Unionist an increase of 1,124.

23-25. Severe snowstorms took place almost throughout Great Britain, the fall of snow in many parts being heavier than in the winter. The weather had been wintry throughout Easter week.

24. At the bye-election in North-West Manchester, due to Mr. Winston Churchill's acceptance of the Presidency of the Board of Trade, Mr. Joynson Hicks (U.) was returned by 5,417 votes, Mr. Churchill receiving 4,988 and Mr. Dan Irving (Soc.) 276.

— The North Sea and Baltic Agreements, signed in Berlin on the 23rd, were issued by the Foreign Office. (See Foreign History, Chapters II. and IV.)

— Cyclones in Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana caused serious destruction of property and some loss of life.

— Professor R. A. S. Redmayne of Birmingham University appointed to the new office of Chief Inspector of Mines.

25. The American mail liner *St. Paul*, from Southampton to New York, ran into H.M.S. crusier *Gladiator* during a snowstorm off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight; the *Gladiator* was beached, but one officer and 27 men were lost. The court-martial (June 12) found that Captain Lumsden hazarded his ship by default and not by negligence, and the Admiralty Division (June 20) held the *Gladiator* alone to blame for the collision.

— In the final tie in the Association Football Cup at the Crystal Palace, before 80,000 spectators, Wolverhampton Wanderers beat Newcastle United by three goals to one.

26. At the Parliamentary bye-election in Kincardineshire, due to the death of Mr. J. W. Crombie (L.), Captain Murray (L.) was returned by 3,661 votes, Mr. S. Gammell (U.) receiving 1,963.

27. Funeral of the late Premier begun in Westminster Abbey. (See English History, Chapter III.)

— During night manœuvres in the North Sea, H.M.S. destroyer *Gala* was rammed by H.M.S. scout *Attentive* and cut in two; one engineer lieutenant was killed out of a crew of eighty.

— A boiler explosion on H.M. battleship *Britannia* injured five men.

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30. The action "Humphreys *v.* D. C. Thomson & Co. Ltd.," in the King's Bench Division, brought by a lady novelist, best known as "Rita," against a firm of publishers for libel, resulted in favour of the plaintiff with 105*l.* damages. The libel consisted in altering and in announcing as a "great new serial" a novel published some years previously, serial rights of which the defendants had purchased.

— The Japanese training cruiser *Matsushima* sank off the Pescadores Islands after an explosion in her magazine; about 207 lives were lost.

MAY.

1. At Muzaffarpur, North India, a bomb was thrown at a carriage and killed a Miss Kennedy and the coachman, and wounded Mrs. Kennedy. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter V.)

— May Day on the Continent passed off without disturbance.

— At Bournemouth, a tram-car got out of control in descending a hill, was derailed and fell twenty feet into Fairlight Glen; seven persons were killed and twenty-six injured. The Board of Trade Report (Sept. 21) attributed the result to a defect in the electric brake.

4. At the sale of the collection of plate of the Marchioness Conyngham, a James I. rosewater ewer and dish sold for 4,200*l.*

5. In the Parliamentary bye-election at East Wolverhampton, caused by the acceptance of a peerage by Sir Henry Fowler (L.), Mr. G. R. Thorne (L.) was returned by 4,514 votes, Mr. L. S. Amery (U.) receiving 4,506.

6. At Newmarket, the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes was won by Mr. August Belmont's Norman III., an outsider, Mr. Basset's Sir Archibald being second and Mr. Hall Walker's White Eagle third. Time, 1 min. 44⅘ sec. The King's colt Perrier, the favourite, was fifth.

— It was announced that the Government had accepted the offer of Mr. Duveen, sen., afterwards Sir Joseph Duveen, to present a new wing to the Tate Gallery. (See Obituary, November 9.)

7. Budget night in the House of Commons. (See English History, Chapter III.)

8. In the King's Bench Division, Mr. John Murray, the well-known publisher, obtained 7,500*l.* damages in an action against the proprietors of *The Times* for libel in connection with the publication of the "Letters of Queen Victoria." The libel alleged was contained in a letter—an incident in the so-called "Book War" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, Part II., p. 41)—published in *The Times* and signed "Artifex," and was written by a Mr. Ross at the instance of Mr. Hooper of *The Times* Book Club. A stay of execution was asked for and granted on the ground that the damages were excessive, but the matter was adjusted by October 1 (see that date).

9. At the bye-election for Dundee, due to the acceptance of a peerage by Mr. Edmund Robertson, Mr. Winston Churchill (L.) was returned by 7,079 votes; Sir G. W. Baxter (U.) received 4,870; Mr. G. H. Stuart (Labour) 4,014; and Mr. E. Scrymgeour (Prohibitionist) 655.

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11. The annual summary of births, marriages, and deaths in England and Wales showed that the birth rate had fallen to 26·3 per 1,000, the lowest on record.

— At Washington, D.C., the foundation-stone of the "Bureau of American Republics," the gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, was laid by President Roosevelt.

12. In the bye-election for the Montrose Burghs, due to the elevation of Mr. John Morley to the Peerage, Mr. R. Vernon Harcourt (L.) was returned with 3,083 votes against 1,937 recorded for Mr. J. Burgess (Labour) and 1,576 for Mr. A. H. B. Constable (U.).

13. The Chester Cup was won easily by the Earl of Derby's Glacis, four years. Time, 4 min. 13 sec.

14. At the Parliamentary bye-election in the Newport Division of Shropshire, due to the death of Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (U.), Mr. B. Stanier (U.) was returned with 5,328 votes; Mr. F. Neilson (L.) received 4,377.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales opened the Franco-British Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush in heavy rain. It was still very incomplete.

15. The new Court of Criminal Appeal sat for the first time. Most of the appeals and applications for leave to appeal were unsuccessful.

— In Calcutta, a bomb laid on a tram line was exploded by a cart: four natives were seriously injured.

16. The Court of Appeal reversed a decision of Mr. Justice Kekewich in "Coplestake *v.* Hoper." The plaintiff, the lord of the manor of Ewhurst, in Sussex, claimed from the estate of one of the manorial tenants deceased his "best beast" as a heriot according to the manorial custom. Mr. Justice Kekewich had held the plaintiff entitled to the heriot.

— The amateur tennis championship was retained at Prince's by Mr. Jay Gould, who beat Mr. E. H. Miles by three sets to one.

17-23. A party of Burgomasters and Municipal Councillors from Germany, comprising representatives of Frankfort, Cologne, Heidelberg, Munich, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Nuremberg and Hamburg, visited England under the auspices of the British Municipal Society for the Study of Colonial and Foreign Municipal Institutions. They were received at the Houses of Parliament by Lord Lyveden and Mr. Haldane, were entertained by the Lord Mayor, and received on the 23rd by the King.

20. It was announced that Sir Gerard Lowther, British Minister at Tangier, would succeed the late Sir Nicolas O'Conor as British Minister at Constantinople.

21. The Rev. Arnold H. Page appointed Dean of Peterborough in succession to the Very Rev. W. H. Barlow, D.D., deceased.

22. The New Professorship of Engineering Science at Oxford was filled by the election of Mr. C. Frewen Jenkin, son of the late Professor Fleeming Jenkin of Glasgow.

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22. The worst railway accident on record in Belgium took place at Contich, near Antwerp. A train from Brussels ran into a stationary train for Lierre containing workmen, soldiers, and pilgrims, telescoping two carriages and upsetting a third; thirty-seven persons were killed or mortally wounded and about seventy injured.

— At the Parliamentary bye-election for the Stirling Burghs, due to the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. A. Ponsonby (L.) was returned with 3,873 votes, Mr. Whitelaw (U.) receiving 2,512.

23. At Christie's, the sale concluded of modern pictures and drawings collected by Mr. Humphrey Roberts. The total realised was 63,677*l.* 5*s.* for 309 lots. A set of twelve drawings by Turner realised 3,834*l.* 12*s.*

25-29. President Fallières paid a State visit to England. (See English History, Chapter III.)

27. A letter was published from Lord Mount Stephen to the Prince of Wales, announcing a further gift to King Edward's Hospital Fund of 5,000 shares in the Great Northern Railroad (U.S.) producing 7,000*l.* annually. The donor had already given 400,000*l.* to the fund.

28. The discovery was announced of a temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, probably dating from the eighth century B.C.

— Sir T. D. Gibson-Carmichael, Bart., appointed Governor of Victoria, Australia.

29. At Christie's, two portraits by Gainsborough of his wife and daughter, belonging to Sir Robert Loder, realised respectively 2,650 guineas and 4,550 guineas.

30. At Cambridge the Professorship of Political Economy, vacant by the resignation of Professor Alfred Marshall, was filled by the election of Mr. A. C. Pigou, of King's College.

— The Folkestone-Boulogne turbine steamers *Onward* and *Queen* came into collision about mid-channel in a dense fog, and were severely damaged; the look-out man of the *Onward* was killed.

31. At Chantilly, the French Derby (Prix du Jockey Club) resulted in a dead-heat between Mr. W. K. Vanderbilt's Seasick II. and M. Deschamps' Quintette; time, 2 min. 24⅘ sec.

JUNE.

3. The Derby was won by the Cavaliere Ginistrella's filly Signorinetta; the Duke of Portland's Primer was second, and Mr. Barclay Walker's Llangwm third. The King's colt, Perrier, was unplaced. Time, 2 min. 39⅘ sec. At starting, 100 to 1 was laid against the winner.

— In the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, an action by M. Gustave Philippart against William Whiteley (Ltd.) for infringing the former's trademark "Diabolo" was dismissed with costs, the Court holding that the word could not be registered as a trademark. The word designated a popular toy, revived in 1907 on the Continent, and known in England in the early nineteenth century as "The Devil on two Sticks."

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3, 4. Severe thunderstorms with torrential rain took place in London and many parts of England, and in Northern France and Belgium. Various casualties were reported and traffic was interrupted.

4. At the Agricultural Hall, a great Missionary Exhibition promoted by the London Missionary Society was opened by the President of the Board of Trade.

— In Paris, the remains of Emile Zola were transferred to the Pantheon, and an oration delivered by M. Doumergue, Minister of Public Instruction. At the close of the ceremony M. Gregori, a member of the staff of *Le Gaulois*, fired a revolver at Major Dreyfus, wounding him in the wrist. He was, however, acquitted by a jury on September 11.

5. Destructive tornadoes swept through Southern Kansas and Northern Nebraska, killing about twenty-five persons and wrecking many buildings.

— A boiler explosion on the U.S. cruiser *Tennessee*, off the Californian coast, killed four persons and wounded ten.

— The Oaks was won by Cavaliere Ginistrella's Signorinetta, Lord Falmouth's Courtesy being second, and Mr. Edwards' Santeve third. Time, 2 min. 42¾ sec. The favourite, Mr. Croker's Rhodora, fell over another fallen horse, and did not finish.

6. It was announced that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain had decided by 213,137 votes to 168,294 to become affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee for Parliamentary representation. The Midland and North Wales sections showed majorities against the proposal, and Durham stood aside altogether, a conference in 1907 having decided for independent political action.

— *The Times* published a letter headed "J'accuse" from Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who resigned the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal in 1906, dealing with the Indian unrest and attacking the action of the Indian Government.

— At Lanark a demonstration was held by the Independent Labour party to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Robert Owen.

8. The Co-operative Congress sat at Newport, Monmouthshire. Resolutions were carried in favour of Women's Suffrage, the Miners' (Eight Hours) Bill, and the Licensing Bill.

— It was announced that Mr. William Bateson, F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, had been appointed to the new Professorship of Biology in the University.

8-12. The nineteenth annual Congress of the International Miners' Federation took place in Paris, Mr. Enoch Edwards, M.P., presiding. Among the resolutions passed was one extending the demand for an eight-hour day to surface workers, and reducing it to six where firedamp or high temperature prevailed; and another favouring international arbitration.

9. King Edward VII., accompanied by Queen Alexandra, met the Tsar Nicholas and other members of the Imperial family at Reval. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

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9. A return issued by the Board of Trade, showing the estimated value of the imports and exports of the United Kingdom for each of the years 1900-7 at the prices of 1900, showed that, the effect of price variations having been thus eliminated, imports had increased in volume by 15 per cent., exports of the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom 43 per cent., and exports of foreign and colonial merchandise by 25 per cent.

12. The tunnel under the Thames between Rotherhithe and Stepney, constructed by the London County Council at a cost of about 2,000,000*l.*, was formally opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

— Lord Rosebery was installed as Chancellor of Glasgow University.

— Suffragist procession to, and meeting at, the Albert Hall. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

15. The Pan-Anglican Congress was opened at Westminster Abbey with a very impressive Service of Intercession for the Divine Blessing on its work. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

16. The Republican Presidential Convention opened at Chicago. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— The Honours List of the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos was issued. As Senior Wranglers Mr. Selig Brodetsky, of Trinity College, previously of the Jews' Free School and the Central Foundation School, Cowper Street, London, and Mr. A. W. Ibbetson, of Pembroke College, previously of King Edward's School, Birmingham, were bracketed equal. Mr. Brodetsky was the son of an immigrant Russian Jew from near Odessa who would have been excluded for lack of means had the Aliens Act of 1905 been passed before his arrival. Miss M. Long of Girton was equal to the Fourth Wrangler.

— At Cambridge, the new wing of the Cavendish Laboratory for Experimental Physics was opened by Lord Rayleigh. On the following day he was formally installed as Chancellor of the University, and honorary degrees were conferred on the Prime Minister, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Halsbury, Sir John Fisher, Sir Hubert von Herkomer, R.A., Mr. C. A. Parsons, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Sir J. H. Ramsay, Sir W. Crooks, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, Sir A. Noble, and Professors Lamb, Liveing and Alfred Marshall.

17. A return showing the experiments on living animals during 1907 under licences granted according to the Act 39 & 40 Vict., c. 77, gave the total number as 73,374. Of these 2,580 were made with anæsthetics. The remainder were mostly inoculations. In no case was a serious operation permitted without anæsthetics.

18. At Ascot, the Gold Cup was won by the favourite, Colonel Kirkwood's White Knight; time, 4 mins. 25 sec.

20. It was announced that Sir Charles Mathews had been appointed Director, and Mr. Guy Stephenson, Assistant Director, of Public Prosecutions under the Prosecution of Offences Act.

— In the Parliamentary bye-election for the Pudsey division of Yorkshire, Mr. J. J. Oddy (U.) was returned by 5,444 votes; Mr. F.

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Ogden (L.) received 5,331; Mr. J. W. Benson (Labour) 1,291. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

21. A great suffragist demonstration in Hyde Park. (See English History, Chapter III.)

22. The King, accompanied by the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Princess Victoria, laid the foundation-stone of the new King Edward VII. Hospital at Windsor.

— At a meeting in the City, presided over by the Lord Mayor, resolutions were carried demanding further control of motor traffic in the London streets.

23. Disturbances in Persia. (See Foreign History, Chapter V.)

— At Jesus College, Oxford, the Sir Leoline Jenkins science laboratories were formally opened.

— It was announced that the Drapers' Company had granted 22,000*l.* to the University of Oxford for a new electrical laboratory, to be attached to the University Museum.

24. At St. Paul's Cathedral, the Pan-Anglican Congress thankoffering from all Anglican dioceses was presented by the various Bishops at a service of thanksgiving. The amount laid on the altar was 333,208*l.*, of which England and Wales contributed 257,122*l.*, Ireland 4,939*l.*, Scotland 5,599*l.*, the British Colonies 63,965*l.*, the American dioceses 14,695*l.*

— On the celebration of the King's birthday, peerages were conferred on Sir Antony Macdonnell; Mr. George Whiteley, late M.P. for Pudsey; Sir Angus Holden, formerly M.P. for Bradford (East), and Mr. J. Wynford Philipps, M.P. for Pembrokeshire. Mr. A. Emmott, M.P., Deputy Speaker, and Sir Thomas Whittaker, M.P., were made Privy Councillors, and there were ten new baronets, among them Mr. H. E. Kearley, M.P., Mr. R. W. Perks, M.P., the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Lauder Brinton, Dr. W. W. Cheyne, and Mr. J. B. Robinson (the South African mining magnate). Twenty-five gentlemen were knighted, among them Dr. Murray, editor of the "New English Dictionary," Mr. P. W. Bunting, editor of the *Contemporary Review*, Professor Greenhill, F.R.S., and the Sheriffs of London; Professor Henry Jackson of Cambridge was appointed to the Order of Merit, and there were numerous Indian and Colonial honours and minor distinctions. It was afterwards stated unofficially that a peerage had been refused by Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland, Minister of Education 1892-5.

— At the Oxford Encænia the Honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Prime Minister of Nepal, Sir Ernest Satow, late British Minister in Pekin; the Rt. Hon. C. S. Parker, sometime M.P. for Perthshire, and Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Chinese Customs. The honorary degree of D.Sc. was conferred on Dr. Fulgence Raymond of La Salpétrière, Paris; Mr. J. J. Teall, F.R.S., Director of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, and Professor James Ward of Cambridge University; and that of D.Litt. on Dr. F. Seebohm and Mr. B. B. Rogers.

— The Spanish steamer *Larache* was wrecked near Muros, Spain; about eighty persons perished.

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24. The Chelsea and Winchester historical pageants were opened.

26. The following particulars were published of the pensions granted during the year ended March 31, 1908, under the Civil List Act, 1901:—

Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, K.C.B.—In consideration of his eminent services to science, 250*l.*

Mr. William Lilly.—In recognition of his attainments in literature, 150*l.*

Dr. John Hall Edwards.—In recognition of his devotion to the furtherance of radiography in its application of medical and surgical science, 120*l.*

Dr. Bernard Pyne Grenfell.—In recognition of his researches and discoveries as an archæologist and classical scholar, 100*l.* (A note stated that he had relinquished the pension on becoming Professor of Papyrology at Oxford.)

Mr. William Ashton Ellis.—In consideration of his contributions to literature in biography and music, 80*l.*

Mrs. Ellen Agnes Charles.—In recognition of the merits of her husband, the late James Charles, as a painter, 70*l.*

Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Tichborne.—In consideration of the useful discoveries of her husband, the late Dr. C. R. C. Tichborne, in chemistry and pharmacology, and of her inadequate means of support, 60*l.*

Mrs. Theodora Copeland.—In recognition of the services rendered to astronomical science by her husband, the late Dr. Ralph Copeland, and of her inadequate means of support, 60*l.*

Mrs. Jessie Wilhelmina Blyth.—In consideration of the eminent attainments of her husband, the late Professor James Blyth, in physical science, 60*l.*

Miss Emily Katherine Head and Miss Julia Maria Head.—In recognition of the services of their father, the late Lieutenant-Colonel Head, as a pioneer of the steamship route to India by way of the Red Sea, 50*l.* each.

Miss Sarah Eliza Thring, Miss Margaret Susan Thring, Miss Marie Grace Thring.—Jointly and to the survivors or survivor of them in recognition of the services of their father, the late Rev. Edward Thring, of Uppingham, to the art and science of education, 100*l.*

Mr. Paul Fountain [a naturalist and traveller].—In consideration of his contributions to literature and of his straitened circumstances, 50*l.*

— At the Holland picture sale at Christie's, a view of Heidelberg by J. W. M. Turner realised 4,200 guineas; and "Marlow Ferry," by Frederick Walker, 2,700 guineas. The sale (concluded on June 29) realised 138,118*l.*, the largest amount ever realised at a picture sale in Great Britain except the Gillott sale in 1872.

27. It was announced that the Marquess of Northampton had been made a Knight of the Garter in the place of the Earl of Derby, deceased.

— At St. Andrews University Professor A. E. Taylor, of McGill University, Montreal, was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy *vice* Bosanquet, resigned.

— An amateur long distance swimming contest in the Thames, from Richmond Lock to a point near Blackfriars Bridge, was won by J. A. Jarvis, whose time over the 14¾ miles was 3 hrs. 36 min. 24 sec. Seventeen competitors, including two ladies, completed the distance.

30. Suffragist disturbances in Parliament Square. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— The first volume of the Report of the Police Commission appointed in May, 1906, was issued. It declared the general arrangements for the maintenance of order and the apprehension of offenders to be excellent, and the Metropolitan Police to be entitled to the confidence of all classes. In the special case of Madame d'Angely, which had been one of the causes of the Commission, the action of the police was fully vindicated.

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30. Mr. Montague Holbein swam fifty miles in the Thames (up and down with the tide between Blackwall and Gravesend) in 13 hrs. 47 min.

JULY.

1. The fiftieth anniversary of the joint announcement by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace of their separate discovery of the variation of species under natural selection was celebrated by the presentation of Darwin-Wallace commemorative medals to Mr. Wallace, Sir Joseph Hooker, and other eminent men of science at a special meeting of the Linnæan Society.

2. At Oxford, the Rev. G. A. Cooke, Magdalen, was elected to the Oriel Professorship of Exegesis *vice* the Rev. Canon T. K. Cheyne, resigned.

3. At Henley Regatta, the Stewards and Visitors' Challenge Cups were won by Magdalen College, Oxford; the Grand Challenge Cup by Christ Church, Oxford; the Ladies' Challenge Plate by Jesus College, Cambridge; the Diamond Sculls by Mr. A. McCulloch (Leander Club) against Mr. A. A. Stuart (Kingston Rowing Club).

— At Lords' Cricket Ground, the Players beat the Gentlemen with seven wickets to fall.

4. The Queen, accompanied by the King, opened the new buildings in Buckingham Street, Strand, of the Nurses' Royal National Pension Fund.

— The fifth Pan-Anglican Episcopal Conference opened with services at Canterbury Cathedral. About 250 English, Colonial and American Archbishops and Bishops were present. The proceedings of the Conference began on Monday, July 6, at Lambeth Palace.

6. At Cheltenham, the Gloucestershire historical pageant was opened by Earl Roberts.

7. The new University buildings at Leeds were formally opened by the King and Queen.

— The new Town Hall at Stockport was opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

8. At Lords' Cricket Ground, the Oxford and Cambridge match, after some interruption by rain, was won by Oxford by two wickets.

— The report of the committee appointed by the Treasury to consider the question of a national guarantee for shipping risks in war time (chairman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.), stated that the evidence was very conflicting, but that they were of opinion that such a guarantee was unnecessary.

9. The King and Queen visited Bristol and opened a new dock at Avonmouth.

— Lord Morley of Blackburn was installed as Chancellor of the University of Manchester and delivered an address laying stress on the claims of the classical and literary elements in education. Honorary Degrees were conferred on Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Lord Courtney of Penwith, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Haldane and others.

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10. At the Denver (Colorado) National Democratic Convention, Mr. W. J. Bryan was nominated at the first ballot as Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States and Mr. John W. Kern of Indiana for the Vice-Presidency.

11. At Lords' Cricket Ground, Harrow beat Eton with ten wickets to fall.—At the Oval, the Gentlemen beat the Players by six wickets.

13. The King formally opened the Olympic Games of London in the Stadium adjoining the Franco-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, West London. The following are some of the principal results:—

Contest.	Winner.	Particulars.
1,500 metres foot race	M. W. Sheppard, U.S.A.	4 min. 3⅘ sec.
3,500 metres walking race	G. E. Larner, U.K.	14 min. 55 sec.
20 kilometres bicycle race	C. B. Kingsbury, U.K.	34 min. 13⅘ sec.
3 miles team race	U.K. Team.	—
660 yards cycle race	V. L. Johnson, U.K.	51⅕ sec.
Throwing the hammer	J. J. Flanagan, U.S.A.	170 ft. 4½ in.
Putting the weight	R. Rose, U.S.A.	46 ft. 7½ in.
400 metres swimming race	H. Taylor, U.K.	5 min. 36⅘ sec.
Gymnastic team competition	Sweden.	438 points.
10 miles walking race	G. E. Larner, U.K.	75 min. 57⅘ sec.
3,200 metres steeplechase	A. Russell, U.K.	10 min. 47⅘ sec.
5 miles run	E. R. Voigt, U.K.	25 min. 11⅕ sec.
5,000 metres cycle race	B. Jones, U.K.	10 min. 36⅕ sec.
Standing broad jump	R. C. Ewry, U.S.A.	10 ft. 7½ in.
Running broad jump	F. C. Rous, U.S.A.	24 ft. 6⅝ in.
Running high jump	W. F. Porter, U.S.A.	6 ft. 3 in.
Standing high jump	R. C. Ewry, U.S.A.	5 ft. 2 in.
Pole jump	A. C. Gilbert, U.S.A. / E. T. Cooke, U.S.A.	12 ft. 2 in.
400 metres flat race	W. Halswell, U.K.	(Foul, followed by walk over).
Marathon race, 26 miles	J. J. Hayes, U.S.A.	2 hrs. 55 min. 18 sec.

Contests also took place in diving, archery, fencing, wrestling, polo, tennis, etc., and later in the year in hockey and football. Of the total wins at the Stadium and elsewhere, except at Henley, the United Kingdom stood first with 38 and the United States second with 22. In the Marathon race Durando Pietri (popularly known as Dorando), an Italian, arrived first in 2 hours 54 minutes 46⅘ seconds, but fell within the Stadium from exhaustion, and was disqualified for receiving assistance. A special gold cup was presented to him by the Queen. The course was from Windsor to the goal at the Stadium, *viâ* Slough, Uxbridge and Harrow.

— The National Rifle Association began its annual meeting at Bisley. Appended is the usual list of results of some among the more important competitions:—

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MATCHES.

Matches.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Total scores.
Humphry Challenge Cup (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	900	Oxford - - - 836 Cambridge - - - 818
Halford Memorial Challenge Cup (M.R.)	900, 1,000	150	Mr. F. W. Jones, N.R.A. - - - 147
Astor County Championship Challenge Cup (S.R.)	200, 500	420	Capt. R. Ff. Davies, Stock Exchange Rifle Club - - - 387
Wimbledon Cup (M.R.) -	1,100	75	Capt. J. H. D. Savile, late R.B. - - - 75
Ashburton Challenge Shield (S.R.)	200, 500	560	Harrow - - - 498 Bradfield - - - 483 Berkhamsted - - 483
Spencer Cup (S.R.) - -	500	85	Private J. P. C. Done, Glenalmond - - 84
Elcho Challenge Shield (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	Void.[1]
Kolapore Imperial Challenge Cup (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	Mother Country - - 762
United Service Challenge Cup (S.R.)	300, 500, 600	840	Volunteers - - - 776
Chancellor's Challenge Plate (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	Cambridge - - - 736 Oxford - - - 725
China Challenge Cup (S.R.)	600	500	City of London - - 454
Houses of Parliament Match [Vizianagram Challenge Cup] (S.R.)	500, 600	490	Commons - - - 399
Mackinnon Challenge Cup (S.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	England - - - 1,367 Scotland - - - 1,340 Ireland - - - 1,307 Canada - - - 1,258 Malay States Guides - 1,154
National Challenge Trophy (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	2,100	Scotland - - - 1,944

[1] The English team obtained 1,689 marks, but were eventually disqualified owing to the inadvertent use by one of them of a rifle which did not comply with the regulations. Subsequently Scotland (1,673 marks) was disqualified for a like reason, and the contest was declared void at the request of the Irish team (1,600).

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Winner.
Waldegrave (M.R.) - -	800, 900	100	Mr. C. J. Woodrow, Salisbury R.C. - - - 100
Albert (M.R.) - - -	800, 900, 1,000	175	Mr. M. Blood, Irish R.A. - 173
Wimbledon Cup (S.R.) -	600	50	Capt. P. Godsal, 4th Oxford L.I. - - - - 48
Prince of Wales (S.R.) -	300, 600	85	Ar.-Sgt. J. H. Scott, late Border Rifles - - - 84
Alexandra (S.R.) - -	200, 600	70	Pte. J. McCall, 5th A. & S. Highrs. - - - - 69
Duke of Cambridge (S.R.)	900	50	W. O. F. P. Hart, R.N. - 48
King's (S.R.), 1st stage, Bronze Medal	200, 500, 600	105	2nd Lieut. H. Le M. Brock, Royal Guernsey Militia - 103
Do., 2nd stage, Silver Medal	600	205	Gr. D. R. Paterson, 3rd Lowland R.F.A. - - - 195
Do., 3rd stage, Gold Medal	800, 900, 1,000	355	Pte. G. Gray, 5th Scot. Rifles - - - - 325
St. George's Challenge Vase (S.R.), Dragon Cup and Gold Cross	500, 600, 900	145	Sgt. W. M. Foster, 6th Hants - - - - 138
Do., Silver Cross - -	500, 600, 900	145	Cpl. Henderson, 6th Gordon Highrs. - - - 138
Grand Aggregate (S.R.) -	—	350	Sgt. F. H. Morris, Canada 330
Volunteer Aggregate (S.R.)	—	175	Sgt. S. H. Grist, 5th Gloucester - - - - 170

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14. It was announced that Sir J. B. Dougherty was appointed Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, *vice* Lord Macdonnell of Swinford (Sir Antony Macdonnell) retired.

— While H.M. submarine A8 was proceeding from Portland to Dover, six men out of eleven aboard were rendered unconscious by an escape of gasoline. Lieutenants Warren and Graves courageously forced their way through the fumes, and the latter checked them.

16. In an interim report the Royal Commission on Whisky advised that no restriction should be placed on the apparatus or processes used in distilling any spirit hitherto described as whisky, and that the name should not be denied to spirit manufactured from malt, or malt and grain.

— At the bye-election for Pembrokeshire, Mr. Wynford Phillips (L.) having been raised to the Peerage, Mr. W. F. Roch (L.) was returned by 5,465 votes, Mr. Lort Williams (U.) receiving 3,293.

16-30. Tercentenary festivities commemorating the foundation of Quebec. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VIII.)

19-24. A party of about eighty French senators and deputies arrived in London for the opening of the economic section of the Franco-British Exhibition.

20. Definitive announcement of the liquefaction of helium by Professor Onnes of Leiden.

— The Pevensey Historical Pageant was opened.

22. At Bombay, Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an Indian National leader, was convicted of sedition and sentenced to six years' transportation and a fine of 66*l*. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter V.)

23. The Dean of Arches, Sir Lewis Dibdin, gave judgment in a suit promoted by Mr. A. N. Banister and his wife against the Rev. H. Thompson, Vicar of Eaton, Norfolk, who had refused to admit them to the Communion, Mr. Banister having married his deceased wife's sister in Canada shortly before the passing of the Act of 1907. The defendant was admonished and required not to repeat his act.

— At the Cork Assizes, in an action for slander brought by Mr. A. B. Roche against Sir Timothy O'Brien (formerly a well-known cricketer), the jury was discharged owing to a complaint by one of them that the defendant had endeavoured to influence his decision, and the defendant was summoned for contempt of court. On November 6, after apologising, he was fined £300 and costs.

24. The Constitution granted to the Turkish Empire in December, 1876, and "suspended" in 1877, was again granted by the Sultan Abdul Hamid. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

— At Quebec the Plains of Abraham were dedicated by the Prince of Wales as a national memorial. At the same time a service in memory of General Wolfe, the victor on the battlefield, was held in the Church of St. Alphege, Greenwich, in which he was buried.

— The Rev. William Moore Ede, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, appointed Dean of Worcester *vice* the Very Rev. R. W. Forrest, deceased.

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25. In Hyde Park, a demonstration of 100,000 persons was held in support of the Licensing Bill. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— At the Crystal Palace, the Salvation Army celebrated its forty-third anniversary and welcomed General Booth on his return from his country tour.

27. Opening of the International Peace Congress. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— The report of the Commons Committee on Home Work recommended legislation regarding wages, wages boards, and registration of home workers.

28-31. The regatta in connection with the Olympic Games (see above, July 13) took place at Henley. All the events were won by representatives of Great Britain. The Belgian crew from the Club Nautique de Gand was beaten by Leander in the Eight-Oar Race; Magdalen College beat Leander in the Four-Oar, and H. T. Blackstaffe (Vesta R.C.) beat McCulloch (Leander Club) in the Sculls.

29. It was announced that Sir Rennell Rodd, British Minister to Stockholm, had been appointed Ambassador to Rome; Sir C. A. Spring Rice, British Minister at Teheran, would succeed him at Stockholm; Mr. G. H. Barclay would become Minister at Teheran, and Mr. C. L. Des Graz, Minister at Lima.

— At Goodwood, the Goodwood Plate was won by Mr. H. S. Goodson's Asticot. Time, 3 min. 48¼ sec.

30. At the Central Criminal Court, before the Lord Chief Justice, the trial of Mr. Robert S. Sievier on a charge of attempting to extort money by blackmail from Mr. J. B. Joel, the South African millionaire and racecourse owner, resulted in an acquittal. The verdict was loudly cheered inside and outside the court.

— The Goodwood Cup was won by Mr. L. de Rothschild's Radium. Time, 4 min. 51 sec.

31. The annual Report of the Board of Trade on the working of the Bankruptcy Acts showed that during 1907, 4,111 receiving and administration orders were issued and 3,488 deeds of arrangement were executed with an estimated loss to creditors of 5,034,510*l.* and 3,354,034*l.* respectively.

— Disastrous bush fires in the Crow's Nest region of British Columbia destroyed some $7,000,000 worth of property and over 100 lives. The town of Fernie was wiped out.

AUGUST.

1. Parliament adjourned for the recess.

— At the Parliamentary bye-election for Haggerston, due to the death of Sir W. R. Cremer (L.), Mr. Rupert Guinness (U.) was returned by 2,867 votes, against 1,724 for Mr. W. R. Warren (L.) and 986 for Mr. Herbert Burrows (Soc.).

3. The Rev. H. Bury, Vicar of St. Paul's, Avenue Road, London, was elected (Anglican) Bishop of Honduras, *vice* Bishop Ormsby, resigned.

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4. At Cowes, the King's Cup at the Royal Yacht Squadron Regatta was won by Sir James Pender's *Brynhild*.

4-7. The International Free Trade Congress sat in Caxton Hall. On the opening day it was addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P. At a dinner in the evening Mr. Asquith was one of the speakers.

5. Count Zeppelin's airship, after a successful flight on August 4 from Constance to Mayence, when returning by Stuttgart was compelled to descend at Echterdingen and await fresh supplies of hydrogen. It was there struck by a thunderstorm and destroyed by fire, several persons being seriously injured. Subscriptions were opened for the inventor and a Government grant of 500,000 marks was given him.

— The Turkish Reform Ministry was reconstructed, Said Pasha being succeeded as Grand Vizier by Kiamil Pasha.

— At Cowes, the German Emperor's Cup was won by Herr Krupp von Bohlen's schooner *Germania*.

6. The Lambeth Conference of Bishops was closed by a celebration of the Holy Communion at St. Paul's Cathedral, in which nearly 200 Bishops took part. An Encyclical letter from the Primate was subsequently issued reviewing the decisions of the Conference, and it was announced on August 10 that the total thankoffering amounted to about 345,000*l*.

7. An International Congress on the political institutions of various States was opened at the Franco-British Exhibition.

— At the Central Criminal Court, ten members or ex-members of the Mile-End Board of Guardians were convicted after twenty days' trial of conspiring with a contractor, James Calcutt, and others to defraud the Guardians, and for corruptly soliciting gifts from him in consideration of his employment by the Guardians. Hirst, an ex-Mayor of Stepney, was fined 250*l*. and sentenced to two years' hard labour; the others were fined various sums ranging from 250*l*. to 25*l*. and sentenced to shorter terms of imprisonment. The evidence was largely derived from the revelations of Calcutt, who was undergoing imprisonment for his share in the frauds.

9. The American battleship fleet arrived at Auckland, N.Z., and had an enthusiastic reception, repeated at Sydney on August 20, at Melbourne on May 29, and at Albany on September 11.

11. King Edward VII. visited the German Emperor at Cronberg, and on the following day the Austrian Emperor at Ischl. Considerable significance was attached to both meetings by the Press.

13. It was announced that the Midland and London and North-Western Railways had entered into a working arrangement allowing a considerable increase of facilities to the public in through bookings and alternative routes for passengers and goods.

15. The *Pourquoi Pas*, with Dr. Charcot's Antarctic expedition, left Havre. [She put back several times, and finally sailed from Guernsey on September 5.]

— Some thousands of French working-class excursionists visited London for the Franco-British Exhibition.

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15. At Calais, six visitors were swept off a jetty by the wash from the outgoing cross-Channel steamer *Queen*, and were drowned.

17. The Report of the London County Council for 1906-7 showed that the Council had provided housing accommodation for 41,602 persons, controlled 116¾ miles of tramways and 290 miles of sewers, and possessed 539 Council Schools. The school places in its elementary schools exceeded 580,000.

18. An attempt by T. W. Burgess to swim the Channel failed after he had covered 50 miles in 20 hrs. 11 mins., and was within one mile of Cape Grisnez. He was checked by the strong tide, and failed similarly on August 21, after swimming 22 hrs. 45 mins. Numerous other attempts were made during the month.

— At Abram, near Wigan, an explosion at the Maypole Colliery was followed by fire; seventy-six lives were lost. An attempt at rescue of those entombed was stopped by the fire.

19. After a successful march towards Marrakesh, Sultan Abdul Aziz was betrayed and overthrown by tribal auxiliaries; on August 23 Mulai Hafid was proclaimed Sultan at Tangier.

20. The *Lusitania* arrived at Sandy Hook in 4 days 15 hrs. from Queenstown, or 3 hrs. 40 mins. below the record.

21. It was announced that the Rt. Hon. Sir W. E. Goschen and Sir F. L. Cartwright were respectively appointed British Ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna.

23. At Constantinople, a fire, attributed to incendiary reactionists, destroyed 4,000 buildings and caused considerable loss of life.

24. At Seal Chart, near Sevenoaks, Mrs. Luard, wife of Major-General C. E. Luard of Ightham Knoll, was found shot outside a summer-house in woods on a neighbouring estate. Her body was discovered by her husband, who had left her about two hours previously. At the inquest, terminated on September 16, the verdict was "wilful murder against some person or persons unknown." (See September 18.)

26. The King was visited at Marienbad by the French Premier, M. Clemenceau, and also by M. Isvolsky, the Russian Foreign Minister.

27. Remarkable discoveries in Crete, indicating the existence of a highly developed civilisation in the island in the seventeenth century B.C., were announced by Dr. A. J. Evans in *The Times*.

29. A memorial recording the formation of the Royal Irish Regiment of Foot Guards was unveiled by Earl Roberts, by command of the King, at Wellington Barracks, Knightsbridge.

SEPTEMBER.

1. In a heavy gale, the barque *Amazon* was wrecked near Swansea; twenty lives were lost.

— The Welsh National Eisteddfod was opened at Llangollen, and was addressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade.

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1. The British Association began its annual meeting in Dublin; the President, Mr. Francis Darwin, F.R.S., delivered an address on the movements and the beginnings of habit and memory in plants.

— The Hedjaz Railway was formally opened from Damascus to Medina, amid great enthusiasm. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

5. Serious forest fires took place in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and Duluth was at one time in danger.

8. It was announced that Sir George Buchanan, C.B., had been appointed H.M. Minister at the Hague.

9. The Eucharistic Congress (Roman Catholic) was opened by a solemn service in Westminster Cathedral. A great procession traversed the streets near the Cathedral on September 13. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— At Doncaster, the St. Leger was won by Mr. J. B. Joel's colt Your Majesty, Mr. W. Hall Walker's White Eagle being second and Mr. L. Rothschild's Santo Strato third. Time, 3 min. 6 sec. Signorinetta, the winner of the Derby and Oaks, was seventh.

9, 10. Unemployed disturbances at Glasgow. (See English History, Chapter VI.)

10. The *St. Vincent*, an eighth *Dreadnought*, was launched at Portsmouth.

— Count Tolstoi's eightieth birthday. In celebration of the event a Tolstoi Museum was projected in St. Petersburg. The Russian Press were forbidden to allude to the anniversary.

— It was announced that Sir James Thomson, K.C.S.I., had been appointed a member of the Council of India *vice* Sir Philip Hutchins, K.C.S.I., whose term had expired.

11. Major Gross's German military airship made a flight of 13 hrs. 2 min. from Tegel to Magdeburg and back, beating the previous record for a dirigible balloon (that of Count Zeppelin) by 1 hr. 12 min.

12. Mr. Orville Wright, at Washington, flew in his aeroplane for 1 hr. 10 min. 24 sec., beating all previous aeroplane records.

— The marriage of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, with Miss Clementine Hozier, took place at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

15. A plan was issued by the President of the Board of Trade for a standing Court of Arbitration in industrial disputes. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— The Report of the Committee on lotteries and indecent advertisements suggested that further power should be given to the authorities to deal with the circulation of lottery circulars, and that it should be illegal for newspapers to charge entrance fees in prize competitions. It was held undesirable to confer increased powers on the Postmaster-General enabling him to interfere with the carriage of lottery circulars and obscene matter by opening letters. The advertisement and sale of certain artificial means for the restriction of births ought in the opinion of the Committee to be declared illegal.

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15. The third International Congress for the History of Religions met at Oxford.

16. The Earl of Rosebery opened the new engineering laboratories of the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh.

— Official statistics gave the number of paupers in England and Wales on January 1, 1908, as 928,671.

17. At Berlin, the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was opened, and was addressed by Prince von Bülow.

— At Washington, the breaking of one propeller of Mr. Orville Wright's aeroplane caused the machine to fall 75 feet; Mr. Orville Wright was seriously injured, and a passenger, Lieutenant Selfridge, U.S.A., mortally.

18. At Corbridge, Northumberland, a hoard was found of forty-eight Roman gold coins dating from 364 to 395 A.D.

— General Luard, husband of the lady murdered near Seal, Kent, on August 30, committed suicide at a level crossing near Maidstone, while temporarily insane from anonymous attacks ascribing the crime to him.

19. A circular from the Local Government Board to county and borough councils maintained that most of the evil results of motoring could be dealt with under existing legislation, and suggested measures to be taken by local authorities for expediting traffic and dealing with dust.

— At Lichfield, a statue of James Boswell, presented to the town by Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, was unveiled by Dr. Robertson Nicoll.

20. The National Telephone Exchange was burnt at Paris.

21. The ballot of engineers of the north-east coast resulted in the acceptance of the employers' terms, involving a reduction of 1*s.* per week in wages, by 4,609 against 3,739. The strike had begun on February 14, and earlier attempts by the Board of Trade to settle it had failed. This ballot was the outcome of a Conference held at the Board of Trade on September 8 and 9. About 500,000*l.* had been lost in wages alone during the strike.

— At Le Mans, Mr. Wilbur Wright (brother of Orville Wright) flew in his aeroplane 66·6 kilometres, or about 41½ miles, in 1 hr. 31 min. 25½ sec.

22. At Carlisle, the Speaker of the House of Commons was presented with the freedom of the city, and delivered a speech on the history of his office.

— The Report of the Prison Commissioners and Directors of Convict Prisons noted a continued decrease in juvenile crime, and commended the results of the Borstal system, and the projected treatment of habitual criminals under the Prevention of Crime Bill. The total of persons imprisoned in 1907-8 was 196,233, against 199,282 in 1906-7.

23. In a motor race of nine rounds of 37½ miles in the Isle of Man, limited to cars whose cylinders did not exceed four inches in bore, 38 cars started; the first three were a Calthorpe car driven by W. Watson

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(6 hrs. 43 min. 5 sec.); a Darracq car driven by A. Lee Guinness (6 hrs. 45 min. 21 sec.), and a Darracq car driven by George (6 hrs. 48 min. 26 sec.).

23. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a bazaar at Carnarvon, spoke on the influence of the Free Churches in steadying the Welsh character, which he regarded as not fickle, but volatile, and in educating and disciplining the nation to fight against intemperance, ignorance and vice. He ended with an eloquent vindication of the place of religion in human life.

24. At a meeting of the Carnegie Dunfermline trustees a letter was read from Mr. Andrew Carnegie, announcing that he would devote 250,000*l.* to establish a "Hero Fund" for the reward of those injured in an attempt to save human life, or provision for their wives and children.

— The first application forms for old age pensions were issued at all post offices throughout the United Kingdom.

— At the bye-election for Newcastle-on-Tyne, caused by the death of Mr. Cairns (L.), Mr. Renwick (U.) was returned by 13,863 votes, Mr. E. Shortt (L.) receiving 11,720, and Mr. E. R. Hartley (Soc.) 2,971.

25. The annual report of the Postmaster-General showed a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 4,135,633*l.*—slightly less than in the two previous years. The number of letters sent reached nearly sixty-five per head of population, the total number of postal packets 112·5 per head; and one in four of the population was a depositor in the Post Office Savings Bank.

25-29. International Moral Education Congress, at the University of London.

26. In a collision on the Berlin Elevated Railway sixteen persons were killed and about twenty injured.

27. A great demonstration against the Licensing Bill took place in Hyde Park. Seventy special trains were run from all parts of the provinces, bringing up some 70,000 men, who marched in processions to Hyde Park, where speaking took place from twenty platforms. The estimates of the numbers varied from 100,000 to 500,000.

28-30. Unusually warm and fine weather, accompanied with a high degree of moisture in the atmosphere, prevailed over England, the thermometer on the 29th reaching 73° in London, and 70-79° in various parts of England and Wales. On the 30th it was 77-79°.

29. Off Dungeness, the passenger yacht *Argonaut*, with 113 passengers aboard for Lisbon, was run into in a fog and sunk by the ss. *Kingswell*, from Bilbao for Middlesbrough; no lives were lost. The passengers were brought into Dover by the ss. *Southmoor*, the *Kingswell* being seriously damaged.

— Serious floods were reported from Haidarabad (Deccan), causing about 1,000 deaths and 1,333,000*l.* damage to property.

OCTOBER.

1. The close of the "Book War" between *The Times* and the publishers was indicated by the announcement that a popular edition of the letters of Queen Victoria, issued by the King's command, would be

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published by Mr. John Murray in conjunction with *The Times*. (See *ante*, May 8, and ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, Part II., p. 41.)

1. Penny Postage between Great Britain and the United States.

1-4. Very warm weather for the season reported throughout Great Britain and Northern France. In London on October 1 the temperature reached 77°; on October 2, 79°, the highest October figure since that of 80° reached on October 4, 1886. In Aberdeen 77° was reached. The temperature fell rapidly on October 5.

3. Demonstration of the "Hunger Marchers," in Trafalgar Square. (See English History, Chapter V.)

4. Bulgaria proclaimed her independence of the Porte, and it was announced that Austria-Hungary proposed to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

5. The Report of the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police stated that on December 31, 1906, the authorised strength of the force was 17,919, of whom 1,884 were employed in special duties at dockyards and other Government stations or by private persons. The area of the Metropolitan Police District was 669·42 square miles, the mean rateable value 53,790,268*l*. Two hundred and eighty-three persons were killed in street accidents and 16,772 injured.

6. The Church Congress opened at Manchester. (See English History, Chapter V.)

7. A rescript was issued by the Emperor of Austria announcing the grant of modified autonomy to Bosnia and Herzegovina. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.) Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Wooler, Northumberland, and Mr. Asquith, speaking at Leven, Perthshire, defined the attitude of the Government towards the situation in the Near East.

— Sir Christopher Furness, M.P. for Hartlepool, summoned a Conference at West Hartlepool, consisting chiefly of representatives of the shipbuilding and allied trades, and made two alternative offers: (1) that the Trade Unions should purchase and work the shipbuilding yards of his company; (2) that the employees should become co-partners by the purchase of special shares, receiving a fixed interest and a share in profits. Disputes would be referred to a Works Council, and ultimately to arbitration, and there would be a provision against a strike. On November 4 the members of the Trade Unions concerned resolved on a twelve months' trial of co-partnership.

8. The Jubilee of the Oxford University Museum was celebrated at Oxford.

9. At the annual meeting of the Classical Association, at Birmingham, Mr. Asquith delivered his Presidential Address. He dealt with the great advances made by classical archæology and declared that the classics had come to be treated in a more scientific spirit and with a quickened consciousness of their relation to other forms of knowledge.

— At Dundee, Mr. Winston Churchill declared that unemployment required special remedies which would carry us into "new and untrodden fields in British politics."

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9. It was announced that Mr. W. Hall-Jones had succeeded Mr. W. Pember Reeves as High Commissioner for New Zealand in London.

10. It was announced that the Marquess of Ripon, through advanced age, had resigned the office of Privy Seal, and that the Earl of Crewe would hold it, remaining Secretary for the Colonies.

— At Matlock, Derbyshire, after the presentation of an address of thanks to the new Duke of Devonshire for his services (as Mr. Victor Cavendish) in the House of Commons, the temporary floor over a swimming bath collapsed; several persons were injured.

— A second "Marathon race," from Windsor to the Stadium at Shepherd's Bush, for prizes offered by the *Evening News*, was won by Henri Siret, the French long distance champion, in 2 hr. 37 min. 23 sec.; P. White, Ireland, was second; J. Keywood, Bromley Common, third. Eighty-nine started.

11. M. Isvolsky, the Russian Minister, who was in London to consult with Sir Edward Grey on the Near Eastern crisis, was received by the King and dined at Buckingham Palace.

12. Both Houses of Parliament reassembled for the autumn session. Considerable numbers of the unemployed assembled in Parliament Square, but there was no disturbance.

— An international conference on electric units and standards, convoked by the British Government and representing eighteen countries, was opened by Mr. Churchill at Burlington House.

— In Paris, an International Road Congress, due to the development of motor traffic, and representing twenty-nine countries, was opened by the Minister of Public Works.

— In the match for the Sculling Championship of England, rowed on the Thames from Putney to Mortlake, Ernest Barry (England) beat George Towns (Australia). Time, 21 min. 12 sec., the fastest on record.

13. Disorderly scenes took place in Parliament Square as the result of a handbill issued by the militant women suffragists inviting the public to "rush" the House of Commons. One woman actually entered and addressed the House, but was promptly removed. A suffragist deputation, attempting to force its way towards the House of Commons, was arrested. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— At the London County Council, Mr. Frank Smith attempted to force a discussion on employment, and the meeting was adjourned after some disorder.

— Two brothers, Mr. A. M. Sprules and Mr. F. A. Sprules, were killed while climbing the Pillar Rock, Scawfell, Westmoreland.

14. It was announced that Viscount Wolverhampton had been appointed Lord President of the Council, and Lord Fitzmaurice Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

— At Newmarket, the Cesarewitch Stakes were won by Lady de Bathe's Yentoi.

15. Publication of awards at the Franco-British Exhibition.

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15. Serious forest fires took place in Michigan and Wisconsin, clearing 100 square miles. Over fifty deaths; a relief train burnt.

— The Council of the Royal College of Surgeons determined to admit women to its examination for the Fellowship and the licence in dental surgery, and to take steps to admit them to the examination of the Joint Board in England and to the examination for the diploma in public health.

17. A Royal Commission, with Lord Burghclere as Chairman, appointed to make an inventory of historical monuments down to A.D. 1700, and to specify those most worthy of preservation.

— Mr. G. G. A. Murray, Fellow of New College, appointed Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, *vice* Bywater resigned.

— The tercentenary of the election of Francis Bacon as Treasurer at Gray's Inn was celebrated by a luncheon given by the Benchers in the Banqueting Hall.

— The Australian Rugby Football Team were beaten for the first time on their tour by Llanelly, by a goal and a try to a try.

20. It was announced that Mr. T. McKinnon-Wood, M.P., had been appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. C. P. Trevelyan Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education.

22. At Berlin, Prince August Wilhelm, fourth son of the Kaiser, was married to Princess Alexandra Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg.

23. At Bow Street, Mr. Will Thorne, M.P. for South West Ham, who had advised a meeting to "rush the bakers' shops," was bound over to be of good behaviour for twelve months.

24. A letter was published from Lord Curzon of Kedleston stating that he meant to propose that all Oxford degrees should be open to women on exactly the same basis as to men.

— At Edinburgh University, Mr. George Wyndham, M.P., was elected Lord Rector by 826 votes against 727 given for Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., and 614 for Professor Osler. At Glasgow, Lord Curzon of Kedleston was elected by 947 votes, Mr. Lloyd-George receiving 935 and Mr. Keir Hardie 122.

— At Hampstead, at a bye-election for the London County Council, Mr. Taylor (Moderate) was returned by 3,948 votes, Miss Balkwill (Progressive) receiving 2,203. The election was the first for the London County Council at which a woman was candidate under the Act of 1907 admitting women to seats on borough and county councils.

— In the final Association Football match in connection with the Olympic Games, the United Kingdom beat Denmark by 2 goals to *nil*. —In the Lacrosse match, Canada beat England by 14 goals to 10.

25. At Debenham and Freebody's, Wigmore Street, the strong room was broken open and 5,000*l*. worth of jewellery stolen.

26. General election throughout Canada. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VIII.)

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26. In the Final "Olympic" Rugby Football Match, the Australians beat Cornwall (representing England as its champion county) by 32 points to 3.

27. At a Mansion House Conference, the Lord Mayor presiding, a resolution was carried demanding fresh legislation for the protection of the public from motor traffic.

— In the King's Bench Division, Messrs. E. Cook & Sons, Limited, soapmakers, were awarded 23,000*l.* damages against the proprietors of the *Daily Mail* and *Evening News* for libel in connection with the alleged "Soap Trust." An action against the *Daily Mirror* was settled out of court. (*Cf.* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, Chronicle, p. 23.)

— The Great Eastern Railway Company's cargo steamer *Yarmouth*, from the Hook of Holland to Harwich, foundered with all hands near the Gabbard lightship; twenty-three lives were lost. The vessel was believed to have rolled over.

28. The *Daily Telegraph* published a remarkable interview with the German Emperor. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

— Suffragist disturbances in the Ladies' Gallery of the House of Commons. (See English History, Chapter V.)

31. The text was published of the message of the King as Emperor of India to the Princes and people of that Empire on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption of its government by the Crown.

— Mr. Asquith was elected Lord Rector of Aberdeen University by 434 votes, Sir Edward Carson receiving 370.

— The Franco-British Exhibition closed. The total number of visitors was stated to have been about 4,800,000.

NOVEMBER.

2. The resignation was announced of the Most Rev. W. D. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, to take effect on December 31.

— The municipal elections took place throughout England and Wales. The Unionists gained 131 seats, the Liberals 33, Labour candidates 11, Socialists 9, and Independents 4. Women candidates were returned at Oxford and Manchester. (See English History, Chapter V.)

3. The Presidential election in the United States resulted in an overwhelming success for Mr. William Howard Taft, Republican. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— The award of the Royal Society's medals for the year was as follows: The Copley medal to Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace; the Rumford medal to Professor H. A. Lorentz for investigations in optical and electrical science; Royal medals to Professor John Milne and Dr. Henry Head for seismological and neurological investigations respectively; the Davy medal to Professor W. A. Tilden, for chemical discoveries; the Darwin medal to Professor August Weismann, and the Hughes medal to Professor Eugen Goldstein for discoveries on the nature of electric discharge in rarefied gases.

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6. The Cotton Trade dispute was settled. (See English History, Chapter V.)

9. The battleship *Collingwood* was launched at Devonport, and named by Mrs. Asquith.

— The list of King's Birthday Honours was issued. Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace received the Order of Merit; Mr. J. A. Pease, M.P., Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., Sir C. B. Maclaren, M.P., and Sir Edward Clarke, were made Privy Councillors. Among the six new baronets were Sir G. A. Critchett, an eminent oculist, Mr. E. F. Hatch, a Unionist ex-M.P. who had recently been Chairman of a Committee for Investigating Industrial Diseases, and Mr. S. S. Clouston, general manager of the Bank of Montreal; among the twenty new knights were Mr. G. Frampton, a well-known sculptor, Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, a distinguished surgeon, and Professor J. J. Thomson, President Elect of the British Association.

— The Lord Mayor's Show included a picturesque pageant representing the press, the poets, and the musicians of England from Chaucer to Milton. (For the speeches of Ministers, see English History, Chapter V.)

— The first woman mayor in the United Kingdom, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, was elected at Aldeburgh. Miss Dove, headmistress of an important school for girls at High Wycombe and a member of the Town Council, was defeated for the mayoralty of that town by two votes, after nearly three hours' debate.

— At Grisolles (Tarn-et-Garonne) a Bordeaux-Cette train was derailed; ten persons were killed and twenty injured.

10. It was announced that arrangements had been made for a direct steamship line between German and Dutch ports and Canada.

11. In the Radbod coal mine at Hamm, Westphalia, an explosion of firedamp caused the loss of 360 lives. A message of sympathy was received from President Fallières. Prince Eitel Friedrich, sent by the Kaiser to make inquiries, was received with angry demonstrations against the management.

12. Copyright Convention adopted by International Conference at Berlin. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

14. Death of Kwang-Hsu, Emperor of China, followed next day by that of the Dowager Empress, Tze-Hi. (See Foreign History, Chapter VI.)

— At Cambridge the Australian Rugby Football team beat Cambridge University by 11 points to 9.

16-20. The King and Queen of Sweden visited England. (See English History, Chapter VI.)

17. Solution of the "Chancellor crisis" in Germany. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

18. At Oxford, the Australian Rugby Football team beat Oxford University by 19 points to 3.

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18. In Sicily and Southern Italy serious floods and landslips took place, involving considerable loss of life.

20. At Greenwich Parish Church, Field-Marshal Sir George White unveiled a memorial tablet to General Wolfe, placed on the wall immediately above his grave.

23. In the House of Lords, Earl Roberts made a speech declaring German invasion possible and demanding the provision of an adequate land force. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— The two largest portions of the Cullinan diamond, which had been divided in cutting, were placed in the Tower.

24. A meeting of Unionist Peers at Lansdowne House decided on the rejection of the Licensing Bill. (See English History, Chapter V.)

25. The *Sardinia*, a British steamer of the Papayanni-Ellerman line, was burnt off Malta just after leaving for Alexandria; about 150 lives were lost, chiefly of Arab pilgrims from Algiers to Mecca, but including the captain and several of the crew.

27. The Licensing Bill rejected by the House of Lords by 272 to 96.

28. Agreement announced between Japan and the United States to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific, the independence and integrity of China, and the principle of equal commercial and industrial opportunity for all nations in that Empire.

— The Court of Appeal, in Osborne *v.* the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, decided that it was illegal for a Trade Union to provide for Parliamentary representation by means of a compulsory levy, even though its rules had been so altered as to permit it to do so. It was stated that the defendants would appeal to the House of Lords.

30. A matinee in memory of the great Italian tragic actress, Adelaide Ristori, was given at His Majesty's Theatre.

— At Oxford, under Rugby Union Football Rules, Oxford University beat Dublin University by 29 points to *nil*.

DECEMBER.

1. At the bye-election for the Chelmsford Division of Essex, due to the resignation of Major Sir F. Carne Rasch (C.), Mr. E. G. Pretyman (U.) was returned by 6,152 votes, Mr. A. H. Dence (L.) receiving 3,587. As compared with the general election, the Unionist poll had increased by 1,237 and the Liberal decreased by 847.

— Mr. Balfour delivered his Presidential address at the annual meeting of the Labour Copartnership Association, dealing *inter alia* with its applicability to agriculture and its value as increasing the interest of the worker in his work.

— Admiral Sir G. H. Noel became Admiral of the Fleet, *vice* Admiral Sir J. G. Erskine retired.

2. The sixtieth anniversary of the accession of the Emperor of Austria was celebrated throughout Austria. At the illuminations on the previous evening in Vienna five persons were crushed and 106

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injured in the crowd; and at Prague, owing to German and Czech rioting, a state of siege was proclaimed.

3. In the German Reichstag, a debate began on various proposals for the amendment of the constitution.

— Dr. E. de Sélincourt, lecturer in modern literature at Oxford, elected Professor of English language and literature at Birmingham University *vice* Churton Collins deceased.

— The Report of the Select Committee on the Reform of the House of Lords was published. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— An "experimental election" intended to test the system of transferable votes gave satisfactory results, which were announced at the Caxton Hall, Westminster.

3-6. At Sotheby's, the first portion of Lord Amherst of Hackney's library was sold by auction. A Mazarin Bible brought 2,050*l.*, a Dutch block-book 2,000*l.*, and King Charles I.'s Bible 1,000*l.* A number of Caxtons were withdrawn and sold privately, it was stated, to Mr. Pierpoint Morgan.

4. Mr. Asquith announced the impending withdrawal of the Education Bill. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— The International Naval Conference to elucidate certain points in the maritime law of nations was opened at the Foreign Office by Sir Edward Grey.

— Lord Rosebery spoke on unemployment at Edinburgh, and at Leith on the possibility of an unprovoked German attempt at invasion, in which he expressed his disbelief.

— At the Central Criminal Court, after a six days' trial, six men and one woman, representatives of the Poplar Board of Guardians on the governing body of the Poplar and Stepney Sick Asylum, were convicted of conspiring to defraud that body and of receiving gifts under the Corrupt Practices Act, and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from three to twelve months, and disqualified for seven years from holding office.

5. Sir G. R. Le Hunte, Governor of South Australia, was announced as the new Governor of Trinidad and Tobago *vice* Sir H. M. Jackson deceased.

— At the Albert Hall, Mr. Lloyd-George addressed a meeting of the Women's Liberal Association to consider women's suffrage, and despite incessant interruption by militant suffragists succeeded in finishing his speech. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— The appointment was announced of Admiral Sir D. H. Bosanquet as Governor of South Australia *vice* Sir G. R. Le Hunte, appointed to Trinidad and Tobago.

— The celebration of the Tercentenary of the birth of John Milton began with a special meeting of the British Academy, at which a poem was read by Mr. George Meredith and addresses were given by Professor A. W. Ward and Sir F. Bridge, the latter accompanied with special performances of the incidental music to *Comus*. The subsequent cele-

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bration included a lecture by the Poet Laureate, a special service at Bow Church, Cheapside, a banquet at the Mansion House and a performance of *Samson Agonistes*.

7. In the Divorce Court, the President, Sir Gorell Barnes, gave judgment in favour of the petitioner in the case of Venugopal Chetti *v.* Venugopal Chetti. The petitioner, an Englishwoman, claimed a judicial separation from her husband, a district judge in India and a Hindu, on the ground of his desertion. The respondent pleaded that he was not lawfully married to the petitioner, being a Hindu domiciled in India, and asked that the marriage might be declared void. The decision affirmed the validity of marriages contracted in England with British subjects by foreigners or British subjects, even though domiciled abroad.

9. It was announced that the Nobel prize for Chemistry had been awarded to Professor G. Rutherford, Manchester University; for Physics to Professor G. Lipmann of Paris; for Medicine, divided between Professor Metchnikoff (Paris) and Professor Ehrlich (Frankfort-on-Main); for Literature to Professor Eucken of Jena.

10. The House of Lords dismissed with costs the appeal of lady graduates of St. Andrews University from a judgment of the Court of Session in Scotland that they were not entitled to vote in the election of a member of Parliament for the University. The appeal had been supported on November 10 and 12 by two lady graduates.

— Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour spoke at the Church House in support of the winter relief work of the Church Army.

11. Dinner to the Prime Minister at the National Liberal Club. (See English History, Chapter V.)

12. The Rugby Football Match between Oxford and Cambridge resulted in a draw, each side scoring a goal.

14. At a meeting of the General Council of King Edward's Hospital Fund, it was announced that the net receipts for the year to December 10 were 156,745*l.*; 135,000*l.* was allotted among hospitals, and 5,000*l.* among convalescent homes.

15. At Liverpool Assizes, Messrs. Lever Brothers recovered 500*l.* damages from the *Leeds Mercury* for statements made in connection with the alleged "Soap Trust." (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, Chronicle, p. 23.)

— On the Wanganui River, N.Z., a sculling race between W. Webb, the sculling champion of the world, and R. Arnst, was won by Arnst by 12 lengths in 19 min. 51½ sec. Both competitors were New Zealanders.

16. In Madison Square Garden, New York, a "Marathon race" between Dorando Pietri and Thomas Longboat, a Canadian Indian, resulted in the collapse of Dorando during his 26th mile.—At Hastings, a "Marathon race" of about 25 miles was won by W. T. Clarke in 2 hrs. 37 mins. 16 sec. Four other competitors finished within 2 hrs. 41 mins. Several other long distance cross-country races took place about this time.

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17. The Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, elected by the Senate Chancellor of the New Dublin University.

— The new Turkish Parliament opened by the Sultan. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

— It was announced that the Right Rev. W. M. Carter, D.D., Bishop of Pretoria, had been elected Archbishop of Capetown in the place of the late Archbishop Jones.

— A Private Bill was deposited providing for a working agreement under a joint Committee of the Great Northern, Great Central and Great Eastern Railway Companies, and for a division of the net earnings. —A provisional agreement for the working of the North London Railway by the London and North-Western was approved by the shareholders of the former company.

18. At Maldon, Frederick Cole, sen., a contractor and town councillor, and his son-in-law, Major Kitchen, were shot dead late at night by Frederick Cole, jun., who afterwards shot himself. Two other sons were charged with aiding and abetting in the murder, but the charges were withdrawn.

21. Parliament was prorogued.

22. The steamer *Irada*, from Galveston to Liverpool, went ashore near Mizen Head on the south coast of Ireland: four lives were lost, including the captain.

23. At the Headmasters' Conference a resolution was carried deprecating the study by the average boy of more than two languages besides English before attaining the age of 14. This and other resolutions tended to place Greek later in the scheme of education.

25. President Fallières assaulted in the Champs Elysées by a café waiter, Jean Mathis, an ante-Republican fanatic.

26. At Sydney, N.S.W., the boxing contest between Tommy Burns and Jack Johnson (an American negro) for the championship of the world was won by Johnson. The police stopped the fight as dangerous to Burns, and Johnson was declared winner on points. 18,000 persons were present.

— At Johannesburg, Mr. R. T. G. Walker won a 100 yards race in 9⅘ sec., and a 120 yards race in 11⅘ sec.—both records.

27-30. After an exceptionally mild season during which many flowers were in bloom at Kew and elsewhere, snow and sharp frost occurred throughout Great Britain and in France and Central Europe. On the 28th there was the heaviest snowfall since January, 1881. Traffic was disorganised, many sheep were lost, and trains in Scotland, Wales, and Yorkshire were snowed up. The 29th in London (max. 23·3°; min. early on Dec. 30, 14·4°) was the coldest day though not the coldest night since January 4, 1867. A rapid thaw began in London early on the 31st.

28. At 5.20 A.M. the most destructive earthquake on record destroyed Messina and Reggio, and devastated an area about 100 miles in length in Southern Calabria. Much damage was done by tidal waves both in the Straits of Messina and at Catania and other places on the east coast of Sicily. The loss of life was estimated at 200,000.

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RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART IN 1908.

LITERATURE.

THE principal event of the year in which authors, publishers and the public were alike more or less interested was the termination of "*The Times* Book War," which for two years had kept apart the commercial and literary interests of that journal. The outside public, whether as readers of books or of criticisms thereon, had in nowise suffered from the quarrel, and consequently had been pretty equally divided in opinion as to its merits. The treaty of peace between *The Times* and the publishers was signalised in a dramatic way by the re-issue at a popular price of the "Letters of Queen Victoria," which had originally been published at an almost prohibitive cost and was now issued under the joint auspices of "*The Times* Book Club" and the original publisher, Mr. John Murray. The success of such a book under such auspices was certain. It was followed at a short interval by "Queen Alexandra's Christmas Gift Book," of which the proceeds were to be devoted to the Queen's Charities. This volume of photographs taken by her Majesty was launched from the office of the *Daily Telegraph*, and naturally had an enormous popularity. As, however, among the great mass of the public no form of expenditure is less elastic than that devoted to book buying, it was not surprising to hear complaints on all sides that the autumn publishing season showed the result of the publicity given to the two "Royal" books.

In other ways, moreover, the year from the publishing point of view had been a lean one, and was marked by the appearance of few books of distinction. The plan of writing history in instalments and by separate hands inaugurated by Lord Acton had been attempted on a narrower scale by others; but the results were not altogether encouraging. The "Cambridge Modern History," however, survived, and up to the close of the year nine out of the twelve projected volumes had appeared. In other branches of historical research the later Stuarts aroused a certain interest: and the strife over the claims of Joan of

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Arc to canonisation was renewed on both sides of the Channel. Speaking, however, in general terms it would seem as if literary activity had been diverted from history to science, especially technical and experimental. The remarkable advance made in so many branches of science needed to be discussed and criticised before, if not by, the public, in order that the latter might be enabled to decide how far the discoveries of science were applicable to the promotion of industry or commerce. Social economics also occupied a prominent place in public attention, and problems presented by social reformers were much discussed.

The books most in demand for general readers were biographies, diaries or letters of deceased or living "celebrities," a term which from the publishers' and the public points of view was most elastic; the result being the revival of the ashes of many reputations which might with advantage have been left undisturbed. No new poet of eminence arose to command attention, but not a few volumes of verse appeared of which the writers detached themselves in a marked way from the unhealthy tone of much of the poetry of the preceding decade. Similarly, in the theological works was to be found evidence of a reaction towards a more moderate attitude in the criticism of Biblical and patristic literature.

However overflowing the field of fiction might appear from the advertisement of publishers, the yield of good seed was surprisingly small. Some of the better-known writers did their utmost to protest against the vapid conventional novels which poured daily from the press, by producing works worthy of their own renown. Their efforts were, however, but half-heartedly supported by the public. The hope held out that the reduction of the old-fashioned three-volume novel to a single volume at a reasonable price would induce novel readers to purchase rather than to rely on circulating libraries proved to be fallacious. At the same time the enterprise of certain firms in republishing at prices varying from sixpence to a shilling works so recent as to be scarcely distinguishable from new had its natural result. These handy well-printed books attracted a constant stream of purchasers, and proportionally diminished the demand for the six-shilling volume on which author and publisher had based their bargain in the first instance. The future of the modern novelist was left, therefore, unpleasantly obscure.

Art.

Few artists have come into public favour so rapidly, after a long period of neglect, as **Goya** (John Lane), whose claims to recognition Mr. Albert Calvert enforces by his temperate judgment as much as by the reproduction of the artist's principal works. Goya, like many other Spanish painters, essentially was a realist, and reflected in his work not only the troublous times in which he lived, but the restraints under which he carried on his art. His impatience of control—even in his art—brought him into collision on various occasions with both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and his post of Court-painter to Charles IV. or Ferdinand VII. was in many respects uncongenial. It is to show the many sides of Goya's life and art that Mr. Calvert has

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applied himself—with results which enable the reader to understand the man and his work.

There is something especially attractive in the unconventional life of **George Morland** (A. & C. Black) and many biographies of the painter have been written. Sir Walter Gilbey, who has been the last to take up the task, is a Morland enthusiast and at the same time a competent critic. With him has been associated Mr. E. D. Cuming in the production of a volume which, whilst it does not clear up the mystery of George Morland's parentage, nevertheless presents a far more attractive and complete account of the painter's life and works than has hitherto been given to the world.

There was to the casual observer little in common between the simple, farmer-like appearance of Corot and the sensitive and poetic touch which pervades his pictures. Mr. Everard Meynell in a sympathetic study of **Corot and His Friends** (Methuen) has endeavoured to make us understand the true relation of the artist to his work. In both the dominant note was that of sincerity; and his pictures stand out as the final protest of a school which, temporarily, as we hope, is suffering eclipse in France. The value therefore of Mr. Meynell's work lies not so much in the careful following of Corot's life as in the evidence that it affords as to the complete harmony existing between the artist and his work.

Mr. A. M. Hind has no cause to regret his late appearance as the writer of **A Short History of Engraving and Etching** (Constable), as he comes at a time when the art of reproduction has attained unwonted excellence; and he has found publishers who have been prepared to avail themselves liberally of the opportunities at their command. The result is a volume which is as complete as a critical authority as it is attractive and self-explanatory. Mr. Hind fully carries out the purpose he had in view of "presenting a descriptive survey of the history of engraving on metals throughout the various centuries and schools." He has conferred upon students and collectors a boon which they cannot fail to value highly, and he has furnished a text-book to the art of engraving. Future writers will draw with confidence on the treasure-store of information which Mr. Hind has laboriously collected. The copious classified list of engravers will prove as useful as the reproductions of the choice works of many of them will be found attractive.

Sir Hubert von Herkomer's versatility has brought him into the field of letters, and the story which he tells of **My School and My Gospel** (Constable) shows that he is scarcely less skilful with the pen than he has proved himself to be with other instruments. The school at Bushey, which he established with high ideals, has been the training ground of many who have taken to heart the teachings of the master. That these were somewhat heterodox from the academic point of view is well known, and it is to expound his "Gospel" that the greater portion of this volume is devoted. It will, therefore, be read with interest by all who have watched the development of English art during the last thirty years. Herkomer's methods may not have been endorsed by those who are frightened at innovations; but they are well worthy

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of attention and study, and the results in a great measure justify the earnestness and vivacity with which the author advocates his theories.

Mr. James Caw, Director of the Scottish National Gallery, has ably discharged the duty which fell to him of writing on **Scottish Painting, Past and Present** (Jack). French influence and tradition lingered long after the union of the two Crowns, but although Scottish painters were numerous and adept, there was little craving for a distinctive Scottish school of painting. Scotchmen too found early recognition of their merits at the Royal Academy, and their patrons were more often met with south of the Tweed. By degrees, however, the national feeling asserted itself in art, and from the time of Raeburn onwards there has been a growing tendency among Scottish painters to follow their own methods in the pursuit of their own ideals. The "Glasgow" School has at length firmly established itself, and its influences—though drawn through French channels—are distinct and definite; but how far from being, as at present, local, the Glasgow School will become national, is a problem which neither Mr. Caw nor Professor Baldwin Brown—who also writes on it—has ventured to solve.

It is a sign of the times that the Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy should have found courage to advocate the claims of classical against Gothic influence which has so long dominated the British School. In **The Mistress Art** (Arnold) whilst recognising the debt of cathedral builders to the liberty of Gothic art, Mr. Blomfield claims that for modern times a more systematic method is needed, and asserts that design will lose neither variety nor originality by architects submitting themselves to a despotism which can be both intelligent and flexible.

Having carefully studied the history of church architecture on the Continent and in the provinces Mr. T. Francis Bumpus has now devoted his attention to **London Churches: Ancient and Modern** (T. Werner Laurie). He shows the same zeal and love of research that characterised his previous inquiries—and the present volumes are not less valuable to the student than to the city wanderer. Mr. Bumpus has conveniently arranged his studies in two series—the one dealing with Mediæval and Early Renaissance styles; and the other with the so-called classical revival of the eighteenth century, at which period London church architecture seems to have reached its lowest depth, whence it was only partially rescued by the early Gothic revival dating from 1820. Many readers will be surprised at the number of Norman and Early English churches still to be found in London. Mr. Bumpus indicates these, and traces throughout the distinctive characteristics of London church building, which culminated in Wren's work.

The task of following through many centuries the art development unfolded by **Towers and Spires** (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co.) has been pursued by Professor Tyrrell Green with profitable results. He deals with the design and arrangement of towers from their probably earliest adaptation to church buildings in Lombardy and at Ravenna, and traces their development through the successive architectural periods. His views are for the most part those now generally accepted among

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architects, except that he declines to recognise the spire as originating in pointed Gothic architecture.

There is no need for the apology with which Mr. W. Crum Watson introduces his instructive study of **Portuguese Architecture** (Constable) and calls attention to the many interesting examples of peculiar styles which are to be found in that country. From the twelfth century onwards Portugal, if without architects of striking originality, produced many of conspicuous ability who adapted contemporary styles to national or local taste or surroundings. Romanesque and Renaissance, Spanish and Moorish influences by turn swayed Portuguese architects, but in the churches and buildings at Braga, Cintra and Coimbra, as well as in the cathedrals of Lisbon and Oporto, distinctly national peculiarities can be traced. Mr. Watson's book is the more valuable for the numerous admirable photographs of the buildings, of which the history, as he shows, is often not less interesting than the architecture and their art treasures.

The addition of "The story of Milan" by Miss Ella Noyes to the series of **Mediæval Towns** (Dent) is welcome, as there was a danger lest the claims of the modernised industrial capital of Northern Italy should have been neglected. Modern Milan does not appeal to the ordinary traveller save for two or three churches on its outskirts. But Milan has a history which cannot be effaced, and Miss Noyes may be congratulated upon having followed its fortunes carefully, and related them succinctly, no easy task considering the part played by Lombardy in the history of Central Europe since the break up of the Western Empire. Miss Dora Noyes, who supplies the illustrations, reveals some of the art treasures which might otherwise escape the sight-seer.

Autobiography and Memoirs.

It does not always happen to a man who keeps a journal to have such varied experiences as fell to the lot of Lord Macartney, **Our First Ambassador to China** (Murray), and Mrs. Robbins, who edits it, has found abundance of good material of which she has made excellent use. George Macartney must have come to London from Ireland well recommended—for he was at once admitted to Dr. Johnson's literary club, and before he was thirty years old he was sent to St. Petersburg to negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia. His success with the Empress Catherine may have been due as much as to his good looks as to his diplomacy. On his return he entered Parliament, and for three years was Chief Secretary for Ireland. He, however, found a more congenial field for his talents as a colonial Governor, first of Grenada, in the West Indies, and afterwards at Madras. The East India Company, recognising his value, obtained for him powers to proceed to China to negotiate for certain trading rights with that country, and although his mission was not altogether successful, it marked the first stage in opening up the Chinese Empire to British traders. On his return to Europe his services as a diplomatist were fully appreciated and his last public appointment was that of Governor to the Cape of Good Hope after its cession to England.

All students of English politics, and many others besides, will be

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sincerely grateful to Lord Ilchester for having permitted the publication of **The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland** (Longmans). That the despotic dinner-giver of the Whig party from 1792-1811 was popular with her guests may well be doubted, but that she had the qualities which are needed to manage a *salon*, and even to keep together a political party, must be frankly admitted. How she acquired her knowledge of men and books may be gathered from these journals, but whence she drew the power of attracting statesmen to her side, and to some degree that of turning them to her purpose, was a secret which Lord Ilchester, even in his impartial review of her life, fails to explain. She must have possessed other qualities besides masterfulness, but it is rarely that even to herself in her diary she lifts the veil which conceals the source of her influence.

Few more vivid and charming pictures of social life in the first half of the last century have been issued than that contained in **A Family Chronicle** (Murray) of three generations of the Grey family. The eldest Mrs. Wilmot, afterwards Lady Dacre, was a lady of more than average literary distinction, and her daughter, who married the Rev. F. Sullivan, was a not less accomplished letter-writer, at a time when letters were written with the object of entertaining or interesting their readers. Mrs. Sullivan's daughter Barbarina married Admiral Sir F. W. Grey, son of the first Earl Grey, and by her the present volume of notes and letters was originally compiled. Her niece Miss Lyster has now edited them in a way that enables the reader to appreciate the active part in literature and art which was taken by many who were supposed to have no interests but political or social, so that the friendly relations which they cultivated with the literary celebrities of their day come as an agreeable surprise.

The collection from various sources, some hitherto untouched, of the **Letters of the Wordsworth Family** (Ginn) has probably been a labour of love to Professor William Knight. Whether the most devoted admirers of Wordsworth's poetry will appreciate his letters extending over sixty years is a matter of doubt. There was in Wordsworth no symptom of any quality which makes letter-writing an art and the reading of his letters a delight. He was as devoid of all sense of humour as of insight into and sympathy with other men's minds. He seems to have laboured under a chronic difficulty of expressing his opinions frankly, except when delivering them didactically. That these letters throw light upon the poems may be readily admitted, but it is only by showing the grooves in which the poet's thoughts ran.

If the reputation of the author of "Jane Eyre" emerges from beneath the ponderous volumes which Mr. Clement Shorter has piled upon it, full justification will be given to **The Brontës, Life and Letters** (Hodder & Stoughton). In any case there can be no excuse (beyond that of want of time) for not knowing all that it is possible to know about the Brontë family, and for forming an opinion of the relative talents of its members. Mr. Shorter in many points comes to different conclusions from previous biographers with regard to individuals, but he endorses the general estimate, except perhaps with regard to Branwell Brontë. He has, however, obtained access to much cor-

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respondence unknown even to Mrs. Gaskell, whose life of Charlotte Brontë, written at the request of the latter's friends, will still be regarded as the authorised version of the family chronicle.

The circle of practical thinkers in which the Misses Winkworth lived deserves to be remembered; and the volume edited by Miss Shaen, **Memorials of Two Sisters** (Longmans), will be welcomed by many. The elder sister, Susanna, was less known to the public, but her correspondence with Maurice and Martineau reveals much of the intellectual and religious difficulties which surrounded the Broad Church party. Her letters to these and other leaders of the movement are deeply interesting to those who can recall the bitterness of the strife. Catherine, known as the translator of "Lyra Germanica," was cast in a more plastic mould, and her mind was more emotional. Her elder sister, who survived her, began the writing of these memorials, which were left unfinished. Happily a sufficient number of letters have been preserved to show that both sisters were in touch with the best literature of their day, and with many of the principal writers, of whom we obtain fresh knowledge and from whose letters we can gather fresh clues to their minds and aspirations.

The personal considerations which have stood in the way of any official rejoinder to Mr. Kinglake's "case" for Lord Raglan have been removed by time; and the publication of the **Panmure Papers** (Hodder & Stoughton) by Sir G. Douglas and Sir G. D. Ramsay will enable historians of the future to judge more accurately the parts played by politicians and generals in the disasters of the Crimean campaign. To apportion blame to the various actors would be as invidious as it would be difficult, but there was every reason for vindicating the character of the War Minister who at a critical moment devoted himself unremittingly to bringing order out of the chaos which reigned both in Pall Mall and before the walls of Sebastopol. The letters now given to the public—extending over the Indian Mutiny and the expedition to China—show that Lord Panmure's desire to improve the efficiency of the military staff and the administration of the army was not extinguished by the criticism and obloquy which his previous efforts had aroused. The bias of his mind was in favour of the influence of the Sovereign rather than that of Parliament being paramount in military matters.

A further contribution to the political history of the middle Victorian period is to be found in Mr. Bernard Mallet's memoir of **Thomas George, Earl of Northbrook** (Longmans) whose official life began under Lord Palmerston. His apprenticeship was a varied one, passing from the Admiralty to the India, the War and the Home Offices in succession. As Mr. Cardwell's assistant he vigorously supported his chief in his Army Reform. His faithful service to his party after fifteen years was rewarded by his appointment as Viceroy of India. To his career in that country and to the reforms which he introduced, Mr. Mallet devotes considerable space, and with reason, as Lord Northbrook's reputation will rest on his work in India rather than on his stay at the Admiralty; although his administration of the navy during a critical period resulted in the policy which has since been developed by his successors. Mr. Mallet has written the story of an active and

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laborious life with a fulness which will render it valuable to a wide class of readers.

The obvious moral of Mr. Francis Galton's **Memories of My Life** (Methuen) is that to enjoy life thoroughly and at its best it is necessary to have a many-sided mind—eager as well as able to profit by what is within its reach. A further and higher step is for the individual to apply for the benefit of the race what he has himself enjoyed. Mr. Galton, after an early training in mathematics and medicine, found himself in a position to indulge his love of travel. He was one of the earliest European visitors to Khartoum, and quite the earliest to Damaraland. He returned after visiting various countries full of impressions, recollections, and intelligent observations, and began to give the public the results. He reduced the "art of travel" to a science; he set up his Anthropometric Laboratory, started the ideas of Composite Portraits which through a study of the Human Faculty brought him to the theories of Heredity with which his name will be not less associated than with the theory of Finger-prints and the study of Eugenics—of which branch of science Dr. Galton may be regarded as the founder in this country. The memories of such a richly endowed life—bringing happiness to its possessor—reach far higher than the gossip of many such books.

The title of Sir H. Drummond Wolff's **Rambling Recollections** (Macmillan) is altogether suitable, and in no sense misleading. Upwards of fifty years spent in diplomatic and parliamentary life afford a man, endowed with wit and talent, a store of reminiscences on which he can draw copiously to the profit of his readers. His experiences in many countries were often as much outside the beaten paths of diplomatic routine as his parliamentary career was opposed to party discipline. The qualities which threw doubt upon his seriousness as a politician are those which render him delightful as a *raconteur*. His connection with the "Fourth Party" temporarily brought him into prominence, and from the account he gives, it is possible to understand better Mr. Balfour's attitude to Lord Salisbury and the bargain virtually resulting therefrom. Sir H. Drummond Wolff's ultimate reward, the embassy at Madrid, was a congenial, if scarcely adequate, recompense for his services to the group of which he was a member.

Few men have been better equipped for throwing light upon many obscure incidents, political and social, of the Victorian period than Sir Algernon West. He was private secretary to more than one Cabinet Minister, and later on a distinguished official; he was always in the Court circle, by turns confiding and discreet. With such qualifications he could not fail to produce a readable book, and **One City and Many Men** (Murray) will hold a deservedly high place among those which record recollections for the use of posterity. Sir Algernon West, moreover, is careful to find something fresh to tell about the habits and sayings of the most interesting people of his time—and in not a few cases he is able to furnish a clue to the conduct of public men whose real motives were misunderstood or misjudged at the time.

If it be true that a Scotchman is never at home but when he is "awa'," Mr. Archibald Colquhoun is but the highest expression of the

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national "geist." Into his entertaining volume **Dan to Beersheba** (Heinemann) he has compressed the wanderings of a life which began in a violent storm off the Cape of Good Hope. It was, however, in the Indian Police, which he entered in 1869, that his personal story starts, and ten years later he was sent from Burmah to Siam on his first mission. The French war in Tongking gave him further opportunities, and thence, after a stay in Baluchistan, he found himself associated with Cecil Rhodes and made first administrator of Mashonaland. Restlessness next took him to Panama and Central America, and thence back to China and round the world again by different routes, always observant and acquisitive of knowledge, and able to get his information, if not from fountain-heads, at least through channels comparatively free from contamination. No wonder, therefore, that he can write a book as instructive as it is readable.

Biography.

In her concluding volume on **The Later Years of Catherine di Medici** (Constable) Miss Edith Sichel fails to find in her heroine the development of Catherine's better qualities, of which in her earlier work she seems to have discerned the germ. Catherine's life in a foreign land, where she succeeded in making many enemies and few friends, was not happy in its surroundings. Her husband was devoid of all these qualities which sometimes redeem a cruel nature; her three sons were weak and vicious, and the Bourbons and the Guises were bold and unscrupulous. It is not surprising, therefore, that she resorted to intrigue to preserve even the semblance of authority. How she strove and how she failed form a thrilling story which Miss Sichel tells with dramatic power—largely from sources hitherto unknown or unappreciated, so that she has been able to throw fresh light upon many obscure points in Catherine di Medici's luckless life.

The history of "La Fronde" is so perplexing but at the same time so important a turning-point in French culture that one can accept Mr. Noel Williams' contribution to its history, **A Princess of Intrigue** (Hutchinson), with feelings akin to gratitude. Madame de Longueville played an important, brilliant but ineffectual part in the making of history in the latter half of the seventeenth century. For a while at Court, in the *salon*, and in society, the daughter of the great Condé was the most powerful woman in France, sharing with Madame de Chevreuse and Madame de Sablé the doubtful joys of faction and intrigue. It is needless to say that such a life was crowded with events and personages notable and noteworthy; and Mr. Williams has taken full advantage of the occasion to bring into focus the most brilliant period of social and literary activity in France.

The thirteen years which Mary Stuart passed in France, turbulent as they were politically, must have been the happiest of her chequered life. Miss Stoddart in recounting the chief features of the **Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots** (Hodder & Stoughton) has a field hitherto neglected by historians. The interest of Miss Stoddart's book lies chiefly in the clues it affords to Mary's possible motives of action in the later years of her life. The Court of Henry II. was perhaps as corrupt as can well

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be imagined, but Miss Stoddart is of opinion that its influence was rather for good than for evil on Mary's mind.

Few among the great names of the Elizabethan age better deserve recognition by statesmen and students of the present day than the **Great Ralegh** (Methuen) on whom Mr. H. de Selincourt has composed a biographical essay which deserves attention. Ralegh's claims to fame are so various, and his position so unique, that it is surprising that hitherto no adequate biography has been attempted. In a period of stress and strain Ralegh's nature was "to turn necessity to glorious gain." At a time when the ambition of the greatest was to be a "courtier," he attained that position without patronage, and used it with dignity and unselfishly. "He was the most romantic figure in the most romantic age of English history."

It might have been as well to have left the memory of Sir Richard Granville, **The King's General in the West** (John Lane), in the obscurity to which he had been relegated. His descendant, the Rev. Roger Granville, however, has come to an opposite conclusion, and has compiled from various sources a fairly impartial review of the episodes of his ancestor's career. His character differed essentially from that of his chivalrous brother, Sir Bevill Granville, whose little-known equestrian statue, erected on the field where he met his death, is a better specimen of the sculptor's art than the majority of such memorials. Sir Richard Granville tried his hand in various lines, but apparently with equally little success. As a politician he betrayed the party to which he had given his allegiance, and after the Restoration he plotted against his leader Clarendon. As a commander his temper was such that he quarrelled with every one whom he thought a possible rival—and as a husband he was brutal. However it is to his wife's "penance" that North Devon owes one of its most gruesome ghost stories.

There is no lack of material for the making of readable books in the memorials and letters of Frenchmen and women of the eighteenth century. The *salons* and the *encyclopédie* were alike fields for the display of their wit and their philosophy. The **Star of the Salons: Julie de l'Espinasse** (Methuen) has had of late more than her fair share of attention in biography and fiction, but there remains enough to be said about her to interest those attracted by the most brilliant period of French social life. Miss Camilla Jebb has placed before her readers one of the most complex characters evolved by the times and society in which her heroine lived—and by a vivid description of her surroundings and her temptations presents Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse for the judgment of the twentieth century.

Miss Lilian Rea is to be congratulated for having withstood the methods of modern biography, and to have given her readers an opportunity of forming their own judgment as to the character of **Marie Madeleine, Comtesse de la Fayette** (Methuen). A greater patience on the part of the writer, however, might have enabled us to draw a truer estimate of Madame de la Fayette's character. She lived in the midst of Court life and of *salon* life, and was scarcely distinguishable amongst her brilliant contemporaries. It was as one of the founders of the modern novel that she will be best remembered, and although

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few people, except literary explorers either in France or England, can claim to have read "La Princesse de Clèves," many are aware of the influence it exercised upon the writers of fiction of the succeeding generation.

To whitewash or to wreck the reputation of previous generations of prophets has always been congenial. As the distance from the subject of criticism increases contemporary respect disappears and side-lights suggest different aspects. Mr. Francis Gribble has scant sympathy with or respect for "Jean Jacques," and in his volume **Rousseau and the Women he Loved** (Eveleigh Nash) the last rag of our belief in the philosopher's disinterested love, for even Madame de Warens, is torn to shreds. We know by his own "Confessions" that Rousseau's standard of honour, gratitude and morality in practice was of the very lowest, just as readers of his philosophic writings only might be tempted to believe that he was inspired by the loftiest sentiments, and although at moments a self-tormentor he had aroused in women an answer to his own passion. Mr. Gribble rudely dispels any illusion about Rousseau's *liaisons* with distinguished ladies, and asserts that "he never succeeded in lifting intrigue to the level of romance."

Just before his premature death Professor Churton Collins made an interesting contribution to the literary history of the eighteenth century by recalling the sojourn of **Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau in England** (Nash), and by adding considerably to our knowledge of their impressions. The two first mentioned came to this country with a sincere desire to acquaint themselves with English customs, political ways and habits of thought. They learnt the language, frequented the society of statesmen, philosophers and scholars and formed their opinions fairly on what they saw and heard. Their criticisms of our institutions was more favourable than of our leaders of opinion and they were expressed with little reserve. Rousseau, on the other hand, although treated with great kindness, was surly and quarrelsome, even with Hume as whose guest he had come over. He played his part here as in his own country, and showed no sort of gratitude to his friends or appreciation of English life and ways.

If there is nothing more to be known of **Sir Christopher Wren** (Duckworth) than Miss Milman has been able to bring together from the works of previous biographers, his life must have been singularly uneventful outside his professional career. His early bias was towards science, but fear of the plague drove him to Paris, where the Louvre revealed to him the beauties of the classical Renaissance, as a hundred years previously it had inspired French architects. How far Wren was irresistibly impelled to persevere in an art for which previously he had shown but a languid zeal is a question which Miss Milman allows the reader to solve for himself. The fire of London was Wren's opportunity, and it may be presumed that the citizens of London who found the money to rebuild the city churches were wise enough to leave Wren a free hand in a matter of which they were ignorant. We are grateful to them, to the architect, and to his latest biographer, whose style adapts itself to the stateliness of her subject.

Mr. Lewis Melville's aptitude for making chatty biographies out of

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often dry materials, shows itself to advantage in **The First George in Hanover and England** (Sir Isaac Pitman), albeit he fails to raise his hero above the level of "an honest blockhead." As a rule Englishmen's notions of the first Hanoverian King of Great Britain are vague and not altogether flattering as to his morals, his manners or his intelligence. George I. doubtless found himself in an uncomfortable position and he was unprovided with any of those qualities of tact or delicate feeling which might have smoothed away some of the prejudices with which the representative of the Protestant succession was regarded. Mr. Melville makes no attempt to whitewash the somewhat muddy reputation of the King; and he shows much laudable diligence in hunting-up mostly forgotten records of the time in order to show how George was regarded by his contemporaries.

The selection made by Mr. Harry Graham for his **Group of Scottish Women** (Methuen) shows that he is not a man of narrow prejudice. Some have contributed to the brighter and others to the darker pages of the country's history. Mr. Graham is moreover as ready to recognise the literary claims of some of his fellow-countrywomen as he is to recall the part played by others in passionate feud or political intrigue. Beginning with Devorguilla, still prayed for daily at Oxford—even if almost forgotten north of the border—and ending with Clementina Stirling-Graham, there is a period of five hundred years during which Scotland was making history and literature and, as Mr. Graham shows, Scottish women in every generation were at hand to play their parts, for good or for evil, with unfaltering devotion and sympathy.

It seems strange that no adequate life of the most speculative financier of the eighteenth century should have appeared on either side of the Channel. Although Mr. Wiston-Glynn has undertaken the task, it may be doubted whether his **John Law of Lauriston** (Edinburgh, E. Saunders) brings to light much that was not already known about the projector of the Mississippi Company and indirectly of the South Sea Bubble. Law's influence over the Regent of France was acquired in the first place by real financial ability, and there can be no doubt that he introduced something like method into the French banking system. He was one of the first to recognise the value of a paper currency based upon credit or credulity, and the example he set has been followed with more or less success by succeeding generations of financiers of all countries. Mr. Wiston-Glynn has produced a very readable book, but one is surprised that there should be such a lack of original materials dealing with Law's career in French archives or among family papers in this country.

In following the vicissitudes of **The Royal House of Stuart** (Greening) from its origin to the death of Queen Anne, Mr. S. Cowan has brought together materials for history which have hitherto been widely scattered. In the twelfth century members of the family were already High Stewards of Scotland; but Mr. Cowan would have us believe that the original Steward was merely a "stye-ward"—just as the Howards were descended from a "hog-ward" ancestor. The first Stuart King, Robert II., came to the throne by right of his wife, a daughter of Robert Bruce, and he displayed qualities which unfor-

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tunately were not transmitted to his descendants. It was moreover a misfortune for Scotland, then passing through turbulent times, that all the six Kings who bore the name of James were crowned as children, and during their minority the country was ruled by corrupt or incapable Regents. At all times attachment to the Church seems to have been one of the chief characteristics of the Stuarts. It was the source of constant friction between the first Stuart Kings of England and their Parliaments, and after the dethronement and death of James II. it was a bar to the recall of that King's son on the death of Queen Anne. That his attachment to the Church which his father had joined was the result of conviction, Mr. Cowan fully recognises.

After a long period of neglect the various members of the dethroned Stuart family are receiving ample satisfaction. Miss Shield's volume on **Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York** (Longmans) is the second biography of this little-distinguished prelate which has appeared within the last two years. Notwithstanding Mr. Andrew Lang's formal introduction of the volume, Miss Shield does not seem to have shared in the *flair* for unknown or unused documents which, by example if not by precept at least, Mr. Lang inculcates on his followers. In the somewhat side-issue of Charles Edward's career after Culloden, Miss Shield is, however, able to make some useful corrections of the accounts hitherto accepted of the Young Pretender's later years. The story of his married life, too, is told with a fulness of detail hitherto neglected, and presents a more coherent estimate of Marie Sobieska's character.

To such as have made a study of the rise of British influence in India the **Memoirs of the Life and Military Career of Viscount Lake** (Blackwood) will bring little fresh knowledge. But to many Lord Lake's career, overshadowed as it was by that of his greater contemporary and sometime commanding officer, has been scarcely appreciated at its just value by cursory readers. Colonel Hugh Pearse has now deprived all such of the excuse that Lake's career was not sufficiently detached from that of his fellows to make him the object of special attention. After varied experiences in America, Flanders and Ireland, Lake was appointed in 1801 as Commander-in-Chief in India under Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, and together they established British rule on a firm basis, by shattering the Mahratta power in Central India. The combination of foresight and temerity which was found in Lake earned for him the distinction conferred upon him by his countrymen.

For upwards of five and thirty years **John Thaddeus Delane, Editor of the Times** (Murray) played a part in the political history of this country which it would be as difficult to appreciate as to deny. Mr. A. J. Dasent, by writing the life and publishing some of his uncle's correspondence, has in a great measure lifted the veil which in Delane's time covered the ways of journalists, and concealed their responsibility. Delane became editor of the only English newspaper then important at the age of twenty-three, and until within a year of his death in 1879 he remained at his post. His *flair*, both literary and political, was phenomenal, for during the long period of his reign as the journalistic Jupiter he seldom made an error in judgment—for the opposition

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of *The Times* to the removal of the paper duties was a matter rather of self-protection than of political expediency. Delane's letters to statesmen—irrespective of party—are full of interest, and whilst throwing much light upon many obscure points of political history in Queen Victoria's time they also show to journalists how influence may be wielded without loss of independence.

The appearance of Mr. John Martineau's **Life of Henry, Fifth Duke of Newcastle** (Murray) almost simultaneously with the publication of the Panmure Papers may have been fortuitous but is certainly fortunate. The Duke of Newcastle's career as War Minister at the time of the Crimean campaign has never been fairly judged. He has been blamed in excess of his shortcomings, and subsequently regarded as a martyr or as a propitiatory victim to a popular outcry. The admission of the Duke of Newcastle to the Aberdeen Cabinet was the outcome of an attempt to leaven the Whig element by the Peelite *côterie*. The result was not satisfactory, and it needed a stronger statesman than the Duke of Newcastle to carry out Palmerston's war policy after the long peace during which our military system had practically fallen into decay. The part which Lord Raglan was called upon to play is now clearly set forth in some hitherto unpublished letters, which Mr. Martineau prints.

Dr. David Duncan has earned the gratitude of an important circle of readers and thinkers by the publication of the **Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer** (Methuen), whose autobiography was sufficient to chill the enthusiasm of his disciples. Spencer's work as a philosopher was probably not more distinct from that of his predecessors than his part in life was detached from his contemporaries. He was self-confident and also self-opinionated. He cared as little for books as for people—but he had a liking for animals—and his attachment to his father, as revealed in the letters now published, show a pleasing side of the philosopher's mind. One gathers from Dr. Duncan's judicious appreciation that Spencer's grasp of philosophic thought was wholly independent of external teaching. No one had read less, or knew less of what others had thought or written, and no great thinker probably ever combined such disregard for authority with such fealty to principles as Herbert Spencer.

The second volume of Mr. J. B. Atlay's **Victorian Chancellors** (Smith, Elder & Co.) deals with a number of eminent lawyers, who occupied the Woolsack in the more rapid changes of government which marked the later period of the Queen's reign. Between Lord St. Leonards and Lord Herschell no less than eight Chancellors were appointed, the majority of whom have so far "escaped biographical honours." Of some it may be said that apart from their professional careers they left little for the biographer, and one only, Lord Chelmsford, placed on record his personal impressions. Of such materials as were available, published and unpublished, Mr. Atlay has made discreet use, and the result is a work which not only makes interesting reading for laymen and historians, but one which commends itself to lawyers who combine legal attainments with political ambition.

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Belles Lettres.

There was obvious need of a **History of Classical Scholarship** (Cambridge University Press) undertaken on the lines followed by Dr. J. E. Sandys. The wonder is that its appearance should have been so long delayed. The study of Latin and Greek after they had become "dead" languages (the subject of these three volumes) never wholly ceased throughout Christendom, but it was the Revival of Letters which followed on the fall of Constantinople which gave to Greek the importance it has since enjoyed in Western Europe. There was the debased Latin of the Lower Empire, which for centuries continued to be employed as the medium of official intercourse until superseded by French. It is, however, with classical Greek and Latin that Dr. Sandys concerns himself, and his masterly marshalling of the defenders of classical learning and their contributions to the cause redound to the credit of his University as much as to his own sound scholarship.

The second volume of **The Cambridge History of English Literature** (University Press) brings the students to the end of the period which culminated in Chaucer. Mr. Saintsbury to whom this special section has been intrusted shows a sympathy with his author which arouses in the reader a feeling of more than interest in archaic language and form of thought. Mr. Saintsbury, moreover, is not afraid to say that many of the writers previous to and contemporary with Chaucer are dull and sometimes absurd, owing their survival more to the industry of philologists than to their own part in making English literature. Prose writing of the Middle Ages, as shown in the writings of Mandeville, Malory and others, is dealt with by various hands on whose co-operation the editors, Messrs. A. W. Ward and A. B. Waller, may be sincerely congratulated, and English readers will find no reason to quarrel with the space allotted to Scottish literature of which the survey extends to Dunbar.

If Mr. G. C. Coulton hopes by means of his study of **Chaucer and His England** (Methuen) to revive a general interest in the archaic poetry of our country, he will probably be disappointed. His volume, however, will find recognition amongst an increasing number of students now that the English language and literature are considered subjects worthy of a degree from our old universities. To understand Gower, Chaucer and their contemporaries it is necessary to have some grasp of the conditions, material and social, under which men lived in those days. To such knowledge Mr. Coulton is well qualified to guide his readers, and the suggestions which he throws out as to the possible topical allusions to be met with in Chaucer's writings will be gratefully acknowledged by all students. In the way of biography, however, there is little to be done in the case of Chaucer. The materials are so scanty, and the haze surrounding him and his fellow-writers is so impenetrable, that little results can be expected from any attempt to penetrate it.

The application of the principles of the higher criticism to the personality of our greatest dramatist was inevitable, and Mr. G. G. Greenwood in **The Shakspeare Problem Re-stated** (Lane) has not shrunk from his self-imposed task. He puts aside, as foreign to his purpose,

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the ingenious speculations of the Baconians, and contents himself with placing the actual facts of Shakspeare's life as known to us beside the assumptions and inferences of his numerous biographers. He discusses the traditions which have crystallised round the truant son of illiterate parents, who in a dozen years had become an accomplished writer and a proficient actor, and ended his days as a money-lender in his native town. Mr. Greenwood advances no theory of his own, unless it be by the indirect suggestion that there were born almost contemporaneously and at no great distance from each other a William Shakespeare and a William Shakspere whose separate careers may in some inexplicable fashion been fused into one personality. He is content to deal with what is known and generally accepted concerning the Stratford Shakespeare, and he leaves his readers to draw their own conclusions from an absolutely impartial summing up of the evidence.

Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman have perhaps had their due meed of fame among the Elizabethan poets; but the same can hardly be said of Webster, Tourneur, Marston, Rowley, Heywood and, most erratic and unequal of all, Thomas Dekker. Mr. A. C. Swinburne's **Age of Shakespeare** (Chatto & Windus) is a series of essays on these brilliant minor figures in an age of marvellous literary achievement, written with all the author's wonted vigour, scholarship and critical discernment, and dedicated in an impressive and grateful sonnet to the memory of Charles Lamb, their rediscoverer, and the first introducer of Mr. Swinburne in his childhood to the knowledge of them. Students of Elizabethan literature will welcome the volume, and other readers may well be attracted to a closer scrutiny of the minor stars in the constellation of which Shakespeare is the chief.

No better tribute can be paid by scholars to a friendly nation than the study of its literature. On many grounds it is a matter of congratulation that Cambridge, in the person of Mr. Arthur Tilley, should have shown the way which Oxford may soon follow. **From Montaigne to Molière** (Murray) the gap at first sight seems too wide to cover in a single volume, but Mr. Tilley proves conclusively that it can be done, and that the poet was the natural and logical heir to the essayist. He guides us through the shifting phases of French taste, learning and affectation of its religious emotions and philosophical misgivings—and shows how the uniformity resulting from these divergent influences was momentarily inevitable.

Mr. Scott James has set himself a difficult task in attempting to classify the tendencies of **Modernism and Romance** (Lane) as exemplified by contemporary writers of fiction. Though not an exhaustive review of the ever-varying and extending arsenal at the novelist's command, Mr. Scott James's survey will be of considerable help to readers who like to group their authors. He recognises the well-marked and divergent school of the Psychologists, the Decadents, the Apostles of Protest, the Ingenious Philosophers, the Borderlanders and others, but it is to the upholders of "the New Romance," of which Stevenson was the ablest exponent, that he looks as the inspirers of future novel workers.

Amateurs as well as students will be grateful to Mr. W. P. Courtney

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for revealing by so attractive a method **The Secrets of National Literature** (Constable). He might, had he wished, have followed the example set by Barbier and Quérard and other labourers in the field of anonymous literature, but in this case this volume would have had none of its actual attractions for the general reader. Mr. Courtney carefully analyses, or ingeniously suggests, the motives which have, or may have induced writers, often of eminence, to conceal their identity, and one readily endorses his conclusion that in most cases the most obvious reason for secrecy is the one most rarely put forward. Mr. Courtney's intimate acquaintance with not only the main roads but the more obscure by-paths of English literature especially qualify him for discussing the source of many anonymous and pseudonymous writings, and future explorers will be grateful to him for putting on record the results of his careful research.

In many well-known instances, articles written under special or immediate influences have become permanently valuable, either for the keenness of their criticism, or for the opportunities of their authors. Both reasons may be put forward for the republication of the late Sir Spencer Walpole's **Essays, Political and Biographical** (Fisher Unwin). His social and official position brought him in contact with the leaders of opinion, and his own special qualifications as a historian gave him a definite position in the world of letters. The essays here brought together are mainly political and display Sir S. Walpole's intimate acquaintance not only with the inner history of politics in his own day, but of those of earlier periods, in many cases obtainable only from family papers to which he had had access.

As a colourist in descriptive writing Lafcadio Hearn fully merits the position he has obtained in contemporary literature. He was also a born journalist and a delightful correspondent. **Letters from the Raven** (Constable) to his friend Henry Watkin were written to one who had helped him in his direst straits before Hearn had attracted attention. The writer has opened his heart as well as his mind to his older friend with a fulness and frankness which suggest that their publication is a breach of confidence. Mr. Bronner, however, who edits them, does his best to disarm criticism on this score. Dr. Gould has also written a book **Concerning Lafcadio Hearn** (Fisher Unwin) which will stimulate rather than satisfy curiosity respecting the wanderer who, having drifted to New Orleans and Martinique, discovered his true environment in remote Japanese cities and villages, where he found an inspiration which America had but partially aroused.

It would be difficult to appraise too highly the two volumes which contain the results of an International Inquiry into **Moral Instruction and Training in Schools** (Longmans). The inquiry was set on foot by a few practical men anxious to see whether character might not be better developed by more systematic moral training. Professor Sadler, who writes the preface to the compilation of evidence and suggestions given, makes clear that everything has been done to elucidate the problem. "Never since the Revival of Learning has it been necessary to bring so large a body of new knowledge into educational account." This self-appointed task has been carried out with a full sense of its

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importance, of the need of discreet action, and of the paramount value of moral training at a time when religious instruction is made a matter of political rivalry. The conclusions at which the writers arrive are worthy of the most careful attention from all educationists, and should serve as a help to all who as teachers desire the moral improvement of their pupils.

It is presumably with the object of putting forward the views of certain distinguished New England writers that Captain A. T. Mahan has embodied them with his own in a volume, **Some Neglected Aspects of War** (Sampson Low & Co.). In some degree these detached essays may be accepted as an apologia for the last Hague Conference, which failed to come to any relaxation of the right of capture of private property at sea. After discussing the difficulties which lie in the way of arriving at a settlement in accordance with the wishes of neutrals, Captain Mahan deals with the larger question of the ethics of war—of which, however much the morality may be questioned, the necessity in certain cases is universally recognised. The "National Conscience" of one country may at any moment be roused to take a totally opposite view of an incident to that held by another nation. Each will assert that its view is both morally just and ethically right. How this hostile attitude may be attenuated though not wholly removed is dealt with in this instructive volume.

Geography and Travel.

As might be expected from so open-minded an observer and so acute a critic as Mr. Rowland Prothero, his essays on **The Pleasant Land of France** (Murray) are delightful reading. He unfolds the country and its people to those who care to linger on the road, and to make acquaintance with their surroundings. Mr. Prothero can help his readers to a better knowledge of the present and of the past of French peasant and country life, especially in the West. He knows all that is probably known about the Druids, and he enables less well-equipped visitors to Brittany to see with their understanding as well as with their eyes. In his chapters on French literary art he shows his sympathy with many a writer whose fame on this side of the Channel still burns dim, but his verdict on Rabelais that he was "immoral" will not be accepted by the great majority of critics in every country where the great satirist's works are read, who regard him as one of the protagonists of the French Renascence.

It needs some courage and self-assurance to follow in the footsteps of Richard Ford, and to challenge comparison with his unrivalled handbook. Nevertheless it must be admitted that Mr. John Lomas's **In Spain** (A. & C. Black), although a not wholly new book, tells a good many things about Spain and Spaniards that did not interest Ford, and many more which have come to the front since the days of George Borrow and Blanco White. The mills of time grind slowly in the Peninsula, but Mr. Lomas who has watched their working for over a quarter of a century is able to tell us much that is fresh and interesting, which he meets and notes for the use of others in his wanderings from one end of the country to the other. To those who care to travel in a

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simple and sometimes in a rough way Spain offers unlimited attractions, and to such Mr. Lomas's book will be of invaluable assistance.

No one can be better qualified to write about the Alps than Mr. W. A. B. Coolidge, who has not only climbed every peak from the Mediterranean to the Tyrol, but is one of the highest living authorities on Swiss history, and has acquainted himself with the life of the Alpine folk by permanently residing among them. **The Alps in Nature and History** (Methuen) is a store of recondite information concerning the geography, history, and ethnology of the whole region, as well as the languages spoken and the history of mountaineering. Probably little will ever be added to it; but the part most interesting to the ordinary reader will be the chapters dealing with modern mountaineering, the making of guides, and the life of the Alpine dwellers outside the tourist season. The illustrations of mountain scenery are superb, and the chapters on Alpine birds, beasts and flowers give a special attraction to the book.

For a country to be at once accessible and inhospitable is probably a reason for its want of popularity amongst explorers. Mrs. Hubbard's story of **A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador** (Murray), however, shows that there is no lack of hardship to be undergone in traversing the sparsely populated barren country. Mrs. Hubbard bravely took up the task which her husband had left uncompleted, and to which he succumbed. She recounts her experiences in the wild districts in simple but attractive language. The services she has rendered to topographists and scientific men can only be measured by experts. To the general reader she has opened up the knowledge of a country where few will feel tempted to follow her.

In a fishing boat of forty-seven tons register, with a crew of seven men, Captain Amundsen accomplished **The North-West Passage** (Constable), and after an absence of nearly four years from quitting Christiania reached Alaska. His story of his journeyings—of which he attributes the idea and its realisation to the guidance of Franklin and M'Clintock, his forerunners—is told with modesty and brevity. Captain Amundsen passed two winters in the Polar Seas, apparently under more favourable circumstances than as a rule is the lot of Arctic explorers. His first lieutenant, Hansen—whose diary is included in these volumes—made long sleigh journeys on land, and together they were able to gather much useful and fresh information respecting both the Danish and the Boothia Eskimo. Whether the results obtained for the purposes of science—meteorologic or ethnographic—outweigh the hardships undergone by the adventurers is an open question; but that they have successfully achieved their purpose must be admitted.

Mr. Selous has already made good his claim to speak with authority on the fauna of South Africa, and his last volume of **African Notes and Reminiscences** (Macmillan) will enforce it. Mr. Selous is not only an intrepid sportsman but a careful observer. As the former he tells some extraordinary stories about the ways of wild animals; as the latter he throws out hints and suggestions which must be of value to ethnologists. It is evident that so far the attempts to classify the various Bush tribes have been more arbitrary than scientific, and the

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results of Mr. Selous, observation and study of those with whom he was brought in contact, may lead to the belief in a more homogeneous source than has hitherto been recognised. President Roosevelt prefaces the volume by an appreciative estimate of the doings of his brother-hunter of big game.

Mr. Winston Churchill's idea that it was the duty of a Minister of the Crown to make personal acquaintance with the sphere of his duties led him to visit the country round which much controversy has centred. The outcome of this journey was a book **My African Journey** (Hodder & Stoughton) which gives an impartial view of the condition of the country and the prospects offered to settlers in British East Africa. For the moment the chief obstacle to progress in a practical sense is that at Nairobi, the chief town of a large district, "every white man is a politician," and the problem of black and brown (African or Indian) labour has yet to be solved. Mr. Winston Churchill, however, returns convinced that Uganda is capable of becoming a paradise for willing workers, and his guide-book—as this volume is—may be turned to profitable account by all in search for an outlet to their energy.

The legendary interest once attaching to the Mountains of the Moon has long since given place to the scientific questions which high mountain ranges near the Equator present to zoologists, botanists and others. Mr. A. F. B. Wollaston's simple but attractive account of the expedition organised by the British Musuem authorities for exploring the district from **Ruwenzori to the Congo** (Murray) shows that, whilst much yet remains to be accomplished in those districts, our countrymen have reason to be proud of the results already obtained. Thanks moreover to the progress of photography, explorers need not now rely solely on their powers of description to bring before their readers a correct impression of the wonders of nature which have been revealed, and in the present volume these helps to the "fireside" traveller are more than usually adequate. The adventures through which the travellers passed were such as many others have experienced, but Mr. Wollaston tells them with modesty and self-restraint, recognising that scientific research was the main object of the expedition.

The enthusiasm with which Mr. R. F. Johnston speaks of the people among whom he has lived so many years in no way detracts from the value of his book, **From Peking to Mandalay** (Murray). His journeyings took him through many little-known districts lying between the outlying Tibetan provinces and Yunnan. He travelled through the Trans-Mekong Shan States, which have hitherto enjoyed a doubtful reputation, and he testifies to the uniform kindness and courtesy with which he was treated by high and low, although he carried with him neither credentials nor a well-stocked purse. Moreover he had neither guards, nor servants, and but a scanty knowledge of the dialects spoken by the natives. He claims for the Burman the true solution of the aim of life, the power and will to perform adequate hard work, to enjoy himself gracefully and to live unselfishly.

For various causes the mist for many centuries has shrouded the "Land of the Morning Calm." Such a work therefore as Dr. G. T. Ladd's **In Korea with Marquis Ito** (Longmans) will be widely welcomed.

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The title of the book implies that the writer has seen the country more or less through Japanese spectacles. He nevertheless endeavours to state impartially the question between the subjected nation and its overlord. The chief point raised on behalf of the Japanese is that they are introducing movement into a people which for centuries had been absolutely stagnant, and that, however undesirable the first Japanese "colonists," or rather despoilers, may have been, there has been a desire on the part of their rulers to establish law and order, though frequently by very summary process.

The pre-eminence which our publishers obtained by their guide-books to their own and foreign countries in the last century is in little danger of being snatched away in the present. The taste of to-day, however, differs from that of the past, and art is now called upon to supplement descriptions of places and scenery. **The Highways and Byways Series** (Macmillan) is perhaps the most successful as well as the most complete in this combination of *utile dulci*. The more important and most picturesque countries and districts of England and Wales have already been treated as well as the north of Ireland and Normandy. Each volume is profusely illustrated by artists of repute such as Mr. Joseph Pennell, Mr. Hugh Thomson, Mr. F. L. Griggs and others, whilst the letterpress has been furnished by competent writers familiar by birthright or freewill with the towns and country-side they describe.

History.

The Historians' History of the World (*The Times* Office) cannot fail to occupy a conspicuous place on the bookshelves of any library, public or private. If the twenty-five volumes when completed can be shown to have stimulated a love for learning the history of the past, this spirited undertaking will need no better justification. Dr. H. Smith Williams has gathered round him a number of writers whose authority on their special subjects can hardly be called in question. Although the scheme of writing history from the remotest dawn of civilisation has been attempted with more or less success in Germany, the present method of grouping the records of the great writers of all ages is unique in this country, and the experiment will be watched with interest by both teachers and learners.

In tracing in English history **The Dawn of the Constitution** (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) Sir James H. Ramsay has accumulated a vast amount of material which he has compressed into reasonable space. The reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. cover almost a century, momentous in its results to both Scotland and England. Sir James Ramsay in discussing the quarrel between the two nations shows no indiscriminate partisanship, and this impartiality may be claimed on behalf of his treatment of other questions, dynastic, constitutional and national. His volume for its careful and laborious exactitude will be regarded as a valuable mine of information for writers on the Scottish history of the thirteenth century.

The interest, political and archæological, which the land of the Pharaohs has for Western Europe lends definite importance to Mr. G.

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Maspero's **New Light on Ancient Egypt** (Fisher Unwin). The author's special knowledge, as well as his special opportunities, give him a right to speak with authority on the history of a country of which the extant archives go back to at least fifteen centuries before the Christian era. From that time the records are remarkably preserved—with intervals which may yet be filled up. Mr. Maspero has devoted fifteen years to his attempt to make a living picture of the results of the excavations made and of the deductions drawn from them by himself and other equally competent Egyptologists. The result is the present volume, which cannot fail to stimulate further endeavours to unlock the mystery of Egypt.

Mr. W. B. Stevenson was well advised to expand his University Prize Essay into a concise history. **The Crusaders in the East** (Cambridge University Press) shows the result of much historical research, and almost for the first time we are able to separate the elements of lay policy and religious fervour. The Crusades, moreover, were a phase of the struggle between the West and the East, of which Syria for two centuries was the battle-ground. Mr. Stevenson is careful to make his readers realise that the Moslem leaders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had little in common with the Ottoman Turks, who subsequently became the scourge of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. It was, however, indirectly owing to the Crusaders that these invaders were for more than three centuries held in check, and Western Europe was spared their inroad.

It is rather a surprise to find so sedate a historian as Dr. James Gairdner discussing **Lollardy and the Reformation in England** (Macmillan) with a distinct bias against the men whose names are connected with those movements. He seems to regret the steps which led to the abolition of papal (or spiritual) supremacy in England and grudges to Tyndale the part which his translation of the Bible played in the subsequent struggle for religious emancipation. Dr. Gairdner's methods, however, and even more the fruits of his original research, are of the utmost value in gauging the acts and probable motives of the chief participators in the movement known as the Protestant Reformation. Its inner history has hitherto been either ignored or travestied, and it is therefore with satisfaction that the student will welcome Dr. Gairdner's store of materials—from which he will be able to draw his own inferences.

It is to be hoped that the projectors of the new series, **Makers of National History** (Pitman), will find encouragement for the work they have undertaken. The first volume on **Cardinal Beaufort** by Mr. Lewis Radford promises well, although the subject owes its importance more to the part he plays in Shakespeare's plays than to that which he occupied in the history of his time. His quarrel with Archbishop Chichele, although nominally concerning the claims of the Pope against the national Church, was in reality a trial of strength between two rival prelates who were intriguing for predominance in the State Council. The times were critical, and the chief actors little scrupulous in their methods, and the result, as we know, was the downfall of the House of Lancaster. Mr. Radford does not hold a brief for Cardinal

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Beaufort, and is as conscious of his shortcomings as of his claims to have made history in the Wars of the Roses.

The services rendered by Mrs. J. R. Green to students of history are fully appreciated by such as care to seek for truth beneath the surface. **The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing** (Macmillan) should therefore bear fruit among an even wider circle of readers. Mrs. Green vividly depicts the condition of Ireland from the time when the Plantagenets first set up the English Pale down to the Tudor aggression, which, in its later developments, was destined to be the ruin of a rich, industrious and cultivated people. The materials at Mrs. Green's disposal have been used to good purpose, albeit even her aptitude for research has been little rewarded so far as regards the story of Ireland in the thirteenth and following centuries. Whether the destruction of Irish records at a later period was due to English ill-will or Irish indifference is an open question, but the fact remains that until we reach the period of its decline the evidence of the condition of Irish commerce is meagre and intermittent. Mrs. Green, however, has sufficient for her purpose, which is to show that, if Ireland is no longer a leader among nations as it once was, it is to English greed and English jealousy that the present condition of the distressful island is mainly attributable.

Seldom has an historian imposed upon himself a more dreary task than that undertaken by Mr. A. D. Godley in writing of **Oxford in the Eighteenth Century** (Methuen). One looks through the record of graduates and undergraduates of the whole century in vain for the ten "righteous" who shall rescue it from oblivion. In learning, divinity and scholarship there are not half-a-dozen names which have survived. Matters improved towards the end of the century, when possibly the "false dawn" of the Evangelical revival was to be read by hopeful watchers. The impression left on the mind after reading this book with the attention it merits, is that there is a more intimate relation between "the liberal arts" (classics and mathematics) and morals than is ordinarily admitted. Mr. Godley discusses with care the condition of teaching, discipline and politics in the University, and if he gives but a sorry account of all, he is able to point a useful moral.

With a record extending over more than sixty years **The Story of the Guides** (Macmillan) deserves to be told, and it could not have been told better than it has been by the present commander, Colonel C. J. Younghusband. Raised originally by Sir Henry Lawrence in 1846 as a frontier force, the Guides have been prominent in every campaign, and as our Indian frontier extended they have followed its fortunes from Mooltan to the hills of the Mohmands. At all times, whether fighting against Sikhs, Afghans, or hill tribes, the Guides have proved their fidelity to the British Crown. This feeling must have been due in great measure to the officers commanding it, for no corps probably in any army can show such a mixture of religions and nationalities—usually antagonistic—than the Queen's Own Corps of Guides.

The prominent part which Germany has played in the European Concert since Sadowa makes the previous history of that country of the utmost importance to its neighbours. It is a pity, therefore, that Mr. C. T. Atkinson's **History of Germany 1715-1815** (Methuen) should

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have been written in so hostile a spirit. He has, it is true, chosen the military aspect of the conditions which have worked together for the hegemony of Germany, even before the political movement in the same direction showed itself. During the century chosen by Mr. Atkinson it was mainly as a fighting factor in the squabbles of Central Europe that Prussia distinguished itself, thanks to the energy and singleness of purpose of its rulers. That purpose was self-aggrandisement at the expense of its neighbours, and Germany's subsequent *Weltpolitik* has only been the logical outcome of Prussian development.

Mr. Brayley Hodgetts has succeeded in writing a history of **The Court of Russia in the Nineteenth Century** (Methuen) which is neither scandalous nor dull. His object has been to show how difficult it is to present to the Western mind the ways in which Russian rulers, even the most humane and well intentioned, are forced to act—especially in bringing about reforms, which at times seem almost revolutionary. That Russia should have developed as rapidly as it has done during the past hundred years seems all the more surprising after reading Mr. Hodgetts' plain tale of the obstacles—racial, social and political—which had to be surmounted or evaded.

With the concluding volumes of **The History of Twenty-five Years** (Longmans) the late Sir Spencer Walpole brought down the history of Europe from the fall of Napoleon to the apogee of Bismarck. In the earlier portion of his work he traced the rise of the middle class in Europe and America down from the close of the great war to the end of the Crimean Campaign. In the second instalment, which appeared after a considerable interval and was but just completed at the time of the writer's death, he had to deal with a changed aspect of affairs. From Waterloo to Sebastopol the most important matters for the consideration of an English historian were domestic affairs, but with the passing of the second Reform Bill interest shifted from our home affairs to our foreign and colonial policy. Unhappily Sir Spencer Walpole did not live to carry out his full purpose of discussing the first annexation of the Transvaal, the Zulu War and the Afghan Campaign, 1878-81; but he brought to bear upon the whole twenty-five years with which his book dealt a remarkable grasp of the aims and influences which brought about the results which he summed up picturesquely.

The third volume of the **History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902** (Hurst & Blackett) covers the events of Lord Roberts's command after his occupation of Bloemfontein, and Sir Redver Buller's advance to Standerton, down to the end of 1900. Notwithstanding every attempt to explain away the disasters which marked the progress of the two armies which finally joined hands in the Transvaal, the muddling of the War Office, rather than of the commanders, was the obvious cause of the majority of the reverses suffered by our troops.

In the absence of any apparent cause for partisanship, it is difficult to suppose that Mr. F. A. McKenzie was actuated by other than motives of humanity in revealing the **Tragedy of Korea** (Hodder & Stoughton). There may have been political reasons for no protest being raised by the Western Powers whilst the struggle in the Far East was maturing and raging, but it seems scarcely credible that the alliance between Great

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Britain and Japan should have been ratified and glorified without a word of protest on our part as to the ruthless conduct of our allies towards the helpless population of the country they had occupied and practically annexed to their own. The most unscrupulous tyranny and shameless dishonesty marked the dealings of the Japanese with the Koreans, according to Mr. McKenzie's indictment, whilst the much-vaunted privilege of the "open door," which it was declared was the justification of our silence, is in fact as unreal as the so-called civilising influence of Japan.

The Far Eastern question is discussed from a totally different point of view in **Sidelights on Chinese Life** (Kegan Paul), in which the Rev. J. Macgowan sums up the experiences and observation of many years' residence in Middle China. He gives a far more sympathetic view of Chinese character—and widens our knowledge of many classes—especially the agricultural. He holds that the Chinese are naturally peacefully disposed, but that they and the Japanese will probably be the disturbers of the general peace, by the claims—mainly industrial—put forward by the Yellow races to participate in the world's markets of labour or produce.

Poetry.

It is as difficult to assign to Mr. Charles M. Doughty his place among contemporary poets as to define his latest work, **Adam Cast Forth** (Duckworth). It is not in any sense a drama, and it cannot be called an epic. There are various characters, and there is a certain sequence of events, which are related by the various speakers. The subject is taken from a Judæo-Arabian legend. "Adam and Hawwa (Eve) cast forth from the Paradise fell down in several places of the Earth; whence they, after age-long wandering, meet together again upon a Mountain." Adam has lost his sight, but is recognised by Adama (afterwards called Eve) and before recovering it has visions of his descendants and their fighting amongst themselves. After long wanderings Adam recovers his sight and Eve becomes the mother of triplets—Kayin, Habel and a daughter Noaba—and the poem ends with Adam's prayer for their welfare. Mr. Doughty's blank verse is nervous, modulated and devoid of commonplace ornaments. He has a strong feeling for nature and he expresses his thoughts briefly and with simplicity.

No modern poet is better qualified than Mr. Swinburne to express the spirit of revolt which characterised the Italian Renaissance, and it is surprising that he should not have sought inspiration in it sooner. In **The Duke of Gandia** (Chatto & Windus) he shows how thoroughly he can enter into the paganism into which society relapsed when the fetters of mediævalism were suddenly broken. As a drama the work is wholly unsuited to the stage, but as a study of Pope Alexander and his son Cæsar Borgia it shows a marvellous insight into the minds of the two men whose names will ever remain associated with that lurid period of Italian history. The influence for evil of the father upon the son, and the subsequent dominance of the son's unrestrainable lust for power are the motives of the drama. In vigour of expression, and in

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wealth of words, Mr. Swinburne's talent shows no sign of failing, and his claim to be one of the first masters of rhythm and allegory remains unimpaired. Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, himself is an obstacle in his younger brother's way; and it is his violent removal, on which Cæsar is determined, which furnishes the only dramatic incident—and it may be added the one perfect, but too short lyric which occurs in the book.

Mr. Arthur Legge's claim to take a place on the slopes of Parnassus is greatly strengthened by his volume **The Pilgrim Jester** (Lane). From the title it may be inferred that the poet's view of his age is critical and satirical, and he expresses it in verse which has the ring of truth and conviction. The Jester's own confession of faith, after having dealt with the views of the types of men representing different degrees of social standing and intelligence, is pathetic because of its courage, and of its despondency; but it is conveyed in language which though often familiar holds true to the note of real poetry.

There is in all the work of the lady who writes under the pseudonym of Michael Field an obvious sympathy with the lyrical poets of the Elizabethan age, and her latest volume, **Wild Honey from Various Thyme** (Fisher Unwin), is no exception. Her touch alike of fancy and passion is both delicate and restrained, and her power of coping with the difficulties of the sonnet is seldom at fault. There is, perhaps necessarily, a sense of polish—as opposed to spontaneity—conveyed by such poetry, but this is merely superficial, and in no degree detracts from the beauty of both thought and expression. The feature, however, of Michael Field's work is that in an age of realism it raises once again the banner of idealism.

In her new volume, **Thyrsis and Fausta** (Elkin Mathews), Miss Rosalind Travers has included other plays and poems which give a better and wider idea of her powers than is conveyed by the classic "Pastoral" which furnishes the title. This, however, includes some charming lyrics, which are conceived in the best spirit, and show the author's true love of nature. There are other poems such as "Laus Amicitiæ," in memory of a friend and helper, revealing deeper qualities in Miss Travers's work, both as a thinker and as a poet. Her command of metre is even more remarkable, whilst the accuracy of her ear is not less than her sound judgment in adjusting her metres to her subjects. Throughout all her work, even the lyrics, the bias of Miss Travers's talent is dramatic; still it is not in her plays that she is at her best, but in her glimpses of the human struggle with circumstance.

By the completion of **Drake, an English Epic** (Blackwood) Mr. Alfred Noyes establishes his claim to a prominent place among contemporary poets. Although mainly written in blank verse—sonorous and smooth—Mr. Noyes allows himself occasionally the use of rhyme without doing violence to the stateliness of the epic. The struggle between the types of Catholicism and Protestantism is the underlying motive of the work as another religious strife underlay Milton's epic. It would seem, however, that it is from Virgil's rather than from Milton's standpoint that Mr. Noyes depicts the conflict and that patriotism is the keynote of his poem.

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Graceful diction, rather than deep feeling, is the mainspring of Mr. Edmond Gosse's **Autumn Garden** (Heinemann); and although for a dweller in and lover of London the title needs explanation, it is not intentionally obscure. Mr. Gosse's happy autumn days allow him to look back with serenity on a bright spring and a brilliant summer, and no one is better qualified or entitled to write sympathetically of the consolations which literary ease offers to those who have withdrawn from the storm and stress of life.

In direct contrast is Mr. Laurence Binyon's collected **London Visions** (Elkin Mathews), which present in verse episodes of the struggle for existence awaiting the dwellers in the overcrowded city. Mr. Binyon evidently understands the fight which is the incessant lot of the many, and he can voice the fighters, and hold our sympathy. Still it is in country lanes, not in London streets, that Mr. Binyon would rather wander with his muse.

The posthumous publication of any writing of Fiona Macleod is sure to revive a certain interest in the work of this modern mystificator. **The Immortal Hour** (Foulis) shares with other poems ascribed to the same author a fluency of expression in measured verse of thoughts which are doubtless conceivable by the Celtic muse. To the hard practical mind of the Anglo-Saxon such vague dreaminess seems a waste of opportunity. The result is, that however delicately expressed, the aims of the various characters in this drama seem shadowy and little worthy of their setting. Possibly when more light is thrown upon the life of Mr. William Sharp and his *doppelgänger*, Fiona Macleod, we shall be able to understand better the strange diversity in their literary productions.

There is an old proverb about the bird which fouls its own nest, and Mr. E. C. Wingfield-Stratford would have been wiser to avoid saying that "poetry in modern England is despised" on introducing **The Call of the Dawn** (Lane) to public notice. It may be some time before Mr. Wingfield-Stratford can command a following, but his poems are marked by so many notes of distinction that he will not long wait for admirers. He is at his best when face to face with nature on the shore at Winchelsea, or among the tors on Dartmoor. He is, for a new writer, singularly self-restrained, and what is still better, he is individual in his ways of thought and modes of expression. As for his moods, as shown in the "Call of the Dawn" or the "Nocturne" and others he is as fitful as a poet must be.

Political Science.

There can scarcely be any problem of greater interest and importance to statesmen, students and shopkeepers than the **Evolution of Modern Germany** (Fisher Unwin), and a debt of gratitude is due to Mr. W. Harbutt Dawson for attempting to awaken us to a sense of our own responsibilities. Mr. Dawson writes in no polemical or envious spirit. He wishes to call attention to the "Modern Spirit" which in less than fifty years has transformed public opinion, aroused fresh ambitions, and opened up new vistas throughout the length and breadth of Germany. For the moment the development of material interests is

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the uppermost thought of the middle class, but meanwhile social problems among artisans and labourers are being actively discussed. On the question of Colonial expansion, of which he recognises the importance, the author passes in review the various steps which mark the way, and concludes that the price paid by Germany for her Colonial possessions has not been exorbitant.

It may be questioned whether Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick in her interesting volume on **Home Life in Germany** (Methuen) does not rely more upon her recollections than upon actual conditions. She certainly recalls vividly to those who travelled in that country thirty years ago or more the ways and talk of its village landlords and other simple folk. It is, however, difficult to reconcile her views with the bustling Germans who swarm over the whole of Western Europe and throng the best hotels, scattering money as freely as Americans. If, however, Mrs. Sidgwick records contemporary thought in Germany, it is interesting to see how little it has lost of its narrowness and provincialism, and how incapable the learned professors are of seeing themselves and their literary productions as others see them.

Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen has happened on a suitable moment for the appearance of his volume on **The Political Evolution of Hungary**. His desire is to show that from an early period, earlier than our own dawn of constitutional government, there was in existence an autonomous Kingdom of Hungary. In this he follows the lines of an interesting State paper drawn up for the information of the Hungarian Parliament a few years ago. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen is more immediately interesting when discussing questions which since his writing have become critical in the Near East. Hungary already feels herself overweighted by her Slav population and at cross-purposes with her Croatian colleague. The strengthening of the Slav element in the Dual Empire would be a disadvantage in every way to the maintenance of Magyar influence, and the difficulty of the situation is enhanced by the recent acts of Austria in Bosnia and Herzogovina.

Another corner of the veil is lifted by Mr. Allen Upward, whose intimate knowledge of **The East End of Europe** (John Murray) enables him to supply a useful supplement to Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen's book. He shows how the real key to the situation lies with the Bulgarian Comitadjis, to whose ruthless propaganda of their views the unrest of the past ten years is mainly due. Mr. Upward, writing as an impartial observer, does not disguise the fact that the retaliatory activity of the Greek bands in Macedonia has kept the movement alive in other districts. The question at issue is whether the Hellenic or the Bulgarian ideal will triumph in the long run; and Mr. Upward evidently believes that the establishment of a Hellenic supremacy, based on identity of culture rather than upon racial preponderance, is not only the possible solution but the most desirable.

Mr. Nisbet Bain's volume on **Slavonic Europe** (Cambridge University Press), although dealing only with three and a half centuries of rivalry between Poland and Russia, is a valuable contribution to the history of an intricate and still obscure problem. The brilliant position occupied by Poland and the eagerness with which her friendship was

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courted, contrast with the semi-civilised state of Russia and her aloofness from European politics until the beginning of the eighteenth century, but before the close of that century Poland had practically ceased to have an independent existence, and Russia was on the eve of becoming the dictator of the continent. Mr. Bain, however, does not carry his history beyond the dismemberment of the Polish Kingdom. Until the reign of Peter the Great, the position of Poland as the representative of Sclavonic ideas was unchallenged, although for some time previously Muscovy had been "creeping forward on the path leading to prosperity and empire." Side by side with the political rivalry of the two Sclavonic Powers, there was a religious struggle between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches for supremacy, and it would seem that the former was more in harmony with the needs of the Slav race. That Poland produced many striking and even heroic figures is not to be gainsaid, but the people seem to have been lacking in the definite aims and stable purpose which have marked the advance of Russia.

As a contribution to the history of European politics during thirty years Lord Cromer's **Modern Egypt** (Macmillan) will occupy a place in the front rank. It was in 1877 that (as Major Baring) he was brought into contact with Egyptian affairs when the British Government reluctantly consented to an Anglo-French control of the Khedive's finances. At first our influence was exercised in curbing the reckless ways of Ismail Pasha, but by degrees political overshadowed financial questions; and Sir Evelyn Baring's position was altered and his influence increased. He was at the outset as strongly opposed to the idea of the British occupation as he was convinced that it was inevitable. Lord Cromer in these two volumes, which will remain a text-book for all time, shows how the responsibilities incurred in Egypt were thrust upon our country in spite of all efforts to disentangle her from a situation into which our politicians had been forced.

The reputation gained by the writer who is recognised as Mr. B. L. Putnam-Weale gives special value to his volume on **The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia** (Macmillan). His intimate knowledge of the Far East and his acute observation may in a measure justify his right to prophesy. He is convinced that Russia beyond Lake Baikal is more powerful now than at any previous time, and that her strength rests as much upon her constantly increasing colonists as upon her well-provided army. In dealing with Russia's rival for supremacy in the Far East, Mr. Putnam-Weale burns the gods he previously adored. He thinks that the statecraft which raised Japan to its eminence was the work of a group of men who will pass away and leave no successors. The third section of this book deals with the "Struggle round China," and gives the author the means of pointing the moral of his story, that Japan is steadily pursuing a selfish policy of which the aim is to close the "open door" in the East.

It is to be regretted that Mr. J. Lang's excellent and most readable **Outposts of Empire** (Jack) should not have been published as the introduction to a uniform series of Studies of the romance which surrounds the founding of our Colonial Empire. Such a series—if

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carried out in the spirit of Mr. Lang's volume—would do more towards establishing a true and worthy spirit of Imperialism than can be anticipated from the most sonorous periods of parliamentary orators. Such works as Mr. W. H. Lang's **Australia** (Jack), Mr. Sadler Phillips's **Early English Colonies** (Elliot Stock), Mr. E. J. Wakefield's **Adventures in New Zealand** (Whitcombe), founded on a diary dating back to the first years of its settlement, Mr. H. Kirke's **English Conquest of Canada** (Sampson Low) and Mr. J. D. Rees's **The Real India** (Methuen) may be suggested as giving to the reader a vivid idea of the circumstances under which our colonies and dependencies were started, and of the conditions under which we exercise control or influence over them.

It was only right that the three-hundredth anniversary of the connection between Great Britain and one of her most flourishing dependencies should be duly noticed by historians as well as journalists. Mr. F. B. Tracy's Tercentenary **History of Canada, MDCVIII-MCMVIII** (Macmillans) summarises in clear language the various stages through which the Dominion has passed from the arrival of Champlain to the ministry of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Canadian roll of fame includes many names, French as well as English, which will bear comparison with those of their respective mother-countries. To both countries Canada is equally indebted, and it would seem clear from Mr. Tracy's survey of the influences which have made the Canada of to-day and sustain the belief in its future, that the essential differences of the two races are the main cause of the country's prosperity.

In connection with the same subject, Mr. A. G. Bradley's **The Making of Canada** (Constable), devoted to the period between the fall of Quebec and the close of the war with America in 1812, may be taken with advantage. He avails himself thoroughly of the materials at hand and makes a most readable book, full of stirring episodes, whilst the story of our blunders and failures is told in a way which makes it as exciting as a romance.

Sociology.

The third volume of Mr. James Mackinnon's **History of Modern Liberty** (Longmans) deals with the constitutional struggle with the Stuarts which extended over the seventeenth century. On such a subject it is difficult not to allow the political struggle to obscure the less transitory issues at stake. In dealing with James I.'s attitude towards Puritanism, Mr. Mackinnon advances more than one theory deserving of careful consideration, and in a way he furnishes a key to the prominent part played in politics later on by the ecclesiastical pretensions and prejudices of the Anti-Puritan party. After a careful survey of the situation Mr. Mackinnon comes to the conclusion that to King and Parliament civil and religious liberty were equally unknown and probably equally distasteful. Nevertheless from their conflict arose broader conceptions which in time became accepted canons.

The eleventh century in England is a period of transition from the territorial organisation of the pre-Danish and pre-Norman period to a feudal society in which are founded the main features of the structure of the social system of England. No one is more competent to set forth

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the particulars of this transition and the evidence for its reconstruction by the historical student than the eminent Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford; and in his **English Society in the Eleventh Century** (Clarendon Press) Professor Paul Vinogradoff elaborately examines and sets forth first the political and next the economic factors of the change, drawing mainly on the facts revealed by the minute study of the Domesday Survey. Needless to say, the study of the subject has travelled far since the features of the village community were first exhibited to English readers by his distinguished predecessor Sir Henry Maine, and even since the simple rivalry of the Roman and Germanic theories of the manor which divided students in the closing years of the last century. Professor Vinogradoff finds a place for the elements of both theories and dedicates his book to the late F. W. Maitland, the greatest of all the investigators of its subject.

A further instalment of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's history of **English Local Government from the Revolution** (Longmans) deals with many complicated and abstruse customs connected with manors and boroughs. The authors have left few stones unturned in the field in which they are labouring so assiduously, and the result is an accumulation of hitherto unknown peculiarities, which bear witness to the reality of the local interest in the rights and claims of lords of manors and commoners. The fact that these anomalous and particular customs were swept away by the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act only makes their rescue from pending oblivion the more necessary. The local courts, dealing with local immunities and franchises, are already scarcely remembered, whilst the names of some convey no meaning even to legal ears at the present time. As for manorial jurisdictions, which were supposed to have come to an end before the Revolution, the authors find abundant evidence of their survival, though often under some other name. To the domestic history of England in the eighteenth century, this work will be recognised as an authoritative guide, in which research, knowledge and breadth of view are equally conspicuous.

It is always of advantage to the observer and student that at intervals there should appear writers who are able to "mark time" in the evolution of new methods or conclusions. Mr. Hector Macpherson's **Century of Political Development** (Blackwood) is essentially a work of this nature. Starting with Rousseau and ending with Herbert Spencer he traces the development of certain sides and phases of the movement by which Liberalism, Radicalism and Industrialism have reached the present point, where the conflict between Individualism and Socialism appear in the arena, the authority of the State meanwhile hesitating between the rival claimants for its aid.

Mr. Graham Wallas in his elaborate study of **Human Nature in Politics** (Constable) has produced a volume which will take an important place among books devoted to the philosophy of history. Although Mr. Wallas is only occupied with his own time and his own surroundings, his analysis and estimate of political impulses are applicable to all time. He suggests that the democracy in view of the origin of its strength is more inclined to pessimism in politics than an aristo-

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cratic or autocratic power would be. He insists upon the emotional side of the human mind as playing a far more important part in political opinion than is imagined, and he deprecates most strongly the methods by which at elections this side of the voter's mind is stimulated. To counteract the effects of the catchword, the poster or the party-cry, is the problem which most deserves attention from serious politicians anxious to merit the title of patriots.

The second part of Professor Chapman's **Work and Wages** (Longmans) brings down to the present time the history of the struggle between Capital and Labour which Lord Brassey in the previous part treated mainly from the aspect of foreign competition. In like manner Professor Chapman finds it necessary to go far afield, and discusses the organisation of labour by means of Trade Unions in various European countries, and the questions which arise from the solidarity of skilled workmen. The problems involved in Old Age Pensions are carefully set out, and the methods of dealing with the unemployed at home and abroad are examined with special regard to the causes which lead to the inevitable fluctuations in the labour market. Professor Chapman's alternative for Old Age Pensions is early age technical training, and it is, he maintains, the lack of the latter in England which makes the cry for the former so loud.

Mr. Ellis Barker's survey of the literature of **British Socialism** (Smith, Elder & Co.) may be useful to those who are desirous of taking an active part in controversy. He has garnered a plentiful store of writings and speeches in favour of the movement, and he supplies his own replies, often more vehement than convincing, to the often-conflicting views of his opponents. The chief merit of such a compilation is that it fairly places before the reader many sides of a question which is becoming one of present and even paramount importance, and unlikely to be settled in the summary fashion Mr. Ellis Barker suggests.

Mr. W. H. Mallock's **Critical Examination of Socialism** (Murray) is a trenchant onslaught upon a movement which aims at destroying the exertion of personal ability, and especially of those exceptionally endowed. The necessary product of Socialism is routine, and bureaucracy leads to inefficiency. Mr. Mallock defends his thesis with vigour, and with his accustomed brilliancy of thought and illustration. He, however, believes that there are many practicable social reforms, but he would have them carried out on lines already familiar, and by the help of the most competent. In a word, he desires that the Superman's part in improving the condition of the average man's lot should be recognised, as well as the fair claims of capitalists who on the whole have created more profit for labour than they have received therefrom.

From the other side, Mr. Brougham Villiers's volume, **The Socialist Movement in England** (Fisher Unwin), gives a sober and clear account of the rise of the Labour party in England, and of the circumstances under which it came forth after the last general elections as an organised political power. It is full of matter for serious reflection by men and women of all classes, furnishing as it does a clue to the aims and hopes of social reform as cherished by the educated section of the democratic party.

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The general raising of the standard of comfort in all classes of society which has marked the last thirty years brings with it the need to reconsider the doctrine of **Luxury and Waste of Life** (J. M. Dent & Co.). Mr. E. J. Urwick discusses it with breadth of view rare among economists. He recognises that the difficulty of drawing the line between productive and unproductive expenditure increases with each generation, when no great calamities disturb the development of capital and labour. "If we produce we must also enjoy," or in other words, much so-called unproductive expenditure is expenditure on which production depends. Mr. Urwick holds that it matters little how lavishly a few may spend their money, so long as all classes are able to spend enough.

It is difficult to say whether Mr. H. G. Wells in his **New Worlds for Old** (Constable) will hasten the advent of that Utopia of which he has constituted himself the prophet. He differs, however, from most social reformers by his willingness not only to accept society as it is at present constituted, but to admit that it is progressive and enlightened with regard to its immediate duties. Its fault is its fear to look to the future. He believes that the force of the future will be found in "The steady orderly resumption by the community, without violence and without delay, of the land, the apparatus of transit, of communication, of food distribution, and of all the great common services of mankind, and the care and training of a new generation in their collective use and in more civilised conceptions of living." He explains with clearness and sobriety his views on the reconstruction of society in accordance with these aims, but he seems to ignore the chief obstacle to their realisation—the strongly marked individualism of his fellow-countrymen, the keystone of our greatness. Nevertheless Mr. Wells's speculations are pointed by many useful hints, and deserve the careful study of all social reformers.

Under the forbidding title of **Gospels of Anarchy** (Fisher Unwin) the writer who adopts the pseudonym Vernon Lee has brought together a series of studies of seers, social and political, who have more or less influenced their surroundings, and in some cases a far wider world. The author's many-sided sympathy has enabled her to assimilate and also to explain schemes for the regeneration of society put forward by men of such diverse views as Ruskin and Nietzsche, Emerson and Max Nordau, Stirner and Barrés, Ibsen and Tolstoi, besides many others. The value of the book lies in its boldness in facing problems which are pressing for solution, and demand the attention of all social reformers even more than of ephemeral politicians.

However distasteful some of Mr. S. M. Mitra's views may be with regard to British administration, his weighty and careful analysis of **Indian Problems** (Murray) will command the serious attention of those interested in our Eastern dependency. Mr. Mitra holds that over-centralisation is one of the chief causes of Indian discontent, which he regards as widespread and deep-seated. He suggests many ways in which the present Indian fiscal system might be better adapted to native requirements, but he is opposed to any alterations in the sense favoured by Tariff Reformers of the Birmingham School. His proposal

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that India should be represented in the House of Lords by five great native rulers is more likely to attract notice in his own country than here, but it seemingly is based upon a greater feeling of solidarity between the two countries than the criticisms in this volume would suggest.

On more than one occasion Mr. H. W. Nevinson has given proof of his receptive mind in describing distant lands and their inhabitants. His volume on the **New Spirit in India** (Harper) records vividly the impressions of the changes which are going on in that country. Mr. Nevinson is distinctly in sympathy with the Nationalist movement, but he discusses its aims and aspirations calmly and renders full credit to the abilities of Indian Civil servants, and to the tactful way in which they carry out their duties. He admits that the tone of English manners, civil and military, is not always conciliatory or regardful of native beliefs and traditions; and his intimate acquaintance with native rulers and officers of State leads him to the conclusion that much of the popular disaffection arises from trivial causes, and might be materially softened by greater regard to local and religious idiosyncrasies.

THEOLOGY.

If Dr. R. H. Charles does not assign an exact date to **The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs** (A. & C. Black) he disposes conclusively of the formerly received opinion that they were of post-Christian origin. Although there is no Hebrew version of these writings in existence, Dr. Charles has no doubt that they were originally written in that language by one or more devout Pharisees in the last century before the Christian era. Though purporting to be the instructions given by the sons of Jacob to their descendants, these "Testaments" in reality expound the best and highest doctrines and morality evolved by the Pharisees in Maccabæan times. To students of the present time they are of supreme interest and importance as showing the level of religious instruction obtainable at the coming of Christ, and its influence upon His teaching. The most striking departure from accepted tradition is the confident belief that the expected Messiah would be of the tribe of Levi, and not of Judah, showing the ascendency obtained by the priestly caste in the Maccabæan period.

The attempt made by Dr. C. R. Gregory to interest lay readers in the **Canon and Text of the New Testament** (T. & T. Clark) is a tribute to the extending study of such questions. He shows that the desire for an authorised collection of the Apostolic writings was not recognised until the post-Apostolic age, and that even in the second century the efforts to decide upon the merits or claims of certain books were slight or spasmodic. By degrees, however, the need of an authoritative canon made itself felt, and imposed itself upon the rulers of the Catholic Church. Dr. Gregory's history of the steps by which the end was reached is clear and interesting, and the care with which he has threaded his way through the maze of difficulties which beset the subject will commend this volume to the unprejudiced reader.

After a long period of unmerited neglect the claims of that saint or

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mage **Apollonius of Tyana** (Grant Richards) are submitted by Dr. Groves-Campbell for discussion and revision. Born on technically Greek soil, almost if not quite simultaneously with Christ on Jewish soil, Apollonius earned a reputation which proved to be fleeting, and subsequent attempts to restore him to a place of honour have for various reasons failed. Dr. Groves-Campbell in his short study hopes to arouse such interest in the career of his hero that he proposes, if encouraged, to publish a further and more detailed account of his work based on his life by Philostratus and on his hitherto untranslated puzzle, the *Imagines*. The present volume gives the reader a very shadowy idea of the personality of Apollonius; but it is such as will stimulate the desire for something more substantial.

Sir William Ramsay's special qualifications as a scholar and traveller in Asia Minor gives to his new volume **The Cities of St. Paul** a special interest. On previous occasions he has dealt with the wanderings of the Apostle, and has thrown light upon many obscure points in the authoritative record of them. In this volume Sir William Ramsay gives special prominence to a study of Tarsus, for which he is anxious to claim special connection with Antiochus Epiphanes as the founder of a Jewish colony in that city. However this may be, it will be admitted that throughout Asia Minor the evidence of Greek decadence influenced the teaching of St. Paul. From this Sir William Ramsay draws somewhat startling deductions, by no means flattering to those who uphold that Christianity has escaped from similar degeneration.

The stage reached by Dr. Edwin Abbott in his **Notes on New Testament Criticism** (A. & C. Black) is that series of notes called "Diatessarica." They are intended for students and deal mainly with the Apocalypse, and the title of "The Son of Man." With regard to the former, Dr. Abbott ascribes its authorship with confidence to the Apostle. He regards the work as intended "to describe a Purpose, a growth of Good, a growth of Evil, a Conflict and a Victory." In close connection with this view of the Apocalypse, Dr. Abbott discusses the term of "The Son of Man" as used in the Fourth Gospel. He regards it as implying "man in his physical weakness, seemingly inferior to the beasts of the field." Christ's view of the "son of man" promoted unexpectedly "to be Son of God, but destined from the beginning to be His Son and His Glory, may help to explain many things in the Gospels."

The reply of ex-Father Tyrrell to Cardinal Mercier's Lenten Pastoral published under the title of **Mediævalism** (Longmans) is quite unintentionally a stronger apologia of Protestantism than has probably ever come from the pen of a member of the Roman Church. Cardinal Mercier, it is true, gives himself away in a manner which would lead his non-Catholic readers to suppose that the Catholic attitude towards Modernism can only be maintained by assertion. The stage at which argument can avail it seems, as Mr. Tyrrell incisively points out, has been passed, and the attempt to quicken the Catholic faith by a return to the scholastic methods which availed in the Middle Ages must be doomed to failure. This book should be known to all who hold sentimental

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views about the aims of the Roman Catholic Church here and elsewhere.

Mrs. Benson is one of a family well known in ethical and theological controversy, and in the opinion of many of her readers she will not be the one who emerges with least distinction. **The Venture of Rational Faith** (Macmillan) is a plea for "sweet reasonableness" urged in persuasive tones mingled at times with words of command, for Mrs. Benson frankly admits at the outstart—as few disputants do—that she writes with a bias. By turns the Archbishop's widow examines the nature of reasonable belief, the difficulties in the way of belief in Christianity, and the reason for faith in rational life as offering the best conditions of reasonable belief in the Christian faith. It is in dealing with what Mrs. Benson calls the mystery of Personality that she shows her greatest strength and at the same time her greatest sympathy with the difficulties of less convinced searchers after light.

It is easier to read Sir Oliver Lodge's interesting volume on **Man and the Universe** (Methuen) than to realise his exact status in the theological world. His book claims to be a study of the influence of Science upon Christianity with special reference to modern discovery. As a vigorous opponent of materialism and negative dogmatism Sir Oliver Lodge holds a prominent place among orthodox believers. Possibly some of his followers may be somewhat alarmed at the attitude of his mind towards some still recognised dogmas. The earnestness, however, with which he insists upon the efficacy of prayer in so far as it looks for its answer in spiritual guidance and not "for anything specific" comes with greater force from a layman who has like Sir Oliver Lodge pushed scientific research beyond the boundaries which were supposed to limit its field.

Although the attitude adopted by the Rev. R. J. Campbell towards theological and economic problems has so far provoked opposition rather than support, he must be recognised as the exponent of opinions which find an echo outside the small band of his avowed adherents. In his latest work, **Christianity and the Social Problem** (Chapman & Hall), he insists more clearly than before on the dividing line between himself and his opponents. The first portion of the volume is an appreciation of the primary doctrines of Christianity as taught by its Founder. On these he founds his plea for religion untrammelled by dogma and doctrine, by which he contends the preaching of Christ has been obscured. In the latter part he deals with the relations of labour and capital, more in the spirit of an enthusiast for an ideal ordering of the material world than with the forbearance and foresight befitting a social reformer. In both sections, however, Mr. Campbell shows an earnestness of conviction which claims the impartial judgment of his readers.

It is from a totally opposite point of view, and in a very different tone, that Mr. W. G. Chesterton's **Orthodoxy** (John Lane) approaches the theological problem. For him dogma and doctrine form a wall within which Christianity can enjoy spiritual life without fear of falling into the sea of doubt, or over the precipice of unbelief. That such a wall was erected by men whom in another page of his volume he

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recognises to be necessarily untrustworthy, in so far that as prelates and princes of the Church they represented the ruling forces of their time, is to Mr. Chesterton a matter unworthy of consideration. It is for the masses to adapt their opinion to those of the classes who at various times decided what men should or should not believe. Mr. Chesterton's style is so brilliant and attractive that he not only finds readers, but for a time dazzles them with his startling assumptions and paradoxes. He plays with words and problems as an Indian juggler plays with coloured balls—which appear, change colour and disappear with a dexterity which baffles the understanding of the bystander.

LIONEL G. ROBINSON.

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SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

ASTRONOMY.

A TOTAL eclipse of the sun took place on January 3, but was not deemed worthy of special attention. Mr. F. K. McClean's expedition to Flint Island (about 450 miles N.W. of Tahiti) was the only one of importance. The brightness of the corona, which was of a pearly grey colour, and exhibited long spiky streamers, was such that at no time was it really dark, and naked eye observations of the sky were practically futile. Careful search was made for an intra-Mercurial planet, but as no such body, even of magnitude 7, could be found, this inquiry may be considered closed.

More sunspots made their appearance than is usual at a period of lessened activity. In the early part of June, and in August, the naked eye could detect several; there were also spotted areas in April, September and November. That sunspots are the scenes of violent magnetic disturbances, the direction of the field being normal to the sun's surface, has been shown by Professor G. E. Hale, using the spectroheliograph of the Mount Wilson Observatory, California.

In order to account for the prodigious velocities with which the solar prominences frequently shoot outwards, Professor Schuster suggests that the electrons, whose velocity is more than ample for the purpose, may carry with them a sufficient number of particles of the gases concerned, to give the spectroscopic test.

Professor Stroobart, from a discussion of recent observations on the planet Mercury, concludes that its radius is 2232 kilometres, and its volume ·043 (earth = 1) instead of ·052, as previously assumed.

Much interest continues to centre round Mars, Professor Slipher having photographed bands due to water vapour in its atmosphere, and thus lent support to the view that the planet is habitable. Over 400 "canals," varying in length from 250 to 2500 miles, and in breadth from 3 to 20 miles, have been tabulated; if these are really artificial they indicate a triumph of mind over matter to which we are utter strangers.

On January 27, Mr. P. Melnotte, using the 30-inch refractor of the Greenwich Observatory, discovered an eighth satellite of Jupiter. A retrograde motion seems probable; the inclination is 31° to the ecliptic and the period 2·2948 years.

Just before the close of the year it was announced that Professor W. H. Pickering had located an ultra-Neptunian planet in R. A. 7° 47′, decl. + 21°, but the existence of this body is still problematical.

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The most striking comet discovered in 1908 is named after Professor Morehouse, of Drake University, Iowa. First observed on September 1, its path lay through Cepheus, Cygnus, and Lyra, and its perihelion passage was timed for January 5, 1909. About the end of September it was visible to the naked eye, but never became a conspicuous object. Its spectrum showed an absence of hydrocarbons, but in their place was cyanogen. The tail was a very striking feature, owing to the number and rapidity of the changes which it exhibited. The matter forming this appendage was expelled in waves, whose length was sensibly and whose amplitude almost exactly proportional to their distance from the nucleus.

Reference was made in the last issue of this Register (p. 5; *cf.* ed. of 1906, pp. [158], 82) to the erection of a large electrical power station to the north of the Greenwich Observatory, whereby the horizon was liable to be obscured. The trouble has been averted by a two years' agreement with the London County Council, though heated gases still interfere somewhat with observations in that quarter.

C. L. B.

Geology.

All geological events during the year sink into insignificance beside the earthquake which on December 28 devastated portions of Calabria and Sicily. The shock began without warning at 5.20 A.M. and in a few moments Messina, Reggio and all the adjacent towns and villages lay in ruins. Pezzo, Monteleone, Palmi, Bagnara, San Filippo, Caltanisetta, Noto, to name only the chief places, felt the full force of the disturbance, and in all some 150,000 lives were lost, a calamity to which history affords no parallel. A great sea wave, estimated at 6½ feet in height at Messina, and 13 feet at Pellaro, rolled in upon the shore and added its quota to the confusion and disturbance. Minor shocks occurred for some days afterwards, seriously interfering with the work of rescue, but people were pulled out alive from among the ruins so late as three weeks after the catastrophe.

The earthquake was polycentric in character, and ranks technically as one of the first order, though perhaps not surpassing those of Chili and San Francisco in 1906. Its influence was felt at all the principal observatories; at Kew the first intimation was received at 4 h. 28·6′ A.M. Greenwich mean time, and the maximum arrived seven or eight minutes later. Usually the magnetographs at this station are not affected by an earthquake, but in this case several "burrs" appear on the trace, answering to those on the seismograph.

The permanent changes are not of the magnitude at first reported; thus the topography of the Straits remains the same, though the docks and harbour works at Messina have sunk to the water level. Curiously enough, places no more remote than Taormina and Catania were scarcely affected, nor did either Etna or Vesuvius participate in the disturbance.

Among other earthquakes reported during the year were those at Mexico City on March 26, Kodaikanal (India), August 17, Terni (Perugia) on August 18, and Messina on the same day. A considerable eruption of Etna took place on April 29, when a volume of lava, estimated at 500,000 cubic metres, was poured out.

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On June 10 a somewhat serious landslip occurred at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, in dry weather, and a cliff on the east of the town took fire about the same time, through the spontaneous combustion of lignite and iron pyrites.

In his Presidential Address to Section C of the British Association Professor Joly dealt with the question of uranium and geology. It is not unlikely that this metal is altogether wanting in the earth's interior, and if it changes continually into radium, the temperature of the earth should be on the increase, an improbable supposition. Possibly uranium, unlike radium, may cease to disintegrate at high temperatures, or, by a self-elevation of temperature, it may long ago have been forced up to the peripheral regions. The evidence is complete that an amount of uranium is present in ocean deposits sufficient to supply sea water with the quantity of radium it contains, about $\cdot 016 \times 10^{-12}$ grams per cubic centimetre.

The interesting observation has been made that the tsetse fly is found fossil in miocene shales at Florissant, Colorado, so that this insect was not always indigenous to equatorial Africa. In the same deposits plants similar to modern ferns, and trees allied to liquidambar, redwood, and cottonwood, have also been found.

Mr. Worthington Smith has shown that coliths—stone implements found in North Herts, the South Bedfordshire plateaux and elsewhere—can no longer be regarded as the work of early tertiary human beings, those which are undoubtedly artificial being referable to the palæolithic epoch.

At Shakespeare's Cliff and Waldersham Park the coal seams met with at depths from 1,100 feet or more have been shown to be the homotaxial equivalents of those of the Newcastle, Etruria, and black-band horizon in North Staffordshire, and allied to the highest zone of the *charbons gris* in the Pas de Calais.

C. L. B.

Geography.

Those interested in the work of Antarctic exploration will welcome the publication of the charts of the National Antarctic Expedition, prepared by Lieutenant Mulock, and issued by the Royal Geographical Society. They consist of a general chart of the Ross Sea, and its surroundings, with other maps giving details on a larger scale. Of prime interest is the detailed chart of Scott's great journey south as far as Shackleton Inlet.

Lieutenant Shackleton is again in the Antarctic. He left New Zealand in the *Nimrod* on January 1 and on January 23 sighted the Great Ice Barrier, but his intention to reach King Edward VII.'s Land had to be abandoned, so he fell back on McMurdo Sound and set up a camp at Cape Royds. The *Nimrod* returned to New Zealand in March leaving the explorers to continue their work through the winter.

Dr. Charcot set sail from Havre on August 15, in the *Pourquoi Pas*, a ship of 550 horse-power specially built to resist ice pressure, and as it carries 100 tons of provisions the expedition can remain away for two years. It is the intention of the leader to make for Graham Land, to endeavour to reach Alexandra Land, and then to push on as far south

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as possible, making use of motor sledges over the latter part of the journey.

Dr. Bruce is also preparing for a new voyage to the far south to supplement his previous work.

In the Arctic regions there is a considerable amount of exploration being carried on. Lieutenant Peary sailed from Sydney, Cape Breton, on July 17 in the *Roosevelt* and was to make his headquarters in Grant Land; Mr. Mikkelsen reached Seattle in April and is investigating the geology of Flaxman Island; Captain Bénard is in Novaya Zembla; and a new expedition is projected by Captain Amundsen to investigate the Polar Basin.

In Arctic Canada Mr. Thompson Seton has discovered two large rivers, one flowing to Lake Aylmer and one to Lake Clinton Colden.

The scientific results of the Ziegler Polar Expedition have been published by the American National Geographical Society and include observations on Magnetic, Auroral, Astronomical, Tidal, and Survey Work. There was a great magnetic storm on November 1, 1903, so large that in less than two hours the declination needle changed its position by 17° 18′. Auroral displays were generally, but not always, coincident with magnetic disturbances.

Dr. Sven Hedin has returned from another two years of travel in Tibet, and has been successful in filling several blanks in our maps of that region. His journey began at Leh, whence he crossed the Karakorum, and after eighty-three days' journey in an easterly direction came to De Rhins Ammoniac Lake, south of which he crossed two considerable mountain ranges and reached Nyangtse-Tso. Fortunately he hurried on, ignorant that he was being pursued by a hostile band, and joining the Tsaupo River reached Shigatse. The high mountain system he had crossed was discovered to be a continuation of the range south of Tengri Nor which rises between that point and Lhasa to a height of 23,000 feet. After some difficulty he explored another fifty miles of the range, but an unfriendly force obliged him to turn south, and this led to the discovery of a considerable lake, the Shurn-Tso. Marching up the Brahmaputra he proceeded to the watershed and sounded lakes Manasowar and Rakas Tal, both of which appear to be connected, probably by an underground channel, with the Sutlej River system. Turning north he discovered the source of the main branch of the Indus and then arrived at Gartok.

Three hundred miles of mountain range yet remained to be explored from the point where he had been forcibly turned back, and it was necessary to make the attack by a long *détour* and under disguise, but after traversing the unknown province of Bongba, eventually he succeeded in crossing and recrossing the range at several points, although he suffered severe hardships from great cold in the depth of winter. He proposes to call this great range, which he has discovered, the Trans-Himalaya range, as it lies beyond and parallel to the Himalayan peaks. This new range is more extensive and massive than the Himalayan mountains themselves, although the extreme heights are not so great. A popular account of these travels is to be issued prior to the publication of the authoritative record.

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Dr. Stein started at the end of July on a long planned expedition to the sources of the Yurung-Kash, or Khotan River. As the route was impassable from the west the attack was made from the east, which necessitated long and arduous climbing over snow-clad mountains, but he finally reached the deep-cut valley of the Zaclik which drains into the Yurung-Kash. Amongst the mountains he found some extensive gold pits which appear to have been worked for ages and are still worked by small groups of miners. The geology and geography of these mountains, which rise to heights of 20,000 to 23,000 feet, is of much interest. There is a good deal of evidence to show that the glaciers have been slowly retreating within historical times.

In addition to these travels Dr. Stein has been engaged in archæological explorations in the Tarim Basin, and has unearthed the sites of some ancient towns which appear to have been occupied to the ninth century. On the desert hill, Mazar-tagh, a ruined fort was discovered, and from this a number of scripts, mainly Indian, Chinese and Tibetan, were removed.

Other explorations in Asia have been carried out by Dr. and Mrs. Workman on the Hispar Glacier in Hunza Nagar, in Northern Kashmir; by M. Bacat in the country between Mekong and Salwin; by Captain d'Allone in the Yangtse Basin; and by Dr. G. Merzbacher in the Tian Shan Mountains. Captain Kozloff has published a scientific account of his prolonged stay in Eastern Tibet and Kam, and Mr. Ellsworth Huntington gives his experience of seven years' travel in Central Asia.

In Africa the Duke of Mecklenburg has explored Lake Kivu and travelled to the west coast by way of the Congo. The Tarash River has been followed by Mr. Dearley on his way from Lake Rudolf to the Nile; and the country between the Niger and Cross Rivers has been traversed by Lieut. Steel.

The Irrigation Department of Cape Colony has investigated the rapid rate of erosion in certain parts due to storm waters, and it is inferred that the clearance of vegetation has facilitated the flow of water, and that cattle tracks have formed watercourses for the flood waters which carry masses of soil along with them.

In South America an imperfectly known region embracing the northwest valley of the Amazon, which includes the sources of the Guaviare, the Negro, the Uaupes and the Ynirida, has been investigated by Dr. Rice. He finds that the river Unilla, hitherto regarded as a branch of the Orinoco, is in reality a branch of the Uaupes which drains into the Amazon.

In Tierra del Fuego Dr. Carl Scottsberg has surveyed the large lake Cami in the interior and other districts.

The International Geographical Congress met at Geneva on July 27, and several committees were formed for the purpose of promoting geographical work and introducing some needed reforms. One of these deals with the symbols and signs which should be uniformly employed in cartography and a report is to be presented to the next meeting.

J. R. A.

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Meteorology.

Kites and balloons both free and captive are now regularly used in meteorological work. The first Thursday in each month is set apart as an international day, and British and continental observers, to the number of about thirty, on that day dispatch kites and balloons with recording instruments attached to them. The stations from which ascents are made in this country are Petersfield in Hampshire; Pyrton, Oxfordshire; Glossop, Cheshire; Sellack, Herefordshire; and Crinan in Scotland. Heights up to 12½ miles are sometimes attained, the average being 7½ miles, although on September 5, at Uccle, in Belgium, an altitude of 16 miles was reached, the greatest yet recorded.

In spite of some doubts which have been raised about the accuracy of the self-recording instruments, there is every reason to believe that at the height of about 40,000 feet the diminution of temperature is arrested, and it then remains stationary, or even slightly increases. The cause of this was discussed at length at the British Association meeting at Dublin, but no explanation which was generally acceptable was arrived at. Up to the present the thickness of this isothermal layer has not been ascertained, but it must be of considerable extent for the highest balloon ascents have not penetrated it. Its height above the surface of the earth varies to the extent of 50 per cent. with the ground pressure, and also with the latitude. Within the Arctic circle it is lower, and in the Tropics higher than in temperate regions. The wind velocities are not large, the movement of the air in general being horizontal along isobars, and possibly the want of vertical convection currents may, in part, account for the cessation of fall of temperature at the height of the isothermal layer.

M. Teisserenc de Bort has obtained samples of the air from the isothermal level and cannot find any difference in its composition from what obtains at the sea level.

Mr. Ellis has completed a summary of the Greenwich observations of air temperatures for sixty-five years, namely from 1841 to 1905 inclusive. The lowest mean daily temperature is 37·5° F. and it occurs on January 12; the highest mean daily temperature is 64° F. and it is reached almost exactly six months later. From February 12 there is a steady rise of temperature except for the last week in April; in the autumn there is a continuous fall of temperature from August 13 to January 12 without break or halt. The mean annual temperature is 49·5° F., the variation from year to year not amounting to more than 3° F.; the extreme temperatures have been 97·1° on July 15, 1881, and 4° on January 9, 1841. Sunspot variations have no discernible influence on the daily march of temperature.

A comparison of the air near the ground and at heights of 3,000 to 4,000 feet made by Mr. H. H. Clayton in the United States shows that the maxima and minima at the higher points are always later in point of time than at ground level, and the delay amounts to as much as twenty-four hours when the altitude is 30,000 to 40,000 feet. As to pressure, it is found that at this height the changes are almost the reverse of what occurs at sea level.

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The movement of the southern anticyclonic belt, or belt of calms, which migrates with the sun north and south, appears to control the weather in Africa with considerable certainty. Colonel H. E. Rawson, who has investigated the question, draws attention to the fact that the range of displacement varies from year to year, and that the belt performs an oscillation from its farthest south to its farthest north in nine and a half years, or completes a cycle in nineteen years. Droughts, excessive rainfalls, the drift of icebergs, and isobaric charts in Africa and Australasia all corroborate the view that the belt has a cyclic displacement.

Observations by Mr. B. F. E. Keeling made with balloons in Egypt have shown that the antitrade wind is reached at the height of 6,500 feet, but when the observations were extended to the height of 54,000 feet the south-west antitrade was penetrated and a north-west current was then met with.

A theoretical paper by Mr. Ernest Gold discusses wind velocities in relation to pressure. In the expression for the motion of the air the centrifugal force due to the velocity of the wind and the force due to the pressure gradient are so related that in anticyclonic systems the winds will be, in general, along isobars at heights great enough to allow surface friction to be negligible, and furthermore there are definite limits to the wind velocity, so that an anticyclonic gale cannot occur. To give an example, in latitude 50° N., at not more than 100 miles from the centre of an anticyclone, the velocity will not be greater than 20 miles per hour. There is no such limit, however, to the velocity of cyclonic winds.

The meteorology of the winter quarters of the *Discovery*, and South Victoria Land, in high Antarctic latitudes is discussed in a voluminous Report issued under the direction of Dr. W. N. Shaw, with a preface by Lieutenant Royds, who was responsible for the observations themselves. Although the observing station near the ship was apparently warmer than surrounding parts it was seldom that the temperature here rose above the freezing point, 42° F. being once recorded, whilst the lowest temperature was − 58·5° F. or 90·5° of frost. Contrary to expectation a south wind coming from ice-bound regions close to the pole itself frequently brought an accession of warmth instead of a lower degree of cold. Notwithstanding the low air temperatures which generally prevailed the black bulb thermometer, exposed to the sun, often read remarkably high, the mercury on one occasion standing at 154° F. when the air temperature was only 17·8° F. The conclusion from this is that the atmosphere is singularly transparent to the sun's rays. All through the period when the sun was below the horizon there was evidence of a diurnal and semi-diurnal variation of temperature, although the range was only 1° F.

The most striking result is the amount of bright sunshine with which these regions are favoured. In December of one year 490 hours of sunshine were recorded, and in December of another year there was a period of eighty-seven hours of continuous sunshine; on another occasion there were eleven consecutive days when the sun was only obscured for fifteen hours. In six months there is as much sunshine in the Antarctic as there is in twelve months in the Scilly Isles.

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The prevalent winds in the higher reaches of the atmosphere are westerly, but nearer the ground easterly; other observations on the winds point to an Antarctic anticyclonic system.

The report of the second Norwegian expedition in the *Fram* contains a copious record of meteorological work. The atmospheric pressure for the whole time was 761·4 mm., with a mean range of 11·8 mm., the oscillation being greatest in summer and least in winter. During the dark season when the sun is below the horizon the daily variation of temperature vanished entirely. Dr. Mohn, who is responsible for the compilation, thinks that, if more attention were given to air temperatures in Arctic and Antarctic regions at times when the sun is below the horizon, some questions on radiation to and from the earth would be capable of solution.

Amongst other reports there is one by Dr. Fassig, issued under the direction of the Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, which deals with the climate and weather of Baltimore over a period of eighty-seven years. In the discussion of the facts he is able to dispel the popular belief that the equinoxes are stormy seasons and that there are regular sequences of warm and cold periods. The cold period, prevalent in Europe from May 10-13, is non-existent at Baltimore.

Once again the supposition that gun firing is productive of rain is proved to be untenable. Explosions made in New Zealand with charges of 50 to 200 lb. of powder were not followed by rainfall oftener than the theory of probabilities would require, and there is consequently no proof that rain is precipitated by firing.

During the year the weather over the British Isles was not exceptional. January was a month of rapid changes from frost to rain and mist; February and March were equally variable, with some stormy days, developing later into colder weather, and this was continued through April with dry northerly winds. May, June and July were months of improving weather with less cloud and rain than usual and much sunshine. In the South of England particularly, and generally over the whole country, there was a shortage of rain at this time, and it was recorded at Portland Bill that for thirty-two days, from July 17 to August 18, no rain fell. Rain, however, came freely in the latter part of August and the beginning of September, and the remaining months of the year were mild and damp except for a sharp spell of snow and frost in the last week of December.

The terrestrial magnetic elements at Greenwich for the year 1907 were:—

Mean declination	15° 59·8′ W.
Mean horizontal force . . .	0·1853 C. G. S. units.
Mean inclination	66° 56′.

J. R. A.

Physics.

Recent publications of the Bureau of Weights and Measures in Paris contain important and interesting records of the work there performed. The modern standard of length is the wave length of the red ray of light in the spectrum of incandescent cadmium, a quantity which, although excessively small, is capable of measurement with high accur-

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acy, and is always exactly reproducible. With this as the unit the yard is now defined as 1,420,212·04 of such units. Other researches lead to the result that the weight of a cubic foot of water is 62·288 lb., and the gallon is the volume of 277·420 cubic inches. The report is again evidence of the skill in measurements of the highest accuracy for which French experimentalists have always been noted.

Maxwell enunciated a law for the distribution of velocity among the molecules of a gas in a state of statistical equilibrium. Professor O. W. Richardson has found that there is a mean kinetic energy for the ions emitted by hot platinum which is the same as for the molecules of a gas at the same temperature, and that the distribution of velocities of these ions is in accordance with Maxwell's law. This may be regarded as the first experimental proof of its truth.

An interesting experiment has been made by Dr. Anderson of Johns Hopkins University in confirmation of a carefully reasoned deduction from optics and thermodynamics. Certain crystals, notably tourmaline, when suitably cut absorb a beam of plane polarised light, but they transmit the same light if turned through 180°. Arguing from thermodynamical considerations it can be shown that, if the beam of light is stationary and the crystal free to rotate, it ought to turn into such a position that it will absorb and not transmit the light. The experiment was tried and its success completely justified the thermodynamical reasoning on which it was based.

Additions to our knowledge of the penetrating radiation which is generally in evidence has been made by Professor McLennan. By testing the ionisation of the air due to this radiation in closed metal cylinders in different localities he finds that, over large masses of water, the radiation is so far reduced as to be inappreciable, and especially so if there is a coating of ice on the water. It is also variable from place to place over land surfaces, and the conclusion is that this penetrating radiation is due to some radioactive deposit in the soil which is more concentrated in some places than others.

Lenard showed a few years ago that ultra-violet light ionises the air, and recent researches have confirmed his experiments and extended them to include waves of light of length much less than he was able at the time to produce. These short waves are highly effective in producing ionisation, and no doubt contribute largely in putting the upper layers of the atmosphere, where the sun's rays are in full force, into a state of conductivity for electricity. Professor Schuster shows that if this be so the double daily oscillation of the barometer is sufficient to account for the double daily variation of the magnetic needle, for the variation of pressure is a consequence of the double diurnal drift of the atmosphere, which, being electrified, acts like a current of electricity and thus produces magnetic disturbances.

One of the most pressing problems of radio-activity is a need for more definite knowledge of the mass and charge of the α-particles. The weight of evidence at present is that they are veritable atoms of helium, and, if so, the production of helium from radium, and probably from thorium also, is simple enough. To probe the question further Professor Rutherford has devised an experiment which allows him to

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count the α-particles individually as they are shot out of radium. A long tube, with a highly charged rod fixed axially along the centre of it, is exhausted until the pressure of the air inside is about 3 cms. of mercury. The α-particles from a preparation of radium are fired through the end of the tube, and each in its passage ionises about 80,000 molecules of air, which, by collisions among other molecules, ionise many thousands more, and so the air is made sufficiently conducting to allow an escape of electricity from the highly charged rod. This is observed by means of an electrometer attached to the apparatus, and every time an α-particle enters the tube a jerk of the needle of the electrometer takes place. By counting the jerks in a given time the rate of emission of α-particles is determined, and in this way it is calculated that 1 gram of radium emits $3{\cdot}4 \times 10^{10}$ α-particles per second. This is the first step in the solution of the problem. Incidentally the experiment has shown that the distribution of the emission of α-particles, in time, is the same as the distribution of molecules in a gas according to Maxwell's law, and this is another confirmation of the law.

Professor Rutherford has also found that each scintillation in Crooke's spintharoscope is due to the impact of a single α-particle, and it is now quite an easy matter for any amateur to count the number of α-particles emitted.

If any doubts existed as to the discrete nature of matter this experiment should finally dispel them.

Just as the year closes Professor Rutherford and Mr. Royds have completed an experiment in which the α-particles, which are shot out of radium, are collected in a small tube and subjected to spectroscopic examination. The spectrum of helium grew more distinct as the experiment proceeded and, finally, every one of the helium lines was yielded. The proof that the α-particle is a helium atom seems now irrefutable.

A few years ago Professor Zeeman discovered that the lines in the spectrum of an incandescent metal were doubled and widened if the metal was placed in a powerful magnetic field and the light observed in a given direction. This discovery, which derived its importance as a confirmation of the theory of electrons, has been turned to good account, in another direction, by Professor Hale, who has observed that the iron lines in the spectrum of a sun spot are doubled and widened, and it appears therefore that a sun spot must be the seat of a powerful magnetic field. The probability of this is heightened by the appearance, in certain photographs of the upper region of the sun's atmosphere, of spiral currents around a sun spot, so that a sun spot may be regarded as a solar vortex, and if, as is more than likely, the atmosphere of the sun is electrically charged, such a vortex of electrified matter would inevitably generate a strong magnetic field within and around it.

It might be thought that the long-known connection between the outbreak of sun spots and terrestrial magnetic disturbances here finds a solution, but calculations show that, intense as the magnetic field in a solar vortex must be, it is quite inappreciable as a direct source of terrestrial disturbances at the distance of the earth from the sun.

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The discovery of a magnetic field in a solar vortex suggests that magnetic effects may exist in and around terrestrial cyclones.

During the year the deaths have occurred of Professor Mascart, M. Henri Becquerel, the discoverer of radio-activity, Professor Ayrton, and Professor Wüllner, prominent leaders in different branches of physics.

J. R. A.

Chemistry.

The liquefaction of helium by Professor Onnes, of Leyden, on July 10, was one of the principal achievements in the chemical world during the year. The first announcement was made in February, and at that time it was asserted the gas passed directly into the solid state without first becoming liquid. What was taken for solid helium, however, proved to be solid hydrogen in an atmosphere of helium; subsequently the liquefaction was accomplished beyond doubt. Liquid helium boils at 4·5° absolute, its density is ·154, and its critical pressure between two and three atmospheres. So slight is the capillarity of the liquid that it shows no appreciable meniscus, even in a narrow tube. It does not become solid by a sudden lowering of the pressure to 10 mm. of mercury. In this research no less than 75 litres of liquid air and 20 litres of liquid hydrogen were employed; the absolute zero still remains unattainable, but must be more nearly approached before this refractory element can be turned into the solid form.

Professor T. E. Thorpe has made several determinations of the atomic weight of radium, the mean value of which is 226·7; this is rather higher than the number hitherto assigned, but is supposed to be correct within a unit.

The Hon. R. J. Strutt, from a consideration of the abnormal amount of helium contained in beryl, together with an equally marked deficiency in radium, has hazarded the conjecture that this mineral contains an element hitherto unrecognised, which spontaneously gives off helium.

Sir W. Ramsay's announcement that the radium emanation, acting on a solution of copper sulphate, caused traces of the alkali metals to appear, has not been confirmed by other observers, hence the transmutation of elements is not yet a laboratory experiment.

Determinations of the atomic weight of lead have been made by Messrs. G. P. Baxter and J. H. Wilson, who assign to it the number 207·19 (on the basis of O = 16, Ag=107·93), which is nearly 0·3 higher than that previously accepted.

The manufacture of calcium cyanamide, $CaCN_2$, by passing nitrogen over calcium carbide heated to a temperature of 800°-1000° C., is developing apace, works having been erected for the purpose at Niagara Falls, and in Italy, Austro-Hungary, Haute Savoie, and Germany. Employed as a manure, it supplies the place of Chili saltpetre, but is less soluble than that substance, and less easily washed away.

A method for treating sewage sludge, which has proved highly successful at Oldham, has been devised by Dr. J. Grossmann, of Manchester. The sludge obtained from the settling tanks is dried in a centrifugal machine and after being treated with sulphuric acid, is subjected to the action of superheated steam, the mass being automatically

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stirred meanwhile. By this treatment the fats are volatilised, and are recovered in a form which admits of their easy purification, while the residue proves to be a very valuable fertiliser.

C. L. B.

Zoology.

The past year has been particularly notable for the attention devoted to a study of those animals such as the unicellular Protozoa and the insects which are directly concerned in or have a bearing upon the causation of disease in man and other animals. This application of the results of pure science is not only a pleasing but also a significant fact. Zoological science is becoming what science should be when possible, a weapon for the alleviation of the sufferings and for benefiting the welfare of mankind.

Our knowledge of Trypanosomes, some species of which cause the deadly disease sleeping sickness in man and "nagana" in animals in the African continent, has been considerably increased. Professor Minchin in an account of his investigations on the Development of Trypanosomes in Tsetse flies and other Diptera (*Quart. Journ. Micros. Science*, vol. 52) gives the result of his work as a member of the Sleeping Sickness Commission in Uganda. He makes some valuable additions to our knowledge of the structure of these protozoan parasites and their life-cycles and transmission. Some remarkable studies in the life-cycle of some of these parasites have also been made by Professor Salvin Moore and Dr. Breinl of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine in which they describe the formation of latent forms in the blood of the vertebrate host. Colonel Bruce and Captain Bateman, however, have since studied this question (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1908) in several species of Trypanosomes, and they find that the blood of rabbits suffering from nagana does not contain ultra-microscopical forms of *T. brucei*, nor was the blood of nagana rats infective when passed through a Berkefeld filter, and the blood of nagana rats treated for varying times with antimony salts did not contain ultra-microscopical forms of *T. brucei*.

In the study of the relation of insects to disease in our own country it may be noted that the second part of Mr. C. Gordon Hewitt's monograph on the Structure, Development and Bionomics of the House-fly (*Musca domestica*) has been published (*Quart. Journ. Micr. Sci.*, vol. 52). This describes the breeding habits of the fly and the development and structure of the larva. A full account of the various substances in which flies can breed is given, and it is found that the life-history may be complete in about nine days at a high temperature.

Many physiologists are devoting their attention to the early embryonic stages in the development of animals with a view to ascertaining the chemical changes which take place in the early life of the embryo. In the early nutrition of the chick, which has been studied by Mr. Emrys Roberts (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1908), it is found that the nutrition of the embryonic chick is not dependent on the yolk alone but also on the egg-white, the assimilation of which is divisible into three heads, the water, the salts and the proteid. As the result of a study of the glycogenic changes in the placenta and fœtus of the pregnant rabbit (*Proc.*

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Roy. Soc., 1908), Drs. Lochhead and Cramer conclude that the placenta of the rabbit has the function of depositing glycogen as a store of carbohydrates for the need of the fœtus. The glycogen is absorbed from the maternal placenta in the form of a simpler carbohydrate, the transformation taking place in the placenta. In the earlier stages of intra-uterine life the fœtal liver is devoid of the power of storing glycogen, which function is fulfilled by the placenta. They find that there is a distinct relation between the glycogen metabolism and the growth of the fœtus.

Professor F. Keeble has published an interesting account (*Quart. Journ. Micr. Sci.*, vol. 52) of a species of simple worm—*Convoluta paradoxa*—the tissues of whose body are infected with algal cells. These yellow brown algal cells are indispensable to the life of the animal as uninfected worms do not develop. The reserve fat of the algal cells which is formed by their protosynthetic activity is transferred from those cells to the animal tissues and serves these tissues as food; starved animals digest their algal cells.

A valuable study of the strange crustacean group Anaspides, which stands in the same relation to the crustacea as the group of monotremes does to the normal mammals, has been made by Mr. Geoffrey W. Smith (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1908). This crustacean occurs in Tasmania, and the results of Mr. Smith's work confirm the desirability of abolishing the Schizopoda as a natural group.

In the zoology of the mammals an exhaustive monograph on the bats of the genera *Uroderma*, *Enchisthenes* and *Artibeus* has been published by Dr. Kund Anderson in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society*. It is based on the study of nearly five hundred specimens.

The study of the problem of Heredity is still being carried on by both botanists and zoologists, who are chiefly occupied at present in the Mendelian methods of investigation and are studying the inheritance of various readily recognisable characters. Mr. C. C. Hurst has given (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1908) some interesting results of his investigation into the inheritance of eye-colour in man. He finds two discontinuous types of iris in man—the duplex type having anterior and posterior pigments as in ordinary brown eyes, and the simplex type having only the posterior pigment as in clear blue eyes. The simplex type behaves as a Mendelian recessive to the duplex type which is dominant. In a study of the inheritance of certain coat characters in rats, Mr. G. P. Mudge has found that the black colour is dominant to albinism although the dominance is not complete. It was also shown that albinoes, as others have previously conjectured, bore latent factors.

An extremely interesting investigation on the crossing of round and wrinkled peas, which are plants largely used in the studies of inheritance, and also their resultant starch grains is being made by Mr. A. D. Darbishire, of which a preliminary account has been given (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1908). He shows that when a round pea is crossed with a wrinkled one four separate heritable characters must be considered—the shape of the pea, its absorptive capacity, the shape of the starch grains and their constitution.

C. G. H.

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Botany.

Botanical inquiry may at present be divided into three groups, studies on the physiology of plants, their structure and investigations which relate to the origin of the different groups of the plant world by a study of fossil remains, many of which bear minute microscopic examination.

An important paper on the physiology of plants has been published by Dr. Ewart (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1908) on the supposed extra-cellular photosynthesis of carbon-dioxide by chlorophyll. In this the author states that we have no satisfactory proof that the production of formaldehyde in dead cells or extracted chlorophyll when exposed to light is accompanied either by the decomposition of carbon-dioxide or by the production of oxygen or hydroxyl.

The endospermic respiration of certain seeds has been investigated by Mr. F. Stoward (*Annals of Botany*, 1908). He has found that the starchy endosperm of rye, maize, barley and wheat can digest itself in the absence of the scutellum and other parts of the embryo, though to a very different degree; hence the diverse results which previous investigators have reached. The amount of energy required is very small and can originate from the oxidasic (*i.e.* extra-vital) respiration of the sugars formed.

In a study of the sieve-tubes of the angiosperms which has been published in the same journal, Mr. A. W. Hill describes thread groups between the sieve-tubes and companion cells; on the sieve-tube side of the common membrane they are converted into slime-strings associated with callus rods, but those of the companion cells are continued as ordinary protoplasmic threads. He believes that the physiological function of the threads is primarily that of the transmission of stimuli, a conclusion which is of interest in relation to Professor Darwin's Presidential Address on the Movements of Plants before the British Association of this year.

Mr. A. G. Tansley has concluded the publication of his lectures on the Evolution of the Filicinian Vascular System (*New Phytologist*, 1908). He is of the opinion that this vascular structure together with the evolution of the seed and the ultimate acquirement of siphonogamy and angiospermy may be regarded as marking the final stage in the long process of progressive adaptation to terrestrial life and as providing the equipment necessary to the attainment of that complete dominance of world-vegetation reached by the modern dicotyledonous tree.

Dr. M. Benson, in a study of the Sporangiophore as a unit of structure in the Pteridophyta (*New Phytologist*, 1908), concludes that a review of this phylum, as a group of plants derived from a common ancestor whose sporophyte generation bore a special type of asexual spore-producing organ—the sporangiophore—may concentrate attention on the probable origin of the structure in question.

The peculiar epiphyte *Tmesipteris*, which is found in the tree ferns of New Zealand and Australia, is a plant of considerable morphological interest and importance, and Miss M. G. Sykes has given an account of it (*Annals of Botany*, 1908), in which she confirms the statement that

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the growth of the plant is from a single apical cell. She concludes that the relationships of the psilotaceæ are not sufficiently evident as yet to warrant a position especially near any family.

The anatomy of *Saxegotha conspicua* Lindl., an interesting conifer which is found in the wet woods on the upper slopes of the Chilian Andes, has been studied by Mr. Stiles (*New Phytologist*, 1908). The plant is noted for the simplicity of its structure, and the author believes that it is a transition of a remarkable kind between the Pinaceæ and Taxaceæ.

Of the large and ever-increasing amount of work that is being prosecuted in the study of fossil plants probably the most important contribution this year is that of Dr. M. C. Stopes and Mr. D. M. S. Watson on the Present Distribution and Origin of the Calcareous Concretions in Coal Seams, known as "Coal-balls" (*Phil. Trans.*, 1908). These calcareous masses are of great importance to palæobotanists, as they contain petrified plant tissues, and the authors have attempted the solution of the origin of these structures. They believe that they were formed in the position in which they are now found, and that the sea-water under which they appear to have been formed was fundamentally important on account of the salts contained therein.

C. G. H.

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ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE collection of modern pictures and sculpture shown this year at the Franco-British Exhibition was probably more remarkable and of more varied interest than any that has previously been brought together in England. The French group was unfortunately not entirely comprehensive and did not include works by men of importance who should have been represented, but on the British side few artists of interest were left out. Collectively the exhibition proved extraordinarily attractive, and throughout the season the fine art galleries at Shepherd's Bush were thronged with visitors from morning till evening. No other event of the year compared in artistic interest with the holding of this exhibition, the effect of which was, however, anything but beneficial to the other London galleries. Some of them suffered severely, and even at the Royal Academy the attendance fell off considerably owing to the counter-attraction of the fine art section of the Franco-British Exhibition. Another exceptional feature of the year was the International Congress of Art Teachers and others interested in the application of art to industries. The Congress, held in August, was attended by representatives from the Colonies, the United States and a great number of foreign countries, but the work of the British Committee was hampered and limited through insufficient financial support. The exhibition of the work of art students of all countries, held at South Kensington in connection with the Congress, offered a valuable opportunity of comparing the products of our art schools with those of other nations, and in this comparison Britain more than held her own.

At the National Gallery a large picture by Franz Hals was acquired by purchase from Lord Talbot de Malahide. The market value of Hals has risen steadily of late years, but the sum of 25,000*l.* given by the National Gallery Trustees for this group of nine or ten figures was enormously in excess of any price paid previously in a public sale for an example of this master. The picture was discovered by Mr. Buttery, the picture restorer and cleaner to the National Gallery, when visiting in the exercise of his profession the collection at Malahide, where it had remained, apparently unnoticed, for many years. It was sent to London for the inspection of the Trustees and Director, who attached so much importance to its acquisition that by arrangement with the Treasury they pledged for some time in advance the annual

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grant to the National Gallery. Mr. Martin Colnaghi, a well-known expert and dealer in pictures, who died early in the year, left the reversion of all his property to the National Gallery, to which by a special provision in his will certain paintings were at once handed over. Some progress was made with the projected extension of the Gallery, and late in the autumn an interesting group of studies by Turner, hitherto unexhibited, was arranged in the Turner Room. Want of room, however, prevented the Director from showing properly these additional works of Turner, which were hung on screens in default of wall space. The collection of drawings and paintings by the great landscape painter is so vast that it would be impossible to show them all at Trafalgar Square even when the extensions of the Gallery, commenced last year, are completed, and very welcome therefore was an announcement made by Mr. Lewis Harcourt, at a meeting of the National Art Collections Fund in May. Mr. Harcourt stated that he had just accepted an offer to present a new wing to the Tate Gallery, a wing of five rooms in which would be displayed the greater part of the Turner collection. The generous donor of this wing was Mr. Joseph Duveen, the Bond Street picture dealer, who died in November, a few months after a knighthood had been bestowed upon him by the King. Mr. C. Mallord Turner, a relative of the painter, who has inherited or collected a number of memorials of his famous kinsman, lent a selection of these to the Tate Gallery, where Turner's paintbox, some of his colours and brushes, and several of his books, have been arranged in glass cases for the inspection of the curious.

A notable event of the year at the Royal Academy was the resignation of a member, a thing without parallel (excluding the resignation of his Associateship by Burne Jones) for nearly half a century. The artist who thus severed his connection with the most ancient of our art institutions was Mr. Alfred Gilbert. The Royal Academy banquet, that had been for more than a century one of the most important social events of the London season, was shorn of much of its glory by the decision of the King (who is the official head of the Academy) to abandon the speechmaking that has always followed the dinner. This affected the Academy in more ways than one. There had always been a little ill-feeling between the Academy and certain of the principal London daily journals because it had been the custom to invite only *The Times'* representative to the banquet, but as on each occasion speeches were made by the most eminent of our public men, the papers were obliged to report the affair at length. When the speeches were dropped last year the newspapers could afford virtually to ignore the banquet, which for the first time was passed over by most of them with little more than a bare mention.

In January the Royal Academy opened a winter exhibition on the lines of most of those that have been held at Burlington House since 1869. It was composed of Old Masters of various schools and periods, with the work of Hogarth as a special feature, and some pictures of more recent date, including several by the late J. C. Hook, R.A. No fewer than 11,579 works were sent in by artists for examination by the Committee of Selection for the summer exhibition at the Academy. Fifteen

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of these (exactly the same number as in the preceding year) were declared inadmissible, 118 were accepted, 4,205 made doubtful, and 7,241 rejected outright. The members of the Academy contributed between them 232 works, and here again the figures, curiously enough, were identical with those of 1907. Mr. T. Brock arranged the sculpture in the exhibition; Mr. A. C. Gow, Mr. E. J. Gregory, Mr. S. J. Solomon and Mr. W. L. Wyllie, the oil paintings; Sir Hubert von Herkomer the water colours, and Sir Aston Webb the architectural designs. The Chantrey purchases were more numerous than in any preceding year. Of the nine works chosen three were pieces of sculpture, four oil paintings, and two drawings in water colour. The sculptures were the marble "Diana" (1,000*l.*), by Mr. Bertram Mackennal, and "Ariadne" (1,000*l.*), by Mr. Harold Parker (it is worth remarking that both these artists are of Australian birth), and a small bronze, "A Foul in the Giant's Race" (52*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. C. L. Hartwell. The oil paintings were "The Gleaners Returning" (200*l.*), by Mr. George Clausen, R.A., "The Fountain" (400*l.*), by Mr. Charles Sims, A.R.A.; "Old December's Bareness Everywhere" (300*l.*), by the late Mr. J. Buxton Knight, and "A Pasturage among the Dunes, Pas de Calais" (700*l.*), by Mr. H. Hughes-Stanton; and the water colours "Gold Lace has a Charm for the Fair" (105*l.*), by Mr. Frank Dadd, and "Marie Antoinette" (300*l.*), by Miss Mary Gow. The Buxton Knight was purchased from Messrs. Marchant's memorial exhibition of that painter's work, Mr. Hughes-Stanton's landscape from the New Gallery, and Mr. Dadd's picture from the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours. All the others were bought from the Academy exhibition.

Taking into consideration the depression in the market for modern pictures, the sales at the Royal Academy were better than most artists expected. They were, it must be admitted, anything but good, but their sum-total was higher than that of more than one year of the past two decades. The priced pictures sold included "A Summer's Morn, North Wales" (630*l.*), and "Sunset on the Surrey Wolds" (420*l.*), by Mr. B. W. Leader; "Ligurian Flowers" (500*l.*), by Mr. H. H. La Thangue; "The Little Faun" (400*l.*), by Mr. Charles Sims; "The Kiss" (470*l.*), by Mr. Edward Stott; "Sunrise" (400*l.*), by the late David Farquharson; "The Woman's Part" (200*l.*), by Mr. A. Chevallier Tayler; "Midsummer Morning" (630*l.*), by Mr. H. S. Tuke; "Light and Shadow in the Gipsy Camp" (550*l.*), by Mr. Ross Fowler; "The Water Nixie" (315*l.*), by Mr. Herbert Draper; "In Wensleydale" (300*l.*), by Mr. Arthur Friedenson, and "The Passage of the Bidassoa by Wellington's Army" (315*l.*), by Mr. J. P. Beadle. The sales in the sculpture galleries at Burlington House are never numerous and in 1908 there were few worth recording other than the Chantrey purchases. M. Frémiet, the eminent French sculptor, sold several works, but they were all small reproductions and at small prices. During the year Mr. R. W. Macbeth's name was placed at his own request on the list of retired Academicians. Mr. George Clausen was promoted to an Academicianship, MM. Dagnan-Bouveret and Mercié were elected Honorary Foreign Academicians, and Mr. Charles Sims was made an Associate. The C.V.O. was bestowed by the King on Mr. W. P. Frith, R.A., on the artist's eighty-ninth birthday,

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and some atonement was made for the neglect of the claims of sculpture to official recognition by the knighthood conferred in the autumn upon Mr. George Frampton, R.A.

Mention should be made of the opening in Dublin, in the new Municipal Gallery of Art, of the exhibition of the collection of modern pictures that Ireland owes to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Hugh P. Lane. In London an interesting experiment was made in August at the Royal Albert Hall, where an exhibition on a large scale was held to which any artist, on payment of a subscription, could contribute pictures without fear of rejection. A new departure was made by the International Society, in whose galleries was arranged an attractive exhibition of "Fair Women" in painting and sculpture. The New English Art Club held its spring exhibition in the little gallery in New Bond Street that was acquired a year or two ago. No autumn exhibition was held by the club, but it was announced that the shows of 1909 would be held in the gallery of the Royal Society of British Artists.

Although 1908 was, speaking generally, a poor year for the sale of modern pictures, examples of the work of a few living painters fetched high prices at Christie's. A well-known canvas by Sir William Orchardson, "Hard Hit," brought 3,300 guineas under the hammer, and a study for his "Napoleon on Board the *Bellerophon*," 1,600 guineas. The "Gleaners" of M. L'Hermitte realised 2,500 guineas, and four pictures by M. Israels were sold in King Street for prices ranging from 1,100 to 1,600 guineas. There were no sensational sales of paintings by the great British masters of portraiture, although the auction room value of Gainsborough, Reynolds, Raeburn and Romney was well maintained. The sensation was provided by Turner, whose "Mortlake Terrace" was bought by an American firm of picture dealers for the unprecedented auction price for this master of 12,600 guineas. "The Morning After the Storm" fetched 7,700 guineas, the "Beach at Hastings," 6,000 guineas, "The Storm," 5,500 guineas, and the water colour "Heidelberg," 4,200 guineas. Of these Turners all but the "Beach at Hastings" were included in the Holland collection of pictures, the dispersal of which ranks among the most famous sales in the history of Christie's. Extraordinary prices were paid for water colours by Fred Walker, 2,700 guineas for the "Marlow Ferry," 2,580 guineas for the "Harbour of Refuge," and 1,600 guineas each for "The Violet Field" and "The Fishmonger's Shop".

W. T. WHITLEY.

II. DRAMA.

The dramatic record of the past year shows the still further decline of the "romantic" school. The realism of some modern writers has proved fatal to certain obviously artificial conventions. Not that romance itself can ever die; but the dress in which it has been presented to us for several generations is now fairly worn out; no patching can repair it. Mr. Lewis Waller, Mr. Fred Terry and Mr. Martin Harvey have made valiant efforts to galvanise the dead tradition into life; but it must be observed that, with one exception—"Matt of Merrymount," by E. G. Sutherland and B. M. Dix, given by Mr. Terry

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at the New Theatre—they have produced little or no work which claimed to be entirely new, even in name. They have been forced to rely almost entirely on adaptations and revivals. The scene of "Matt of Merrymount" was laid in New England; the period was the seventeenth century, and its treatment boasted little originality. Mr. Waller gave "The Duke's Motto," adapted from the French by Justin Huntly McCarthy, at the Lyric; Mr. Martin Harvey revived "The Corsican Brothers," during an autumn season at the Adelphi Theatre; and also produced "The Last Heir," a version of "The Bride of Lammermoor," arranged by Mr. Stephen Phillips. In each of these cases the manager, after a few weeks, was obliged to fall back on some established favourite; such as "The Scarlet Pimpernel" or "The Only Way." Two ventures which might have promised better things proved equally disappointing—"Lady Barbarity," a version by R. C. Carton of the novel by J. C. Snaith, given, with Miss Marie Tempest in the name part, at the Comedy Theatre; and "The O'Grindles," an "original" play by H. O. Esmond, produced by Mr. Cyril Maude at The Playhouse. Mr. Maude himself, with Miss Alexandra Carlisle as the heroine, did all that could be done in a series of scenes, presenting, in a style well-known to all play-goers, the life of an Irish family in the eighteenth century; but in vain. Mr. Maude replaced "The O'Grindles" by yet another short-lived costume-play, "Marjorie Strode," by A. E. W. Mason; an idyllic comedy with the Napoleonic wars for a background. Mr. H. B. Irving revived "The Lyons Mail" at the Shaftesbury Theatre during the autumn, with a fair share of success. Like "The Corsican Brothers," "The Lyons Mail" will always keep a certain hold over an audience through the sheer dramatic force of one or two situations; still it is impossible not to feel that Mr. Irving's talents might be employed on something more vital than old-fashioned melodrama. "The Two Pins," a "romantic comedy" by Frank Stayton, was played for a fortnight at the Aldwych Theatre, with Mr. Oscar Asche and Miss Lily Brayton in the chief parts.

Plays of modern action, as distinguished from the "drawing-room play," are best represented by "The Flag Lieutenant," which appeared at The Playhouse in June, and, to all appearance, still has a long and triumphant career before it. The authors are Major W. P. Drury and Mr. Leo Trevor; and the scene is laid, for the most part, on board a man-of-war, with an interval of sharp fighting on land. After several false starts, Mr. Cyril Maude has here lighted on a rival to "The Second in Command." His own performance, as the Lieutenant, is admirable, and thoroughly deserves its popularity. Mr. Aubrey Smith, Miss Winifred Emery, and Miss Lilian Braithwaite, are included in the cast.

Among leading dramatists, three at least have given us new and characterised work; Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Barrie and Mr. Pinero. Mr. Shaw's play was first seen in a series of *matinées* at the Haymarket Theatre, and was announced as "a Conversation," with the title, "Getting Married." The description was strictly accurate; the characters, including a bishop, a general, an alderman, a mayoress and several other persons, gradually assembled on the stage, and discussed matrimony. Some unorthodox views were expressed, in extraordinarily

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natural and well-chosen language. The curtain rose and fell at intervals; not, as it was explained, to emphasise any particular crisis, but merely to give the players a rest. Looked on as a *tour-de-force*, the piece may be pronounced a success; though it must be allowed that a good deal of the attraction was owing to the excellent acting of nearly the whole cast. The performances of Miss Marie Löhr, Mr. Henry Ainley and Mr. William Farren may perhaps be specially mentioned. Mr. Shaw was also represented by a delightful revival of "Arms and the Man," at the Savoy Theatre, during the winter season. Mr. Robert Loraine carried off the chief honours, in the part of the Swiss soldier of fortune; he was well supported by Miss Lillah McCarthy as "Raina." Mr. Granville Barker acted the part of "Sergius" with more conviction than might have been thought possible; though nothing could make the character seem appropriate to him.

Mr. Barrie, in "What Every Woman Knows," has scored the most striking popular success of the year. His hero is a young Scot, of a singularly unattractive disposition—John Shand by name—who, when the scene opens, first appears as a railway porter. During the play, he works his way gradually upwards, becomes a member of Parliament, and is left fairly embarked on a brilliant political career. The point, or moral, of the story, is that John's wife, Maggie, whom he has married for mercenary motives, and considers greatly his inferior, is in reality far the cleverer of the two, and his triumphs are finally shown to be chiefly owing to her. The revelation of character in both John and Maggie, especially in the earlier scenes, is masterly; it was done full justice to by Mr. Gerald du Maurier and Miss Hilda Trevelyan. Later, when the scene shifts to London, Mr. Barrie seems less sure of his ground; the "fashionable" ladies, played by Mrs. Tree and Miss Lillah McCarthy, appeared curiously unlife-like. Mr. Sydney Valentine, and Mr. Edmund Gwenn, as Maggie's brothers, struggled bravely, though too evidently, with the necessary Scotch accent.

Mr. Pinero's play, "The Thunderbolt"—a cleverly constructed but depressing piece—was produced by Mr. George Alexander at the St. James's Theatre. The plot turns on the efforts of various members of a middle-class family to secure a dead brother's fortune. Their different manœuvres, all more or less sordid, are dwelt on at length. The characters are too uniformly unpleasant to create much interest, and the only high-minded exception—a young girl, very well played by Miss Stella Campbell—is made to express herself in language so terribly sententious that it is difficult to feel any sympathy for her—however much one may feel for Miss Campbell herself, in such an ungrateful part.

The list of modern comedies is an unusually long one; so long, indeed, that is impossible to do more than single out a few of the most conspicuous. "Dolly Reforming Herself," by Henry Arthur Jones, is slighter than the author's usual work; but it gives Miss Ethel Irving the opportunity of displaying the alternate coaxing and storming which were so effective in "Lady Frederick." Miss Mary Moore in "Lady Epping's Lawsuit," Sir Charles Wyndham in "Bellamy the Magnificent," and Miss Marie Tempest in "Mrs. Dot," have all repeated former successes on familiar lines. In Mr. Sutro's new play, "The Builder of

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Bridges," Miss Irene Vanbrugh again plays the part of a woman convicted of deceitful practices by the man she loves (Mr. George Alexander). More distinctive in idea is "The Passing of the Third Floor Back," by Jerome K. Jerome; which, though described by the author as "An Idle Fancy," and containing several scenes of pure comedy, develops, towards the end, an almost alarmingly religious tendency. Mr. Forbes Robertson deals skilfully with the difficult part of the supernatural stranger. "Diana of Dobson's," by Cicely Hamilton, in which Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. C. M. Hallard, and Mr. Norman M'Kinnel appeared at the Kingsway Theatre, broke new ground, with a shop assistant for heroine. The opening scene, where the four girls, "living in" at "Dobson's," discuss their prospects, was decidedly original.

Miss Evelyn Millard has joined the ranks of the actor-managers, and has entered into possession of the Garrick Theatre. Her first production was "Idols," an adaptation of the novel by W. J. Locke, relying chiefly upon a dramatic, or melodramatic, trial scene. Dramatised versions of Mr. Locke's writings have been much to the fore. Last year's "Morals of Marcus" has been followed by "The Beloved Vagabond" as seen at His Majesty's Theatre. The part of "Paragot" was not especially suited to Mr. Tree, whose "flamboyant" manner soon becomes monotonous. Another dramatised novel, also seen at His Majesty's, was Dickens' "Mystery of Edwin Drood." Mr. Tree played the part of the Jew Fagin with great effect, and every appearance of enjoyment. "Pete," the ultra-sentimental adaptation of Mr. Hall Caine's "Manxman," was given at the Lyceum Theatre, with Mr. Matheson Lang and Miss Hutin Britten in the chief parts.

A series of most remarkable performances was given by a company of Sicilian players, during a short season at the Shaftesbury Theatre. Their language was a Sicilian patois; and the violence of their methods of expression, especially in the case of the leading actress, Signora Aguglia, positively distracted attention from the action of the play itself. The northern temperament is, no doubt, partly to blame; but the fact remains that Signora Aguglia's convulsions of despair appeared, to many of the audience, a display of acrobatic skill rather than of feeling. In the same piece, "Malia," Signor Grasso acted admirably in the part of the hero.

Tragedy, and the classic drama, have fared badly this year. It is long since the record of Shakespearean revivals has been so short, or so undistinguished. We have had repetitions of performances which are already well-known; such as "The Merry Wives of Windsor" at His Majesty's, Mr. Oscar Asche and Miss Lily Brayton in "The Taming of the Shrew," and Mr. Lewis Waller in "Henry V." The only new venture was Mr. Tree's gorgeously-staged "Merchant of Venice"; a marvel of stage-management, in which the acting, unfortunately, seemed to have been relegated to the second place. "Faust," by Stephen Phillips and J. Comyns Carr, was given at His Majesty's during the autumn, on the same outwardly magnificent scale. Mr. Tree, in his new series of afternoon performances, is to be congratulated on a courageous measure; namely, the production of an English version of Gerhart Haupmann's "Hannele." The piece was

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very cleverly handled, both by the manager and the translator; but it is almost impossible that such a version could be altogether satisfactory; the effect gained in the original by the use of dialect can hardly be reproduced. Another perpetual difficulty is the materialisation of Hannele's visions. Is the audience to be shown, in all their crudeness, the prosaic black-bearded school-master and the angels, in the style of a cheap lithograph, which represent the child's ideals? Or are the visions to create an impression of beauty on our minds, as they do on Hannele's? At His Majesty's the angels were skilfully arranged on a conventional plan, so as to suggest the lithograph, without being grotesque; but the manager's strength of mind gave way over the school-master, whose part he allotted to Mr. Henry Ainley. Hannele herself was beautifully played by Miss Marie Löhr.

Mr. Tree's new Christmas-holiday play, "Pinkie and the Fairies," by W. Graham Robertson, can best be classed as belonging to the "Peter Pan" school. It is full of charming incidents, and the children in it are consistently wiser, better, and happier than their elders. The cast is an exceptionally strong one. Foremost among the despised "grown-ups" is Miss Ellen Terry, inimitable as a mid-Victorian aunt. Other important parts are taken by Miss Stella Campbell, Miss Marie Löhr, and Miss Viola Tree; while the leaders among the children are Master Philip Tonge, Miss Iris Hawkins, and Miss Elise Craven. This is Miss Tree's last appearance on the dramatic stage, as her very exceptional gifts are to be devoted, in future, to grand opera. In conclusion, it seems hardly necessary to add that "Peter Pan" has been revived for its sixth Christmas season, and is being played to large audiences, who look on its performance almost as a religious rite.

EVELINE C. GODLEY.

III. MUSIC.

Historians will look, no doubt, upon the opening years of the twentieth century as particularly fruitful in musical performance, though their task in sifting and arranging the composers of the period will not be an easy one. In 1908 reproductive musicians were peculiarly active. In London alone upwards of fifteen hundred public concerts were given, an average of about five per diem, or in reality considerably higher, since in the odd weeks of general holiday concerts ceased for the moment.

In theory this activity is superb, of course. In reality it is something less than superb, because so much of it is exhibited, for some psychological but quite inexplicable reason, by well-meaning but quite misguided folk who have no kind of artistic right to worry the public by their often puerile efforts. However, among the concerts and other musical performances was much of the highest order of merit. It is of these alone that I write now.

Slowly the operatic wheel has been turning during the last few years in London. Yearly we seem to be approaching that haven where we would be, and now opera in English is gradually growing to permanence, and the foundation-stone of National Opera, that is of opera in the vernacular, not necessarily and entirely opera by British

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composers, has been well and truly laid—or so it would appear. The New Year of 1908 dawned upon a series of operatic performances at Covent Garden, given by the Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company. Chief among the series was the welcome revival of Goring Thomas's "Esmeralda," in which Elizabeth Burgess and Walter Wheatley, Arthur Winckworth and Charles Victor appeared with success. Towards the end of the month Dr. Hans Richter and the Grand Opera Syndicate brought to fruition a scheme over which they had laboured long, and produced without cuts the whole of Wagner's "Nibelung's Ring" in an admirable English version made by Mr. Frederick Jameson. The majority of the artists engaged in this historic enterprise were British or American. But it was found impossible to discover a tenor for the extremely exacting *rôle* of Siegfried, a part finely played by the Dane, Peter Cornelius, while Hans Bechstein essayed Mime's *rôle*. Great and genuine success was achieved by Agnes Nicholls as Sieglinde, Walter Hyde, who had previously played in comedy opera only, as Siegmund, Whitehill (an American baritone engaged at Cologne), and (vocally) by Maud Perceval Allen as Brünnhilde.

At the end of April the "grand" season began, and lasted thirteen weeks. During this period many superb performances in German and Italian were given of operas entirely familiar. Of various Wagner operas fifteen representations occurred, "Les Huguenots" and "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" were revived with "Armide," "Manon Lescaut," "Otello," "I Pescatori di Perle." The season was made memorable by the singing of Melba and Tetrazzini as "stars" in the early Victorian sense, and of Destinn, Sammarco, Van Rooy, Bonci, Zenatello and John McCormack, while Lina Cavalieri made something of a sensation by her physical beauty no less than by her very melodramatic style of acting. Among new-comers or visitors after long absence were Corinne Rider-Kelsey, Fely Dereyne, Edyth Walker and Edvina (a *nom de théâtre* of the Hon. Mrs. Cecil Edwardes). On May 27 a gala performance of extracts from "I Pescatori di Perle," with Tetrazzini, and "Faust," with Melba, took place in honour of the visit of the French President; and in June Melba celebrated her twenty years' connection with Covent Garden by a concert there in aid of the London Hospital. For the first time for some years there was no autumn season. The conductors in the "grand" season were Richter, Campanini, Panizza and Pitt. Among the most notable concerts were those given under the direction of Richter and Nikisch by the London Symphony Orchestra, at one of which an arrangement for the concert-room of Ethel Smyth's opera "The Wreckers" (produced at Leipzig and Prague in the previous year as "Strandrecht") was produced, the soloists being Blanche Marchesi, Anna El-Tour, John Coates and Hamilton Earle, Nikisch conducting. Another operatic work of which extracts were given in the concert-room was Henry Waller's "Fra Francesco," which after its production at Berlin was sung under Arthur Fagge in Queen's Hall by the London Choral Society. The latter conductor also produced an unsatisfactory cantata, "The Beatitudes," by Edward Maryon, the pseudonym of the Comte d'Aulby de Gatigny. The Royal Choral Society, whose habitat is the Royal Albert Hall, and conductor Sir

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Frederick Bridge, kept to the beaten track and produced no new thing. The London Philharmonic Society, now well on towards the centenary of its foundation, gave seven concerts, but, like most of the regular societies, generally ignored British music. By way of reviving public interest in its work this ancient society put its conductorship as it were in commission, the directors engaged being Henry J. Wood, Frederic Cowen, Landon Ronald and Arthur Nikisch, a policy that was productive of good results so far as it was possible for the outsider to gauge them. Sibelius, the Finnish composer, and Jenō Hubay, the Hungarian violinist, were among the distinguished musicians who appeared at the Philharmonic Concerts.

The Queen's Hall Symphony concerts went their eventful way once again, and during the fine series of Promenade Concerts under Henry J. Wood's direction six new works of British origin were produced. Of these by far the most important was H. Balfour Gardiner's "Symphony in E flat," a bright and brief composition that gave abundant proof of its author's ability. During the Sheffield Festival of which Henry Wood is conductor, his place at the Promenade Concerts was taken by Edouard Colonne from Paris. A series of Promenade Concerts, of a type now somewhat antiquated, was undertaken in April at the new St. James's Hall in Great Portland Street, but neither the concerts nor, for the time being, the hall met with the success originally anticipated. Of extraneous orchestral and chamber concerts there was practically no end. Josef Holbrooke created a mild sensation in January by two performances of his symphonic work based upon Herbert Trench's poem, "Apollo and the Seaman," Queen's Hall being in pitch darkness and the author's text thrown upon a screen in so fragmentary a fashion that it was found impossible to read the poetry and hear the appropriate music simultaneously.

In the schools the activity was no less keen than outside. The operatic class of the Guildhall School of Music gave two particularly interesting performances of Gluck's unfamiliar opera, "Iphigenia in Tauris," and the students of the Royal College of Music revived Verdi's "Falstaff" at His Majesty's Theatre.

Chief among our corporate visitors were the Rosé Quartet from Vienna, who played superbly at a Broadwood Concert, and the deservedly famous Männergesangverein from Cologne. The two concerts given by the latter society under the direction of Josef Schwartz were magnificent after their kind. Of prodigies, happily, few put in an appearance; of these Georg Szell, a Hungarian lad from Buda-Pesth, born there in 1897, showed promise as composer at a concert in the Albert Hall when an overture in E, conducted by Landon Ronald and played by the London Symphony Orchestra was well received. Szell also appeared as pianist. Mlynarski, the conductor; Moszkowski, once pianist, now conductor; Camille Saint-Saëns, Claude Debussy, the composer who, with Richard Strauss, loomed largest in the public eye in 1908; Paderewski, Pachmann, Sapellnikoff, Busoni, Sauer, Pugno, Gabrilowitsch, Buhlig, Godowsky, Stojowski, Sofie Menter, the incomparable Teresa Carreño, and Jolando Mero (a new-comer of great talent), Leopold Auer, Mischa Elman, Kreisler, Ephrem Zimbalist, Burmester

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Hegedüs and Kathleen Parlow; Tilly Koenen, Elena Gerhardt, Hélène Staegemann, Clara Clemens (daughter of Mark Twain), Julia Culp, Charles Clark, Arthur Alexander, Reinhold von Warlich, Wüllner, Engel, Lulek and Heinemann, were the chief visitant conductors (besides those already mentioned), pianists, violinists, and singers of the year.

There is no doubt that in actual composition the prize among British musicians of 1908 belongs to Sir Edward Elgar for his "First Symphony," dedicated to and produced by Hans Richter at a Hallé Concert in Manchester on December 3. It is quite certain that there is no recorded instance of so emphatic a success following upon the production of a British composition in the most important form of absolute music—a success that was as well deserved as achieved. For performance followed upon performance in bewildering number, Richter, Henry J. Wood, and Elgar each directing various London performances for which extra concerts were arranged in London within a few weeks of the initial production. The Elgar symphony ear-marked the year 1908 in British music.

It has to be recorded, unfortunately, that nothing of first-rate importance was produced at any of the provincial musical festivals, of which there were four, exclusive of the competitive festivals which, though they are beginning to play a part of some interest in the provincial musical life, are yet not of the kind to weigh heavily in the year's musical balances. The Three Choirs' Meeting occurred in September at Worcester, when the sole novelties were Sir Hubert Parry's motet "Beyond these voices there is peace," and Granville Bantock's orchestral piece "The Pierrot of the Minute." (This last-named composer, it may be mentioned, was elected Professor of Music in Birmingham University on the retirement of Elgar in the autumn.) At Sheffield an important new work was Frederich Delius's "Sea Drift"; at Bristol Stanford's setting of Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of Wellington" was heard for the first time, while at Norwich Julius Harrison's prize cantata "Cleopatra" showed how futile is the offering of monetary reward for a musical composition in a competition.

The obituary list of the year was happily small. In March died, *æt.* ninety, Countess Gigliucci, who, as Clara Novello, had played an important part in the vocal world half a century and more ago; Pauline Lucca, *æt.* sixty-six, once an eminent operatic vocalist; and Ira D. Sankey, the Evangelistic hymn-tune composer.

ROBIN H. LEGGE.

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OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1908.

JANUARY.

Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, died on January 28, aged 89. M. François Marie Benjamin Richard belonged to the noble family of Richard de Lavergne, and was born at Nantes in 1819. For twenty years, from 1851 to 1871, he was Vicar-General of the diocese of Nantes. In 1871 he was made Bishop of Belley, in 1875 Coadjutor-Bishop of Cardinal Guibert in the See of Paris, it being understood that he was to succeed that prelate. He then bore the title of Bishop of Larissa *in partibus infidelium*, and became 129th Archbishop of Paris in 1886, and Cardinal Priest in 1889. He announced at the beginning of his career as Archbishop that he would interfere in politics only to defend the interests of the Church; and protested to successive Presidents against the imposition of military service on seminarists, against the condemnation of the Assumptionists in 1900, and against the law dealing with the religious orders in 1905. He formally deplored the separation of Church and State and the increasing "dechristianisation" of France; and when the ecclesiastical buildings were resumed by the State he stated his desire not to vacate the episcopal palace unless forced to do so. He wrote several books, among them a life of the pious Françoise d'Amboise, Duchess of Brittany.

Sir John Lawson Walton, K.C., Attorney-General, died on January 18 of double pneumonia, after two days' illness. The s. of a President of the Wesleyan Conference, he was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, near Liverpool, was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1877, and joined the North-Eastern circuit. He stood for Parliament against Mr. Gerald Balfour for Central Leeds in 1892 unsuccessfully, was returned at a bye-election in the same year to succeed Dr. Lyon Playfair, who had been raised to the Peerage, and sat for that constituency till his death. He was a leading Imperialist, and a prominent member of the Liberal League. He had taken silk in 1890, and had been an extremely able advocate. Among his great cases were "Allen *v.* Flood," the famous trade union case; "Lyon *v.* Playfair," which held the record for damages for libel till the soap case in 1907; the Whittaker-Wright trial, where he was counsel for the defence, and the Norfolk peerage case. He became Attorney-General under the Liberal Government at the end of 1905. His Parliamentary speeches were singularly able, notably in the debate on Mr. Justice Grantham's conduct of the Yarmouth election petition, in introducing the Trade Disputes Bill, 1906, and on the Workmen's Compensation Bill. He had given evidence before the Royal Commission on Church Discipline in favour of simplifying and strengthening the procedure against excessive Ritualism. M., 1882, Joanna, dau. of Robert Hedderwick.

Sir Massey Lopes.—Sir Lopes Massey Lopes, third baronet, died at his residence, Maristow, near Plymouth, on

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January 20, aged 90. Educated at Winchester and Oriel College, Oxford, he followed the example of his father and grandfather in entering Parliament, and represented Westbury as a Conservative from 1857 to 1868, and South Devon from 1868 till 1885. In the House he had specially championed the interests of agriculture and had carried a resolution for the relief of local taxation in 1872 against the Liberal Government. He was Civil Lord of the Admiralty from 1874 to 1880 and High Sheriff of Devonshire in 1857. He had greatly improved his estate. M. (1) the Hon. Bertha Yarde-Buller, dau. of the first Lord Churston; (2) Louisa, dau. of Sir R. W. Newman; succeeded by his s.

"**Ouida**," **Mdlle. Louise de la Ramée** (or **Ramé**), a popular mid-Victorian novelist, died at Viareggio, Italy, on January 25, aged 67. Born of an English mother and a French father in Bury St. Edmunds, she early showed considerable literary power, writing short stories for *Colburn's Magazine*—adopting her own childish mispronunciation of "Louisa" as a pen name—and publishing her first novel, "Held in Bondage," at 23. This was followed by upwards of forty others, at first resembling the early efforts of a schoolgirl, dealing with Guardsmen, ballet-dancers, and fast society, but quite without first-hand knowledge. Indeed, the surprising athletic feats of her heroes, and her still more surprising perversions of classical and modern learning and literature, were long the delight of critics, and her style lent itself to parody, alike in *The Light Green* and in *Punch*. Nevertheless she wrote with a brilliancy which captivated most readers, and she had the art of telling a story. Later, she dropped her actresses and Guardsmen, and wrote pretty, sentimental, and rather cloying stories of peasant life and child life in France and Italy. In the latter country she spent most of her later life. She was passionately fond of children and animals, cordially hated the modernising tendencies which were transforming Italy, and detested the "new woman" almost as much. Though she must have made large sums, she spent and gave away freely—it was recorded that she once gave a dinner to all the destitute dogs of Florence—and was granted a civil list pension in 1906, though she refused to accept the additional help offered her by her admirers. She died in poverty and solitude. Her works were at any rate less unhealthy in tone than the more elaborate novels of feminism produced by women writers of the succeeding generation.

Holger Drachmann, one of the greatest poets of Denmark, died rather suddenly on January 14, aged 61. The s. of a Copenhagen physician of German extraction, he was brought up as a marine painter, and achieved some success, but eventually came under the influence of Georg Brandes, and published a volume of poems in 1872. Originally a poet of a somewhat Radical and Swinburnian type he reverted, like Mr. Swinburne, to patriotic nationalism in later life, from 1885 onwards, and was also a notable dramatist. His *forte* in poetry as in painting was the sea. He wrote some forty volumes, comprising narrative and lyric poetry, drama and prose novels. Some of his work has been translated into English under the title of "The Cruise of the *Wild Duck*."

On the 1st, aged 78, **Joseph Bennett**, Liberal M.P. for the Gainsborough division of Lincolnshire from 1885 to 1895, a prominent citizen of Grimsby and a Wesleyan Methodist. On the 2nd, at Calcutta, aged 50, **Charles Van Raalte, F.S.A.**, of Brownsea Island, Poole, sometime Mayor of the borough and unsuccessful Conservative candidate for East Dorsetshire in 1904 and 1906. On the 2nd, aged 46, **Colonel Harold George de Pledge**, commanding Alexandra (Princess of Wales's Own) Hussars; had served with distinction in the Egyptian expeditions of 1884-5 and in the South African War. On the 2nd, aged 75, the **Rev. Arthur Christopher Thynne**, Hon. Canon of Truro and Rector of Kilkhampton, Cornwall, since 1859; s. of the Rev. Lord John Thynne, Subdean of Westminster; an active promoter of elementary education. On the 3rd, aged 87, the **Rev. Berdmore Compton**, sometime Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and a Master at Rugby under Dr. Goulburn; from 1873 to 1886 Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, the well-known West-end High Church; Prebendary of St. Paul's since 1897. On the 3rd, aged 85, **Richard Vicars Boyle, M.I.C.E., C.S.I.**, formerly of the Indian Public Works Department, and from 1872 to 1877 Engineer-in-Chief of the Japanese Government railways; during the Indian Mutiny he, with other officials and fifty Sikhs, defended his house at Arrah for eight days against 3,000 Sepoy mutineers, till relieved. On the 3rd, the **Rev. Edward Husband**, Vicar of St. Michael's, Folkestone, since 1878; took priest's orders in 1867 from St. Aidan's

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Theological College; an earnest promoter of Church work and Church music, and the first clergyman to have a special cyclists' service. On the 4th, aged 90, **Charles Absolon**, for many years a conspicuous professional cricketer and underhand bowler. On the 4th, **Asher John Hucklesby**, an important manufacturer of straw hats at Luton, popularly known as the "Straw Hat King." On the 4th, aged 52, **Edward Hanlan**, the famous Canadian sculler, and champion until beaten by Beach in New South Wales in 1884. He won many matches later, chiefly in Canada and the United States. On the 4th, aged 57, the **Rev. Williamson Richardson Linton**, Christ Church, Oxford, tutor at the Church Missionary Society's College at Islington, 1877-86, Vicar of Shirley, Derbyshire, 1886-1908; a student of theology and an authority on botany. On the 5th, aged 70, **Lewis Pugh Pugh**, Advocate-General of Bengal and a member of the Lieut.-Governor's Council, and an Additional Member of Council of the Government of India; Liberal M.P. for Cardiganshire, 1880-5. On the 6th, aged 60, **William Bancroft Cooke, J.P.**, sometime President of the Liverpool Cotton Association, and for thirty years Treasurer of the Financial Reform Association. On the 8th, aged 68, **Sir Edward Berkeley Mansel, Bart.**; assumed the title in 1903; his legitimacy had been disputed, as his parents had been married irregularly in Scotland, and a s. born after their second marriage had held the title and been succeeded by his s., who abandoned the title to his uncle (the deceased) but resumed it on the death of the latter. On the 8th, aged 84, **Lieut.-General George Hyde Page**, Colonel since 1903 of the Lincolnshire Regiment; had served in New Zealand and in the Crimea. On the 8th, aged 67, **Alfred Pretor**, Fellow of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, Seventh Classic, 1864, a prominent classical lecturer and an active supporter of Girton College. On the 9th, aged 75, **Wilhelm Busch**, a well-known German writer and illustrator of children's humorous books. On the 10th, aged about 63, **Robert Atkinson, T.C.D., D.Litt., LL.D.**, sometime Professor of Sanskrit and the Romance languages in Dublin University; a linguist of very wide range, and a high authority on Erse; had edited the Brehon Laws, the Yellow Book of Lecan, and other Irish texts; President of the Royal Irish Academy, 1901-6. On the 10th, aged 76, **Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I.**, head of an important Bengal family, long a member of the Bengal Council and that of the Viceroy, a munificent benefactor of education and a strong supporter of British rule. On the 12th, aged 89, **Major-General Sir Frederic John Goldsmid, K.C.S.I.**, sometime East India Company's army; had served in China in 1804, and in Scinde, and in the Crimea with an auxiliary force of Turks in British pay, and had superintended the erection of the Indo-European Telegraph; had also delimited the Perso-Afghan and Perso-Baluch frontiers and held important posts in Egypt and the Congo State in its early days. He had written the Life of Sir James Outram, and done much valuable literary and historical work. On the 12th, aged 61, **Professor Ernst Hasse**, Professor of Statistics and "Kolonialpolitik" at Leipzig, President of the Pan-German League, and an ardent supporter of the "expansion" of Germany; National Liberal member for Leipzig in the Reichstag from 1893 to 1903. On the 12th, aged 88, **Rear-Admiral Marcus Lowther, F.R.G.S., J.P.** for Hants; had served with distinction on the Syrian coast against Mehemet Ali and against pirates in Borneo. On the 13th, aged 69, **William Dillworth Crewdson**, Chairman of the Westmoreland County Council and ex-High Sheriff. On the 13th, aged 75, **M. Camille Groult**, an eminent Parisian art collector, whose collection of eighteenth century French pictures was exceptionally fine. He left a large part of it to the Louvre. About the 14th, at Melbourne, **Robert Lewis John Ellery, F.R.S.**, first Director of the Melbourne Observatory, over which he presided from its foundation in 1853 to 1895; he also directed an extensive survey of the Colony. On the 14th, aged 81, **Major-General Henry Parlett Bishop**, late Royal (Bengal) Artillery; had served in the Sikh War and distinguished himself before Delhi in the Mutiny. On the 14th, aged 36, **Major John Sanders Cayzer**, late 7th Dragoon Guards; had served in the South African War under Sir Redvers Buller, and controlled the signalling to Ladysmith during the siege. On the 15th, aged 64, **Sir David Richmond**, Lord Provost of Glasgow, 1896-9, chairman of the Clyde Trust; had served on the South African War Commission. On the 15th, aged 80, **Prince Innhausen und Knyphausen**, President of the Prussian Upper House, a former Gentleman-in-waiting at the Hanoverian Court, who had accepted Prussian rule. On the 16th, aged 78, **Major-General David Simson Buist**, Indian Staff Corps; had served in the Mutiny and distinguished himself in the Bhutan Expeditions, 1865, as well as in other Indian warfare. On the 16th, **Major-General Francis Schreiber, C.B., R.A.** (retired); had served with distinction in the Crimea and the Egyptian expedition of 1882. On the 17th, **Lieut.-General**

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Sir Henry Newdegate, K.C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Rifle Brigade; had served in the Crimea, distinguished himself in the Mutiny, and commanded the Lower Kurrum Field Force in the Afghan War of 1880. He had since held commands at Winchester and Gibraltar, retiring in 1898. On the 17th, aged 72, **Ferdinand IV., Grand Duke of Tuscany** and **Archduke of Austria**; succeeded on the abdication of his father in July, 1859, but was dethroned in the August following, and had since resided chiefly at Salzburg and Lindau. M. (1) Princess Anna of Saxony, who died 1859; (2) 1868, the Archduchess Alice, dau. of Duke Charles of Parma. His dau. by the second marriage was the divorced Crown Princess of Saxony, his s. the Archduke Leopold, who renounced his title and became Leopold Wölfling in order to marry a wife in a humble station. On the 18th, aged 71, **William Ambrose, K.C.**, Conservative M.P. for the Harrow division of Middlesex from 1885 to 1899, when he became a Master in Lunacy; for some years Attorney-General for the Duchy of Lancaster, and a Bencher of the Middle Temple. On the 19th, aged 74, **Edmund Clarence Stedman**, a well-known American poet and essayist, originally a journalist and eventually a stockbroker and banker. On the 19th, aged 88, **Admiral Frederick William Gough, C.B.**; had served ashore with distinction during the Kaffir War of 1846, at the bombardment of Sebastopol, and with the naval brigade in the Crimea, and in almost every part of the world subsequently, and had been specially promoted Captain for services in the Coastguard. On the 20th, **Charles Emory Smith**, United States Postmaster-General, 1898-1902, a well-known Republican journalist and long editor of the *Philadelphia Press*. On the 19th, aged 83, the **Rev. Henry Rowley**, once a missionary in Central Africa, afterwards organising Secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the diocese of London, and author of the "Story of the Universities' Mission." On the 21st, **Mrs. Sarah McLardie Amos**, *née* **Bunting**, widow of Professor Sheldon Amos, an active worker in the movement for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and with other philanthropic movements in England and Egypt. On the 22nd, aged 70, **Sir David Brand**, Sheriff-Principal of Ayrshire and since 1886 chairman of the Crofters' Commission. On the 22nd, aged 46, **Colonel Edward Vyvyan Luke, C.B., R.M.L.I.**; had served in the Egyptian campaign of 1882 and in the Chinese expedition of 1900, during the Boxer rebellion, when he was twice mentioned in despatches and promoted. On the 22nd, aged 62, **August Emil Daniel Victor Wilhelmj**, a famous violinist; had frequently appeared in London from 1866 onwards, and had been principal violin teacher at the Guildhall School of Music. On the 23rd, **Captain James Samuel Watts, R.N.**; had served against slavers on the West Coast of Africa, and been mentioned in despatches for his conduct at the burning of H.M.S. *Bombay* in 1864, and had done valuable surveying work off Japan. On the 23rd, aged 53, **Austin Melford**, for many years a popular actor both in England and in Sydney, N.S.W.; long associated with the Wilson Barrett company. On the 23rd, aged 85, **General Lewal**, French War Minister under Jules Ferry in 1885. On the 23rd, **Captain John Robertson**, sometime 78th Highlanders; had served in the Persian War and subsequently with distinction in the Indian Mutiny, and had been Bursar of Rossall School from 1873 to 1878. On the 24th, aged 74, **Colonel Charles Edward Torriano, C.B.**, late **R.A.**; had served with distinction in the Crimea, and in the Indian Mutiny, and held commands at the Cape, St. Helena, and elsewhere. On the 24th, aged 64, **Joseph Grego**, a specialist in the history of English caricature. On the 25th, aged 64, **Montagu Turner**, in the 'seventies a well-known amateur cricketer and known as the Middlesex wicket-keeper. On the 25th, aged 82, **Julia Lady Monier-Williams** (dau. of the Rev. Francis Faithfull), widow of Sir Monier Monier-Williams, sometime Boden Professor of Sanskrit, for many years the friend of students at Haileybury, and afterwards of Oxford undergraduates, and an energetic assistant to her husband in collecting money for the Indian Institute. On the 25th, suddenly, aged 71, **Sir Thomas McCall Anderson**, Regius Professor of Medicine in Glasgow University since 1900 and previously Professor of Clinical Medicine. He was an able teacher and an expert in dermatology. About the 25th, in Russia, **M. Tchigorin**, a famous chess player. On the 26th, aged 60, **Rear-Admiral Henry Charles Bigge**; had been on H.M.S. *Bombay* when she was burnt in 1864, and in the Egyptian expedition in 1882, and the Soudan expedition in 1884. On the 26th, aged 67, the **Hon. George Thomas Kenyon**, Conservative M.P. for the Denbigh boroughs from 1885 to 1895, and from 1900 to 1905; s. of the third and uncle of the fourth Lord Kenyon, and prominent in Flint and Denbigh. On the 26th, aged 73, **Sir William Thomas Gustavus Cook**, Liberal M.P. for East Birmingham in the 1885 Parliament, and Mayor of the City, 1883. On the 27th, aged 86, **Thomas Fowell Buxton**, of

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Easneye, Herts; second s. of Sir T. Fowell Buxton, first baronet, and a member of the famous brewing firm; long connected with the London Hospital and a generous supporter of various charities. On the 27th, aged 82, **Emma, Lady Lingen**, dau. of Robert Hutton, widow of the first and only Lord Lingen, and an active promoter of higher education for women. On the 28th, aged 47, **Sidney Edward Paget**, a successful portrait painter and illustrator. On the 29th, aged 92, **Admiral Sir Arthur Farquhar, K.C.B.**; had served on the Syrian coast against Mehemet Ali, and against the Borneo pirates in 1849. Among his later commands was that at Plymouth, in 1878-80. On the 30th, **Sir Henry Tyler**, Government Inspector of Railways under the Board of Trade from 1853 to 1871, and then Chief Inspector till 1877; he then retired, was knighted, and was chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway from 1877 to 1895, and also deputy-chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, and a director or chairman of other companies. He was Conservative member for Harwich from 1880 to 1885, and for Great Yarmouth from 1885 to 1892. On the 30th, aged 72, **Professor James Bell Pettigrew, M.D., LL.D.**, Chandos Professor of Anatomy and Medicine in St. Andrews University since 1875, a prolific writer on medical and scientific subjects, and an experimenter in aerial navigation. On the 31st, aged 69, **Charles Stewart Murdoch, C.B.**, Assistant Under-Secretary at the Home Office from 1896 to 1903. In January, **Morris K. Jesup**, a wealthy and liberal New Yorker. He bequeathed $1,000,000 to the New York National History Museum. In January, **John Dove Wilson, LL.D.**, Emeritus Professor of Law at Aberdeen and a writer of legal treatises. In January, aged 77, **Sir William George Johnson**, fourth baronet; succeeded 1843; m. 1889, Elizabeth, dau. of R. H. Brown; succeeded by his nephew.

FEBRUARY.

King Carlos of Portugal, assassinated at Lisbon on the afternoon of February 1, was the s. of King Luis of Portugal and the Princess Pia of Savoy, dau. of Victor Emmanuel I. of Italy, and was b. at Lisbon, September 23, 1863. He m. in 1886 Marie Amélie, dau. of the Comte de Paris and granddaughter of King Louis Philippe of France, and succeeded his father in 1889. Next year the dispute took place with Great Britain relative to the Anglo-Portuguese frontier in the Zambesi region. While he desired friendship with Great Britain, his people were furious at the British claims, and it was only the presentation of an ultimatum (Jan. 11, 1890) that caused the Portuguese Government to yield. This question was eventually settled by the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of June 11, 1891; but next year, owing to the accumulating financial difficulties of the country the National Debt was written down and the King's Civil List considerably reduced. The King subsequently often anticipated his income, obtaining secret advances from successive Ministries; and another readjustment of Portuguese liabilities became necessary in 1903. In 1895 he visited Queen Victoria and was entertained in the City, and in the subsequent South African troubles he showed himself a valuable ally—refusing permission for the despatch of German marines to Pretoria across Portuguese territory in January, 1896, and allowing British reinforcements to be despatched across it during the South African War. He attended Queen Victoria's funeral and visited King Edward VII., and the visit was returned in April, 1903, when both monarchs emphasised the long-standing Anglo-Portuguese alliance. In November, 1904, again, King Carlos and Queen Amélie visited Windsor and were enthusiastically received both on their way thither and at the Mansion House, and an Anglo-Portuguese arbitration treaty was signed. While popular in London, in Paris—where he was frequently the subject of friendly caricature—and among the Portuguese subjects resident in Brazil, he had become unpopular in his later years in his own country, at any rate among the politicians. He had interfered much more than is customary among professedly constitutional monarchs with his Ministries and Parliaments, he had frequently anticipated his income, and he was even charged with intriguing in favour of certain financiers who had supplied his needs. In May, 1907, after a split in the Regenerador party, he decided to give the Premier, Senhor João Franco, a free hand in reforming the numerous abuses in the Administration, dissolved Parliament, and while improving the pay of the Army and Civil Service to secure support, allowed wholesale arrests and deportations, and the suspension of the regular municipal governments. Dis-

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content became acute; but the King took the somewhat unconventional course of stating his case to a correspondent of the *Temps*. The Opposition seemed to be quieting down, and elections were fixed for April, 1908, when, on February 1, on the return of the Royal party from Villaviçosa they were fired on by assassins armed with revolvers and carbines and the King and Crown Prince mortally wounded. A genial, burly, cheery monarch, a considerable sportsman and a talented artist, he suffered from lack of judgment in dealing with an admittedly corrupt and ill-managed Administration in a poor and backward country.

The Crown Prince of Portugal, Prince Louis Philippe, Duke of Braganza, who shared his father's fate, was b. at Lisbon, March 21, 1887, and had lately been travelling through the Portuguese colonies, where he had been received with great enthusiasm. He was believed to be amiable and tactful, and great hopes were entertained of his success as a ruler.

The Marquess of Linlithgow.—The Right Hon. Sir John Adrian Louis Hope, first Marquess of Linlithgow, K.T., G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., seventh Earl of Hopetoun in the Peerage of Scotland, and first Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth, died at Pau on February 29, aged 48. The eldest s. of the sixth Earl and of Etheldred, dau. of C. T. Birch-Reynardson, he succeeded his father in 1873 when still at Eton; completed his education by travel, and in 1888 became junior Conservative Whip in the House of Lords. From 1885 to 1889 he was a Lord-in-Waiting, and in 1887-9 Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; from 1889 to 1895 he was Governor of Victoria, Australia, during the great financial crisis. From 1895 to 1898 he was Paymaster-General; he then succeeded the Earl of Lathom as Lord Chamberlain, and in 1900 went out as first Governor-General of federated Australia to inaugurate the Commonwealth Parliament. His appointment was desired and entirely successful, but he found it impossible to keep up the requisite state, even by spending much more than his salary, and as an increase was refused, he resigned his position in 1902. In 1905 he became Secretary for Scotland in Mr. Balfour's Ministry. He had been President of the Institute of Naval Architects from 1895 to 1900. He was a great territorial magnate, an ardent sportsman, despite ill-health, and universally popular. M., 1886, the Hon. Hersey Alice De Moleyns, dau. of the fourth Lord Ventry; succeeded by his elder s., Victor, Earl of Hopetoun.

Sir Algernon Lyons.—Admiral of the Fleet Sir Algernon McLennan Lyons, G.C.B., died at his residence, Kilvrough, near Swansea, on February 9, aged 74; the s. of Lieut.-General Humphrey Lyons, of the Indian Army, he was b. on August 30, 1833, and entered the Navy in 1847. He served in the Crimean War in H.M.S. *Firebrand*, distinguishing himself both in a storming party near the mouth of the Danube, the command of which devolved on him after the death of his captain, and also at the bombardment of Sebastopol; commanded H.M.S. *Racer* on the North American station during the critical period of the War of Secession, and afterwards held commands on the Pacific Station, the Detached Squadron (1872-5), as Commodore in charge at Jamaica (1875-8), and on H.M.S. *Monarch* in the Mediterranean (1878), and as Commander-in-Chief on the North American Station (1886-8), and at Devonport (1893-6). He was First Q.A.D.C. from 1895 to 1897 when he was promoted Admiral of the Fleet. M., 1879, Louisa, eldest dau. of Thomas Penrice, of Kilvrough Park, Glamorgan; a D.L. for the County.

Sir James Knowles. — Sir James Knowles, K.C.V.O., proprietor and editor of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, died unexpectedly from heart failure at his Brighton residence on February 13, aged 76. The s. of an architect, he was educated at University College and followed his father's profession, designing, amongst other buildings, three churches at Clapham, Lord Tennyson's house at Aldworth, the Thatched House Club, the Leicester Square garden (as restored at the expense of Baron Albert Grant), and Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, Westminster. In 1869 he originated the Metaphysical Society, a philosophical club containing some seventy or eighty members of high distinction and most diverse pursuits and views—among them Tennyson, Gladstone, W. K. Clifford, W. G. Ward, Mr. John Morley, Cardinal Manning, Archbishop Thomson, T. H. Huxley, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Leslie Stephen, and Sir William Gull. In 1870 he succeeded Dean Alford as Editor of the *Contemporary Review*, and in 1877 left it,

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owing to the objection of the proprietors to the insertion of articles (by Professor Clifford notably) attacking Theism. He then founded the *Nineteenth Century*, which soon became famous, largely from his social ability and success in persuading eminent persons to write on topics uppermost in the public mind. *Inter alia* it was prominent in checking the Channel Tunnel project, by publishing a protest signed by many distinguished men in 1882. The title *Twentieth Century* having been appropriated by a much younger and very short-lived rival, the review became the *Nineteenth Century and After*, and adopted its Janus-figure from a coin of Tenedos, in 1898. He was a considerable collector of works of art. He m. (1) 1860, Jane, dau. of Rev. A. Borradaile; (2) 1865, Isabel, dau. of H. W. Hewlett.

Lieut.-General Sir Richard Strachey, G.C.B., F.R.S., K.C.S.I., elder brother of Sir John Strachey, whose death took place on December 19, 1907, died on February 12, aged 90, the grandson of Sir John Strachey, first Baronet of Sutton Court, Somerset, and son of Edward Strachey of the Bengal Civil Service; he entered the East India Company's Bombay Engineer Corps in 1836, served with distinction during the Sutlej Campaign at Aliwal and Sobraon, and, after some work in connection with irrigation, became Secretary to Sir J. P. Grant, Governor of the Central Provinces during the Mutiny. He became Public Works Secretary to the Indian Government in 1862, and was Inspector-General of Irrigation from 1866 to 1869. He reorganised the Public Works Department, and promoted both the decentralisation of finance and the establishment of a forest service. In 1869-70 he was legislative member of the Governor-General's Council. Leaving India in 1871, he became Inspector of Railway Stores, and from 1895 to 1899, with a brief interval of absence in India on official business, he was a member of the Council of the Secretary for India. It was he who originally proposed the closing of the Indian mints with a view to arresting the depreciation of the rupee, which was not, however, carried out till 1893. He had retired from the Army as Lieut.-General in 1876, and left the public service in 1889 to become Chairman of the East Indian Railway Company, which under his management was extraordinarily successful. He was also Chairman of the Assam-Bengal Railway Company. In early years he made important explorations in the Himalayas, while on the survey of Kumaon (1848-9), and very valuable botanical zoological and geological collections. He was a Fellow and a Vice-President of the Royal Society and received its Royal Medal in 1897; was Chairman of the British Meteorological Council (1888-95) and served on several important scientific committees. Throughout life he displayed extraordinary energy and industry and great and diversified ability. He m. (1859) Jane, dau. of Sir John Peter Grant; had five sons and five daughters.

Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab from March, 1907, to January, 1908, died on February 21, aged 60. Born at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, he was educated at St. Peter's College, Adelaide, and St. John's College, Cambridge, and passed first into the Indian Civil Service in 1868. He compiled the census report of the Punjab for 1881, making it a standard authority on the origin, religion, and customs of the races of the district, and distinguished himself then, as throughout his career, by the accuracy and precision of his facts. In 1894 he became Secretary to the Indian Government in the Agricultural and Revenue Department, in 1898 Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and in 1902 Minister of Revenue and Agriculture, where he was active in carrying out reforms. He was Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab during the critical period of 1907, was compelled to come to England for a serious surgical operation, and bravely returned to his post, knowing that resignation would have been ascribed to fear; but he was compelled to come home in 1908.

Professor Johann Friedrich von Esmarch, the famous German military surgeon, died at Kiel on February 24, aged 85. Born at Tonning, he studied medicine at Kiel and Göttingen, served as assistant surgeon with the German army in the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848, and had succeeded his father-in-law, Dr. Stromeyer, in 1854 as director of the Surgical *Klinik* at Kiel, and in 1857 became head of the Kiel hospital. He did much work among the wounded soldiers in the Dano-Prussian War of 1864, and in 1866 he was summoned to Berlin as a member of the Hospitals Commission. In 1870, though unable for reasons of health to follow the German armies in France, he organised the hospital

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and ambulance service, and invented the Esmarch bandage for use in amputations. He was ennobled in 1887. In 1872 he m. as his second wife the Princess Henrietta of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, whose life he had saved by an operation. He was regarded as among the handsomest men of his day, and was considered by Pan-Germanists a typical educated German. He had written many works on surgical science.

Mme. Pauline Lucca, Baroness von Wallhofen, and for many years a famous *prima donna*, died on February 28, aged 65. Born at Vienna of Italian parents, she made her first success as a chorus singer in 1859 in Vienna, and appeared as a solo singer in that year. She then appeared at Olmütz and Prague, from 1861 to 1872 was one of the Royal Opera Company in Berlin, and made a star tour through America in 1873. She appeared in Covent Garden in 1875, in Meyerbeer's "L'Africaine," and from 1884 to 1889 was one of the Imperial Opera Company at the Court Opera, Vienna. She was first m. in 1865 to Baron von Rhaden, and next, in 1874, to Baron von Wallhofen, who died in 1899. Carmen, Norma, and Katharine in the "Taming of the Shrew," were among her favourite characters.

On the 1st, aged 63, **Albert William Quill**, one of the earliest non-foundation Roman Catholic scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and the author of important works on Irish land law and of a translation of the "Histories" of Tacitus. On the 2nd, aged 75, the **Right Hon. Sir Richard Horner Paget**, first baronet, Conservative M.P. for East Somerset, 1865-8, Mid Somerset, 1868-85, and the Wells Division, 1885-95; an authority on Private Bill Procedure, and Chairman for many years of the Commons Committee on Railway and Canal Bills; for some years Chairman also of the Somerset Quarter Sessions and County Council, and an early promoter of the Primrose League. M. 1866, Caroline, dau. of H. E. Surtees, M.P.; succeeded by his s. About the 3rd, **Enriqueta Rylands** (*née* **Tennant**), widow and heiress of Mr. John Rylands, a well-known Manchester merchant, who died in 1888. She had founded and stocked the John Rylands Library in Manchester, and given largely to other public objects, including 25,000*l.* to the Congregationalists, and she left 473,000*l.* to various charities and public institutions and many large personal bequests. Her total estate was nearly 3,500,000*l.* She had received the honorary freedom of Manchester and the Hon. Litt.D. from Victoria University. On the 4th, aged 63, **Alexander Malcolm Sutherland Graeme**, of Graemeshall, Orkney, a prominent landowner and Conservative in the Orkney Islands. On the 5th, aged 47, **Sir William Nicoll, LL.D.**, Chief Justice of Southern Nigeria since 1902; had previously held magisterial or judicial appointments in British Guiana, British Honduras and West Africa. On the 5th, aged 82, **Thomas Brooks, first Lord Crawshaw**, a prominent Lancashire coalowner and manufacturer, and a Liberal till 1886, when he became a Unionist. He was defeated in 1892 for Rossendale by Mr. J. H. Maden. He was created a baronet in 1891 and a Peer in 1892. M. 1851, Catherine, dau. of John Jones; succeeded by his s. On the 6th, aged 85, **Lieut.-General Sir John Wellesley Thomas, K.C.B.**, sometime 67th Regiment; had served with distinction in the first Afghan War in 1841-2, and in China in 1860-2. On the 6th, aged 81, **Surgeon-General William Henry Rean**, sometime Indian Medical Service; had served in the Mutiny. On the 7th, aged 81, **Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg** since 1853. M. 1853, Princess Agnes of Anhalt; succeeded by his nephew. On the 7th, aged 52, **Edward William Mountford, F.R.I.B.A.**, architect of the new Central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey, the Liverpool Museum, and other public buildings. On the 7th, aged 81, **Sir John Denis Macdonald, K.C.B., F.R.S.**, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets; had done much scientific work on deep-sea life, and had been Professor of Naval Hygiene at Netley from 1866 to 1875. On the 8th, aged 60, **Sir George Lauderdale Houston Boswall**, third baronet, sometime Grenadier Guards; m. 1887, Phœbe, dau. of Sir Hugh Allan, of Montreal; succeeded by his s. On the 8th, aged 63, **Colonel S. Raffles Thompson, V.D.**, long Assistant-Secretary at the General Post Office, and from 1896 to 1903 Colonel of the 24th Middlesex (P.O.) Volunteers. On the 9th, aged 44, **Sir Cuthbert Slade**, fourth baronet; succeeded 1890; m. 1896, Kathleen, dau. of Rowland Scovell; succeeded by his s. On the 9th, **Margaret, Countess Morley**, widow of the third earl and dau. of R. S. Holford, sometime M.P., of Dorchester House, Park Lane. On the 10th, aged 71, **Philip Armes, Mus. Doc. Oxon.**, from 1862 to 1907 organist of Durham Abbey, and Professor of Music in Durham University; his compositions comprised oratorios, a madrigal, and many hymn tunes and anthems. On the 10th, aged 70, **Major-General Joseph William Hughes**, late Dorsetshire Regiment; had served in the Mutiny and distinguished

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himself in the saving of the transport *Sarah Sands* from destruction by fire in 1858. On the 10th, at Cairo, **Mustapha Kamel**, an energetic Egyptian demagogue and leader of the Nationalist party in Egypt. On the 11th, aged 87, the **Rev. George Uglow Pope, D.D.**, a missionary in Southern India from 1839 to 1881, then a diocesan secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and University Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu at Oxford from 1884 to 1896; one of the first authorities on Tamil, and the discoverer and expounder of the history of the life and thought of the Tamil race. For these services he received the gold medal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1906. On the 12th, aged 84, **William Haworth Holl, K.C.**, Bencher of the Inner Temple and sometime a County Court Judge. On the 12th, aged 86, **Sir Thomas Paine**, long a prominent City solicitor, President of the Law Society, 1882-3, knighted in 1882 on the opening of the new Law Courts. On the 13th, suddenly, **Alfred Baldwin**, Conservative M.P. for Kidderminster since 1892, head of an important iron manufacturing and coal-owning company, and Chairman of the Great Western Railway since 1905. On the 13th, **Captain Jocelyn H. Thomson, R.A., C.B.**, Chief Inspector of Explosives; s. of the well-known Archbishop of York; had done excellent work in astronomy and other departments of science, and had made many experiments on explosives. He named "Cordite". On the 15th, aged 64, **James Campbell White**, first **Baron Overtoun**, owner of great chemical works near Glasgow, and an earnest philanthropic and religious worker and liberal donor for civic and social ends. He had given parks to Dumbarton, Clydebank and Rutherglen, founded several religious and educational institutes, and given 20,000*l.* to the United Free Church. He was created a Peer by Mr. Gladstone in 1893, and was Lord-Lieutenant of Dumbartonshire. M., 1867, Grace, dau. of J. H. McClure; had no children, and the title is extinct. On the 15th, aged 80, **David Syme**, proprietor of the *Melbourne Age* since 1858. B. at North Berwick, he emigrated to California in 1850 and proceeded to Australia in 1852. He was best known as an assailant of the *laisser faire* doctrine (in his "Industrial Science," 1876) and a supporter of Protection. On the 17th, aged 93, **John Brinsmead**, founder of the famous firm of piano manufacturers and introducer of many improvements into the instrument. A Devonshire man, he had begun life as a cabinet-maker. Held foreign decorations, including the Cross of the Legion of Honour. Had celebrated the seventieth anniversary of his wedding in 1907. On the 18th, aged 60, the **Hon. George Wheelock Burbidge**, Judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada since 1887; formerly of the New Brunswick Bar. On the 19th, aged 95, **William Callow**, for sixty years a member of the old Society of Painters in Water-Colours, and for more than fifty years a distinguished artist and teacher. He had taught in Louis Philippe's family. An exhibition of his works was held in 1907. On the 23rd, killed in action against the Zakka Khels on the Indian frontier, aged 42, Major the **Hon. Douglas Forbes Sempill, D.S.O.**, Seaforth Highlanders, s. of the seventeenth Lord Sempill; had served with distinction in South Africa, as well as in Indian frontier warfare in 1891 and 1895. On the 21st, aged 65, the **Right Rev. Henry Yates Satterlee**, Bishop of Washington, D.C., in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; a New Yorker by birth, and chief promoter of the Cathedral at Washington under construction at his death. On the 21st, aged 40, **Charles Hugh Maxwell Trayner**, British Consul at Coruña; had served also in New York and Guatemala; s. of a Scottish judge. On the 22nd, **Charles Henry Monro**, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; Law Lecturer in his college for many years, and an authority on Roman law. On the 23rd, **Colonel Joshua Arthur Nunn, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., F.R.C.S.**, Army Veterinary Department; had served during the Afghan and Zulu Wars and in South Africa, had been Principal of the Punjab Veterinary College at Lahore, and was an authority in his profession. On the 23rd, aged 93, **Samuel James Brickwell**, Commander R.N.; had served on the Syrian coast against Mehemet Ali, and also against the pirates of Borneo. On the 25th, aged 44, **A. Horsley Hinton**, an authority on photography. On the 26th, aged 76, the **Hon. James Munro**, Premier of Victoria, 1890-2; had been Minister of Education in 1875, and Agent-General in London in 1892. He was b. in Scotland and began life as a printer. On the 26th, aged 73, **Edward Samuel Norris**, Conservative M.P. for Tower Hamlets (Limehouse), 1885-92, sometime Deputy-Chairman of the Southampton Dock Company, and Treasurer of the East London Hospital for Children. According to *The Times* he claimed to have originated the postal-order system. On the 27th, aged 76, **Colonel Sir Richard Ellison, C.V.O.**, sometime 47th Regiment; had served in the Crimea and as High Sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1886. On the 28th, aged 86, the **Rev. Alfred Pott**, sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Principal of Cuddesdon College when Liddon was Vice-Principal, and Archdeacon of Berks from 1869 to 1903.

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On the 28th, aged 84, the **Rev. John Gabriel Cromwell**, Hon. Canon of Durham, and Principal of St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea, from 1865 to 1877. On the 28th, aged 64, **Sir John Shearer**, head of a firm of shipbuilders in Glasgow; and prominent in local and ecclesiastical affairs. On the 28th, aged 79, **Sir Dominic Ellis Colnaghi**, H.M. Consul at Boston from 1896 to 1899, and previously Consul-General for twenty-four years at Florence. On the 29th, **Major-General William Paske**, Indian Army; had served in the Sikh War, taken up civil employment and distinguished himself as Assistant Commissioner in the Indian Mutiny. He had retired in 1870. On the 29th, **Rawdon B. Lee**, a high authority on dogs, and a member of the staff of *The Field*; a prominent fisherman and an authority on wrestling and cricket.—The obituaries of the month also comprise the following: **Salvatore Marchesi**, aged 86, Cavaliere di Castrone. **Marchese di Rajata**, s. of a Governor-General of Sicily under the Bourbon *régime*, a successful baritone operatic singer, composer, and teacher of singing, and the husband and father of two eminent singers. **Miss Mary Grant**, niece of Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., and granddaughter of the Earl of Elgin, rescuer of the Elgin marbles; had executed *inter alia* busts of the Prince Consort, Dean Stanley, and Sir Francis Grant (at Burlington House), the relief of Fawcett on the Thames Embankment, and the reredos at St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh. **Paul Thumann**, aged 73, a German historical painter of some eminence, Professor at the Berlin Academy, and a prolific and graceful illustrator of books. **Peter Janssen**, of Düsseldorf, also a prominent painter of historical subjects. At Fategarh, India, **David G. Churcher**, a planter in the district. He had taken part in the defence of the fort and escaped from the massacre which took place there during the Indian Mutiny. **Reginald Harrison, F.R.C.S.**, sometime Lecturer in Clinical Surgery at the Victoria University, Manchester.

MARCH.

The Duke of Devonshire.—Spencer Compton Cavendish, eighth Duke of Devonshire, died of pneumonia at the Hotel Métropole, Cannes, when returning from Egypt on March 24, aged 74. He was the oldest s. of the seventh Duke (then Earl of Burlington, who was Second Wrangler, first Smith's Prizeman, and Eighth Classic in 1829, and afterwards Chancellor of Cambridge University), and of Lady Blanche Howard, sister of the sixth Earl of Carlisle. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was thirty-sixth Sen. Opt. in the Mathematical Tripos in 1854, and became Liberal M.P. for North Lancashire in 1857. He took the title of Marquess of Hartington on his father's accession to the Dukedom in 1858, and, after the general election of 1859, was selected to move the vote of want of confidence which overthrew Mr. Disraeli's Administration, and reunited the Liberals. In 1863 he became a Lord of the Admiralty, shortly afterwards Under-Secretary for War, and War Secretary under Earl Russell after Lord Palmerston's death. In the election of 1868 he lost his seat in Lancashire on the Irish Church question, but re-entered Parliament as member for the Radnor District, and became Postmaster-General, and in 1871 Irish Secretary. When Mr. Gladstone retired from the Liberal leadership after the dissolution of 1874, Lord Hartington was selected for the Liberal leadership, largely by Mr. Chamberlain's influence, in preference to W. E. Forster, who withdrew his candidature. He held it, under difficult circumstances, due to the Bulgarian atrocities agitation, till Mr. Gladstone again became Premier in 1880. His attacks on Lord Beaconsfield's policy were very effective, and he was elected for North-East Lancashire in that year. After Lord Beaconsfield's resignation he was sent for by the Queen as Liberal leader. What he then did was the subject of controversy in 1892 (*cf.* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1892, p. 16). But it is established by Earl Granville's "Memoirs" that Lord Hartington asked Mr. Gladstone to serve under himself or Earl Granville, and that on his refusal, Lord Hartington and Earl Granville recommended the Queen to send for Mr. Gladstone. Lord Hartington went to the India Office, changing to the War Office in 1883. There he was loyal to the party, to the more moderate section of which he belonged; but it is probable that he came to diverge more and more from Mr. Gladstone on Irish and other questions. He pressed for the despatch of troops for the relief of Khartoum; and he was chosen to negotiate on the franchise question in 1885 with Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. At the 1885 election he beat Mr. Ecroyd, a noted "Fair Trader," in the

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new Rossendale division of Lancashire, by a large majority; but he took a decided stand against Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule declaration in 1885, and refused to follow his chief into the Cabinet of 1886. It was he who moved the rejection of the Bill of that year and in the main secured its defeat; and, when Lord Salisbury was consequently asked to form a Government, he offered to stand aside for Lord Hartington or to serve under him, renewing the offer after Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation in December, 1886. The Marquess, however, would not fuse the Unionists and Conservatives. He steadily opposed Home Rule, even to the extent of supporting the Crimes Act of 1887; and he moved the rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1893 in the Lords. He succeeded, also, in preventing the more militant Conservatives from endangering the Parish Councils Bill. In Lord Salisbury's Ministry of 1895 he was Lord President of the Council, and in that capacity was nominally responsible for the abortive Education Bill of 1896 and its successor of 1902. He also became President of the new Council of Imperial Defence. When Mr. Chamberlain declared for Tariff Reform in 1903 the Duke stated that he and the Government held that the time had come to review British fiscal policy; but in October he resigned office, and in 1904 seceded from the Liberal Unionist Association and worked for Free Trade. He remained a Unionist, however, but favoured a compromise on the Education Bill of 1906. He voted against the Plural Voting Bill. He was popularly supposed to be the original of St. Aldegonde in Lord Beaconsfield's *Lothair*, and he had neither special gifts as an orator nor the general scientific culture of his father. But he was a man of sound common sense, as well as of absolute straightforwardness and sincerity. "His character," it was said, "was a national asset," and he served in public life from an overmastering sense of public duty. He m. in 1892 Louise, widow of the seventh Duke of Manchester and dau. of Count von Alten, of the former Kingdom of Hanover. He was made K.G. in 1892, and succeeded his father as Chancellor of Cambridge University, for the endowment of which he worked actively. He had been for many years on the turf; was Chairman of the Barrow Ironworks Company, and had been Mayor of Eastbourne.

Sir Auckland Colvin.—Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., sometime Comptroller to the Egyptian Public Debt, Financial Adviser to the Indian Government, and Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces of India, died on March 24 at Surbiton, aged 70. The s. of John Russell Colvin, Private Secretary to Lord Auckland and afterwards Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces, he was educated at Eton and Haileybury—being one of the last of the Haileybury civilians—and entered the Indian Civil Service in 1858. After serving in various capacities in the North-West Provinces, he succeeded Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Earl of Cromer) in 1879 as Comptroller of the Egyptian Public Debt, and also acted as British Consul-General temporarily. He took an active part, at considerable danger to himself, in upholding the Khedive Tewfik's authority against Arabi Pasha, and, at the risk of his own life, faced the mutineers with the Khedive, whom he had advised to resist their demands. Had this advice been taken, there would probably have been no bombardment of Alexandria. After the disaster to Colonel Hicks's force in 1883 he advocated the abandonment of the Soudan. He resigned the Comptrollership in 1883 to become Financial Member of the Council of the Viceroy of India. He held this office during a period of great difficulty, owing to the Penjdeh incident and its consequences, the annexation of Upper Burmah (which he opposed) and the fall in the value of silver. From 1883 to 1902 he was, like his father, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where he did much for internal development and education. In 1902 he retired and was created a K.C.S.I. In England he became Chairman of the Burma Railways and of an Egyptian railway company, and wrote an admirable life of his father and an important book, "The Making of Modern Egypt" (1906). He m. Charlotte, dau. of Lieut.-General Charles Herbert, C.B., and had three daughters.

Sir Nicholas O'Conor, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Privy Councillor, British Ambassador at Constantinople since 1898, died there on March 19, aged 65. Educated at Stonyhurst he entered the Diplomatic Service as attaché at Berlin in 1867, had subsequently served at the Hague, Madrid, Rio de Janeiro, and Paris, and had been Secretary of Legation at Pekin from

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1888 to 1886, where he acted as Chargé d'Affaires after the death of Sir Harry Parkes, negotiating the Anglo-Chinese Treaty regarding Burmah. After a brief period at Washington, he served as Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General in Bulgaria from 1887 to 1892, during the critical early years of Prince Ferdinand's reign, when he negotiated a commercial agreement with Great Britain and greatly increased British influence. Sent as Minister to China in 1892, at a critical time owing to an anti-foreign movement, he did much to secure protection for missionaries and others, and was transferred to St. Petersburg, for reasons of health, in 1895. Here, again, he had to face serious difficulties, due first to the anti-British proclivities of Prince Lobanof, Foreign Minister, and, under his successor, Count Muravieff, to the Russian intrigues in China. In 1898, his relations with the Russian Court having become strained, he was transferred to a still more difficult post at Constantinople, succeeding Lord Currie, not long after the Armenian massacres, and he managed to hold his own and yet avoid any serious rupture with the Porte, in spite of the distrust engendered by British popular hostility to the Sultan, and of the constant difficulties set up by the State of Macedonia—the last of which, the increase of the Customs duties under an engagement to spend the proceeds on reforms, was only carried through some months before his death. The Sultan manifested sincere regret at his death, and offered to defray the expenses of his burial. He traced his descent to the last Irish King of Ireland. M. 1877, Minna, dau. of James Hope-Scott, Q.C., granddaughter of the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk; left two daughters.

Sir Lepel Griffin, who died on March 9, aged 68, after a short illness from influenza, had had a distinguished career as an Indian administrator and diplomatist, chiefly in the Punjab and Afghanistan. Educated at Harrow, he entered the Bombay Civil Service in 1860, and was Chief Secretary of the Punjab from 1871 to 1880, the best, it was said, that that district had ever had. In 1880 he was sent to Kabul by Lord Lytton to arrange for its government as a prelude to the termination of the British occupation, and, under the Viceroyalty of the Marquess of Ripon, he proclaimed Abdur Rahman Amir of Afghanistan on July 22, 1880. He was made a K.C.S.I., became Resident at Indore, and Agent to the Governor-General in Central India from 1881 to 1888, then becoming Resident at Hyderabad. Returning home, he travelled in the United States, contested West Nottingham as a Liberal Unionist unsuccessfully in 1900, and subsequently became Chairman of the Burmah Ruby Mines Company and of the Imperial Bank of Persia. He founded the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* with Mr. D. C. Boulger in 1886, and was Chairman of the East India Association. He had written much on Indian subjects, notably on the princely families and States of the Punjab, and an important life of Ranjit Singh. He m. a Genoese lady in 1889 and left two sons.

Sir John Eliot, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Director-General of Indian Observatories, and Meteorological Reporter to the Indian Government from 1886 to 1908, died at Bon Porto, Var, France, on March 18, aged 68. Born in Durham, he was bracketed Second Wrangler, and was Smith's Prizeman at Cambridge in 1869, and was elected Fellow of St. John's College. He soon entered the Indian Educational Service and held Professorships at Indian Colleges, and in 1874 became Professor of Physics at the Presidency College, Calcutta, and Meteorological Reporter to the Bengal Government. As Director-General of Indian Observatories, he did much to complete the organisation started by his predecessor and pioneer in the work, and to develop the system of warnings of storms at sea, floods and drought. He wrote much on Indian meteorology, and prepared a Climatological Atlas of India for the Indian Government. M. 1877, Mary, dau. of William Nevill.

The Rev. Benjamin Waugh, founder and for many years director of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, died at Westcliff-on-Sea, on March 11, aged 69. Born at Settle, Yorks, and privately educated, he was in business from 1858 to 1862, but entered the Congregational Ministry in 1865. In 1867 he accepted an invitation to a pastorate at Greenwich, where he was associated with John Macgregor ("Rob Roy," the canoeist and philanthropist) in rescuing juvenile offenders. He was a member of the London School Board from 1870 to 1876, and here his attention was directed to the neglect and cruelty of parents as a cause of non-attendance of children. When a society for the

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prevention of such cruelty was formed in London in 1884 he was asked to be its honorary secretary, and in 1888 he established it on a national basis. He did much both to diminish active cruelty and to establish legal means for the protection of children, notably the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, and the "Children's Charter" Act of 1889. From 1889 to 1905 he was Director of the Society, at first without a salary, and subsequently Consulting Director. He edited the *Sunday Magazine* from 1874 to 1896. He had published a plea for the abolition of juvenile imprisonment and one or two religious books for children.

Eduard Zeller, the distinguished German philosopher and theologian and historian of the philosophies of Greece and of Germany, died on March 19, aged 94. Born at Kleinbottwar, Würtemberg, on January 22, 1814, he studied at the Universities of Tübingen and Berlin, and was appointed *Privatdocent* in Theology in the former in 1840. Here he was associated with Strauss and the Tübingen school of New Testament criticism; and in 1847 was invited by the Radical and Freethinking Government of the Canton of Bern to fill the Chair of Biblical Exegesis at Bern University—the Faculty of Theology having rejected him two years earlier, as too advanced. The Protestant Church of the Canton agitated actively against his appointment, but without avail; but he was called to Marburg in 1849. There, however, he was transferred from the theological to the philosophical faculty, and passed to Heidelberg as Professor of Philosophy in 1862. In 1872 he was called to Berlin, where he lectured until 1895, when he retired to Stuttgart. He belonged originally to the Hegelian Left, but his historical studies gradually brought him to a less idealistic creed, and, though he wrote theological works—*e.g.*, a critical examination of the Apostolic history, published 1854, and a history of the Christian Church (1847)—and purely philosophic treatises on the theory of knowledge (1862), and the teleological *versus* the mechanical explanation of the Universe (1876), they have been obscured, partly by the decline of interest in pure philosophy and developments in methods of criticism, and still more by the transcendent merit and authority of his monumental historical works. The "Philosophie der Griechen" (which began publication in 1844, and has been reissued in successive and greatly enlarged editions) has been said to contain, packed into single footnotes, more learning than would suffice for an ordinary treatise; and the "Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibnis" (1873), and the "Platonische Studien" (1839) would alone have made his reputation. Besides these, he wrote a striking work on his master, David Friedrich Strauss (1874), a work on the theology of Zwingli (1853), a number of lectures on the relations of Church and State, and a treatise on Frederick the Great as a philosopher—his last important work. A man of striking and dignified presence, he was one of the many giants in learning whom Germany has produced.

Edmondo de Amicis, who shared with Gabriele d'Annunzio the reputation of being the most popular of Italian authors of his time, died at Bordighera of cardiac hæmorrhage on March 11, aged 61. B. in 1846 at Oneglia, he studied at Turin University, entered the Army, and took part in 1866 in the battle of Custozza. He published patriotic verse in that year, and in 1867 became editor of a military periodical, the *Italia Militare* of Florence, in which he attacked the severity of Italian military discipline, and so attracted public notice. His "La Vita Militare," first published in 1869, reached a twenty-eighth issue in 1895. He published volumes of travel, dealing with Spain, Morocco, and Constantinople, and in 1887 his masterpiece, "Cuore," a children's story, which has been extensively translated, and attained its 340th thousand in Italy in 1907. He wrote also on social questions, and in 1905 published a work in praise of the Italian language (*Idioma Gentile*). He had great descriptive powers, keen observation and humour, but "he was specially distinguished," said his biographer in *Le Temps*, by the goodness and the pity which ennobled his life and work.

On the 1st, aged 59, at Ottawa, **Albert Clements Killam**, Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada, and previously a Judge of the King's Bench in Manitoba, a Nova Scotian by birth. On the 2nd, at Dilkoosh, near Poona, aged 51, the **Right Rev. Walter Ruthven Pym, D.D.**, Bishop of Bombay since 1903, and for some years previously incumbent of Rotherham, Yorks, and Rural Dean; educated at Bedford Grammar School and Magdalene College, Cambridge; a vigorous Evangelical, he had come into conflict with the High Church-

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men in his diocese regarding ritualistic practices. On the 2nd, aged 48, **Walter Slaughter**, composer of many popular operas, and conductor at Drury Lane under Sir Augustus Harris, and at other London theatres. On the 2nd, aged 71, **Lieut.-General Arthur Lambton, C.B.**, formerly Coldstream Guards; had served with distinction in the Crimea, the Egyptian War of 1882, and the Soudan expedition in 1885. On the 2nd, aged 76, **Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Clerke Jervoise**, fourth baronet; had served in the Coldstream Guards in the Crimea; unmarried; succeeded by his cousin. On the 3rd, aged 82, **Major-General Thomas de Courcy Hamilton, V.C.**, sometime 64th Regiment; had served in the Kaffir Wars of 1846-7, in the Crimea, where he obtained his decoration, and had commanded the 64th Regiment from 1867 to 1874. On the 3rd, aged 64, **Sydney Robjohns**, for many years one of the secretaries of the Liberation Society, and an active Free Church worker. On the 3rd, aged 72, **Edward Dillon Mapother, M.D.**, for many years a prominent Dublin Surgeon and President of the Irish Royal College of Surgeons; had written important medical works. On the 3rd, at Madrid, **Señor Quiroga Ballesteros**, sometime Spanish Minister of the Interior. On the 3rd, at Mentone, aged 70, **Sir Alfred Cooper, F.R.C.S.**, long one of the surgeons to the Lock Hospital, Surgeon-in-ordinary to the Duke of Edinburgh (afterwards Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha), and author of various specialist surgical works. On the 4th, aged over 80, **Charles Hare Hemphill**, first Baron Hemphill, Serjeant-at-Law in Ireland from 1882 to 1892, Solicitor-General for Ireland from 1892 to 1895 in Mr. Gladstone's Government; M.P. for North Tyrone from 1895 to 1906, when he was created a Peer. He was described by *The Times* as "a Nationalist of the school of Butt," but he supported Parnell at the time of the split. M. 1849, Augusta, dau. of the Hon. Sir Francis Charles Stanhope; succeeded by his s. On the 4th, aged 83, **Sir Robert Glenondwyn Gordon**, ninth baronet of Letterfourie and premier baronet of Nova Scotia. Unmarried; baronetcy extinct. On the 5th, at Lima, aged 58, **William Nelthorpe Beauclerk**, British Minister to Peru and Ecuador since 1898, and for Bolivia in addition since 1903; had served in various capacities in Copenhagen, Athens, Berne, St. Petersburg, and Pekin, as Secretary to the British delegates at the Labour Conference in 1890, and as Consul-General at Budapest, 1896-98. On the 5th, the **Rev. George Frederick Holden**, Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, since 1905, formerly of St. John the Evangelist's, Wilton Road, S.W.; an earnest High Church worker. On the 5th, aged 76, **Redfield Proctor**, United States Senator for Vermont since 1891; had been Colonel of the 15th Vermont Regiment in the War of Secession, a member of both Houses of the Legislature of his State, and Secretary for War under President Harrison from 1891 till his election to the Senate. On the 5th, aged 84, **Sir George Ebenezer Wilson Couper**, second baronet, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.I.E., Chief Commissioner of Oudh from 1871 to 1877, and thereafter Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Province (with which Oudh was amalgamated) until 1882; originally in the 15th Regiment, he joined the East India Company's service in 1846; had been A.D.C. to Sir Henry Lawrence (and on his death to Sir John Inglis) during the siege of the garrison of Lucknow, and had been an able and popular administrator. M. 1852, Caroline Penelope, granddaughter of Sir H. Every; succeeded by his eldest s. On the 5th, aged 33, **Miss Lily Hanbury** (Mrs. Herbert Guedalla), a member of a well-known theatrical family, and herself a favourite comedy actress until her retirement from the stage on her marriage in 1905. On the 5th, aged 69, **Major Robert Goyer Traill**, sometime Princess of Wales' Own Yorkshire Regiment; had served in Indian frontier warfare, and had been a courageous and active Resident Magistrate in Galway and Mayo. On the 6th, aged 65, Robert D. Burnie, Liberal M.P. for Swansea, 1892-5, and prominent in local industrial undertakings and municipal affairs. On the 6th, aged 70, **Sir James Hoy**, Lord Mayor of Manchester in 1901, an active promoter of technical and general education in Manchester. On the 6th, aged 48, the **Hon. Richard Walter Chetwynd**, only son of Viscount Chetwynd. On the 6th, aged 65, **Rear-Admiral John Eliot Pringle**; had served in the Baltic during the Russian War and against slavers in East Africa, and had commanded H.M.S. *Falcon* in the Egyptian War of 1882; retired 1899. On the 6th, aged 58, **Charles Goddard Clarke**, Liberal M.P. for Peckham since 1906, and Mayor of Camberwell in 1902-3. On the 7th, at Pekin, **M. Pokotiloff**, Russian Minister to China, Russian representative at the Portsmouth (N.H.) Conference which settled the terms of peace between Russia and Japan in 1905, and the chief promoter before the war of the Russo-Chinese Bank. On the 8th, aged 77, **Dr. Alfred William Howitt, C.M.G.**, an Australian explorer and anthropologist, s. of the well-known author and authoress William and Mary Howitt (*née* Botham), and the leader of the Burke and Wills search expedition (1861); was joint author of a

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well-known anthropological work, "The Kamilaroi and Kurnai." On the 8th, aged 61, the **Right Rev. Henry Henry**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor. On the 6th, aged 56, **Dr. W. E. Wilson, F.R.S.**, of Daramona, Westmeath, a distinguished Irish astronomer and physicist; had taken remarkable photographs of various nebulæ and star-clusters and made important researches into the temperature of the sun and other problems of celestial physics. He was hon. D.Sc. of Dublin University. On the 6th, aged 47, **Major Thomas Irvine**, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; had served with distinction in the South African War. On the 9th, aged 71, **John K. J. Hichens**, sometime Chairman of the Stock Exchange Committee; a Winchester and Oxford man, and a barrister, and first class Lit. Hum., 1859. On the 9th, aged 81, **Dr. Henry Clifton Sorby, F.R.S.**, of Sheffield; had helped in the foundation of Sheffield University. On the 10th, aged 88, **Charles Henderson Scott**, barrister-at-law, in early life Parliamentary reporter for the *Morning Post*, an active law reporter and one of the founders of the Newspaper Press Fund. On the 11th, aged 78, **Henry Louis Bischoffsheim**, formerly of Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, a prominent city financial house in the 'seventies; a munificent contributor to charities and conspicuous host in London society. On the 11th, aged 57, **Richard von Kaufmann**, Professor of Economics in the Charlottenburg Technical College, Berlin; a high authority on certain branches of economics, an archæologist and art collector, and a Prussian Privy Councillor. On the 12th, aged 67, **Richard Pilkington, C.B.**, Colonel of Volunteers, Unionist M.P. for the Newton division of Lancashire from 1899 to 1906; a leading St. Helen's manufacturer and ex-Mayor of the borough. On the 12th, aged 89, **Clara Novello** (Countess Gigliucci), from 1833 to 1860 an operatic singer well known in the chief countries of Europe. She definitely retired from the stage in 1860. On the 13th, aged 63, **Lieut.-General Emilio de Giorgis**, chief of the Turkish gendarmerie in Macedonia under the Mürzsteg scheme; a Piedmontese by birth, an officer of Engineers in the Italian Army. On the 14th, aged 70, **General Sir Cecil James East, K.C.B.**, sometime 41st Regiment; had served for many years as a Staff Officer, and distinguished himself in the Zulu War of 1879 and the Burmese War of 1886. He was Governor of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, 1893-8. On the 14th, aged 65, **Professor Julius Lessing**, Director of the Berlin Museum of Industrial Art; a Prussian Privy Councillor, and an authority on the history of textiles and of wood-carving. On the 15th, aged 49, **William Ernest Pitt**, since 1890 Parliamentary correspondent of *The Times* and author of its "Political Notes"; previously he had performed a similar function for the Press Association. On the 15th, aged 57, the **Rev. Edward Floyer Noel Smith**, Trinity College, Oxford, since 1882 in charge of the Marlborough College Mission at Tottenham. On the 16th, aged 84, **Baron Du Bois de Ferrières**, Liberal member for Cheltenham from 1880 to 1885, and a great benefactor of the town; a naturalised Englishman, of Dutch extraction. The title, conferred on his grandfather by the King of the Netherlands in 1815, became extinct at his death. On the 16th, aged 78, **Francis John Headlam**, a Stipendiary Magistrate of Manchester from 1869 to 1900; sometime Fellow and Bursar of University College, Oxford. On the 16th, aged 70, **Lewis William Engelbach, C.B.**, a Commissioner of Customs from 1890 to 1900, previously of the War Office. On the 17th, aged 71, **Gustav Oppert**, since 1894 Professor at Berlin, an eminent Orientalist and authority on Indian languages; from 1872 to 1894 Professor of Sanskrit at Madras. Had been Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian and catalogued its Hebrew MSS. On the 17th, aged 70, **Cardinal John Baptist Casali del Drago**, sometime Roman Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople. On the 19th, aged 59, **Edward Burtenshaw Sugden**, second Lord St. Leonards, grandson of the first Peer and famous Lord Chancellor; succeeded his grandfather in 1875. M. 1875, Marian, dau. of George Dashwood; left an only dau.; succeeded by his uncle. On the 19th, aged 76, **Rear-Admiral Edward B. H. Franklin**; had served in the Chinese Wars of 1858-60, and had been Captain of the *Conway*, the well-known mercantile marine training ship at Liverpool. On the 19th, aged 50, **Joseph Fitzgerald Molloy**, a prolific writer of biographical studies of Royal and eminent literary and theatrical personages, and a serious student of magic. On the 19th, at Vancouver, B.C., **Colonel Falkland George Edgeworth Warren, C.B.**; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny before Lucknow and elsewhere, and had subsequently held office in the administration of Cyprus. On the 21st, **Frederick Parker Morrell**, Solicitor to the University of Oxford, and Mayor of the city in 1900. On the 21st, aged 81, **Eliza Nelson** (Mrs. H. T. Craven), an able comedy actress who had performed with Macready. On the 21st, aged 68, **Denzil Roberts Onslow**, Conservative M.P. for Guildford from 1874 to 1885. On the 22nd, aged 50, **John William Crombie**, Liberal M.P. for Kincardineshire since 1892, previously

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a member of a well-known manufacturing firm; Chairman of the Scottish Liberal members since 1906 and an authority on Spanish poetry; had published some verse translations. On the 23rd, aged 77, **Sir Frederick Richard Falkiner**, Recorder of Dublin from 1876 to 1895, and a prominent member of the Church of Ireland General Synod. On the 24th, aged 69, **Major Arthur Griffiths**, sometime 63rd Regiment; had served in the Crimea, been Deputy-Governor of Chatham, Millbank, and Wormwood Scrubbs Prisons, and from 1878 to 1896 Inspector of Prisons; an authority on prison life and a popular author and novelist. On the 24th, aged 81, **Sir James David Marwick**, Town Clerk of Glasgow from 1873 to 1903, and of Edinburgh from 1861 to 1873; Hon. LL.D. Glasgow; author of a work on the Records of the Convention of the Scottish Royal Burghs, and other legal and historical works. On the 24th, aged 60, **Augustus Frederick Warr**, M.P. for the Toxteth division of Liverpool from 1895 until his resignation in 1902; an able lawyer and a man of very wide intellectual interests, he had taken a prominent part in the promotion of University College, Liverpool, and had been offered the principalship. On the 25th, aged 65, **Henry Frederick Swan, C.B.**, Colonel 2nd Volunteer Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, High Sheriff of Northumberland, a director of the Elswick Works, and the designer of many tank steamers for petroleum, and of the famous railway ferry icebreakers on Lake Baikal. On the 27th, aged 59, **Colonel William Henry Foster**, Unionist M.P. for the Lancaster division of Lancashire from 1895 to 1900, a prominent landowner in the division and leading manufacturer in Bradford. On the 27th, aged 70, **Rear-Admiral Sir Mervyn Bradford Medlycott, F.R.G.S.**, fifth baronet; had served in the Baltic during the Russian War of 1855, and had distinguished himself against pirates on the Congo in 1875. Succeeded his brother, 1902. Unmarried; succeeded by his brother. On the 31st, **M. Barbier de Meynard**, Director of the School of Living Oriental Languages in Paris. On the 31st, aged 83, **Dr. James Bell, C.B., D.Sc., F.R.S.**, Principal of the Somerset House Laboratory from 1875 to 1894, President of the Institute of Chemistry from 1888 to 1891; had published authoritative works on the chemistry of foods and of tobacco. On the 31st, aged 86, the **Rev. John Herbert Jones**, Honorary Canon of Liverpool, and for many years a vicar in the city and proctor for the archdeaconry in the Convocation of York; sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. On the 31st, **William Stevens**, from 1885 to 1900 editor of the *Leisure Hour* and *Sunday at Home*. On the 31st, aged 57, **Rear-Admiral Edward Pitcairn Jones, C.B.**; had served with distinction in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and had commanded the Naval Brigade in the relief of Ladysmith and with the Natal Field Force. He was highly commended for his services in this connection. Early in March, aged 52, **Carl Ewald**, a native of Schleswig, a leading Danish author, "a second Hans Andersen." He also wrote historical romances and novels, one of which was running as a serial in the *Fortnightly* at his death. In March, aged 67, **Franz Kielhorn, C.I.E.**, Professor of Sanskrit at Göttingen since 1882, and an eminent Sanskrit scholar; had been Professor in the Deccan College at Poona, and had reported on the Institution of the Rhodes Scholarships for Germans at Oxford; a Prussian Privy Councillor. Early in March, aged 96, **John Joseph Ayre, M.R.C.S.**, of Colne, Lancashire; entered the medical profession in 1832, and was its oldest member in England.

APRIL.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, G.C.B., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, died at 9 A.M. on Wednesday, April 22, 1908, of heart failure following influenza. B. at Glasgow on September 7, 1836, he was the youngest s. of a staunch Tory, Sir James Campbell of Stracathro, Forfarshire, who, coming from the farming class, had founded a great drapery business in Glasgow in conjunction with his brother, a Liberal, and had become Lord Provost of the City. Educated partly on the Continent and at Glasgow University and Trinity College, Cambridge, the future Premier took his degree in 1858, obtaining twenty-second place as Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos and Third Class in Classics. He then entered his father's business, and in 1860 m. Sarah Charlotte, dau. of General Sir Charles Bruce, K.C.B., who died at Marienbad, August 30, 1906. They had no children, but otherwise the union was very happy. In 1869 he entered Parliament for Stirling Burghs as an advanced Liberal, after a previous defeat there at a bye-election in 1868, and in 1872 inherited a large property from his maternal uncle, a Scotsman settled in Manchester, whose name he

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accordingly assumed. In 1871 he had been made Financial Secretary to the War Office in Mr. Gladstone's Government, a post he held until the Liberal *débâcle* in 1874 and resumed on the victory of 1880. In 1882 he was made Secretary of the Admiralty, in 1884 Chief Secretary for Ireland at a very difficult time. Here he associated himself with Earl Spencer's policy of maintaining the Union and enforcing the law, and showed himself quite impervious to Irish attack. He then expressed himself in favour only of concessions in regard to local government; but he soon followed Mr. Gladstone to Home Rule. He was War Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry of 1886, and again in 1892-5, and he also was a member of the famous Hartington Commission on the War Office, and sent in a special memorandum strongly opposing the appointment of a Chief of Staff. He persuaded the Duke of Cambridge to resign the post of Commander-in-Chief in 1895, and it was he whose alleged negligence in keeping up the supply of cordite ammunition occasioned the fall of the Ministry on a snap division on June 21 of that year. It was to him also that Lord Salisbury sent his private secretary in 1895 to ask him to give up his seals of office then and there in the street—which Sir Henry, of course, refused to do. Under Unionist rule from 1892 to 1898 he was not specially conspicuous; but, when Sir William Harcourt withdrew from the Opposition leadership in the Commons, he was elected to the post on February 6, 1899, the names of Mr. Asquith and Sir Henry Fowler having been withdrawn. To the policy embodied in the South African War he was hostile throughout. Its supporters denounced his speeches as encouraging the Boers to prolong their resistance, and his description of the policy of destroying farms and forming concentration camps at the National Reform Union dinner (June 14, 1901) as "methods of barbarism" caused him to be branded by the "patriots" as a "pro-Boer." The friction within the Liberal party, however, was hidden by a vote of confidence at a party meeting at the Reform Club on July 9, 1901, though it reappeared early next year with the foundation of the Liberal League. During the remainder of the Unionist term of office, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's leadership was sound, competent, and fair to his opponents; and his speech at Whitechapel on the effect of Tariff Reform on East London was among the most notable contributions to the controversy. On November 23, at Stirling, he indicated his views on Home Rule, recommending the Nationalists to accept any instalment of self-government, "provided it was consistent and led up to the larger policy." Lord Rosebery at once protested, and thus practically began his severance from the main Liberal body. On December 4, 1905, Mr. Balfour resigned, and by December 10, Sir Henry had practically formed his Cabinet. In a great speech at the Albert Hall, on December 21, he sketched in outline the policy of the new Government. As leader of the House of Commons he gained very general respect and popularity and showed himself, in spite of his habitual caution and sobriety, a thoroughly democratic politician. This was seen in foreign affairs in two notable cases during his premiership; his salutation to the past and coming Duma in June, 1906, and his advocacy of the "arrest of armaments" in 1907. To his personal influence, according to the *Nation*, was due the grant of full self-government to the new South African Colonies, and in large part the Liberal policy of social reform; and his views on the land question and Home Rule were those of advanced Liberalism. The same authority, indeed, stated that during his last illness he had been eager to speak on Mr. Redmond's motion on the government of Ireland at the imminent risk of his life; but Mr. Birrell's illness had delayed the debate till his participation was out of the question. On Nov. 14, 1907, he was seized with a heart attack at Bristol and had to retire to Biarritz till the session began. On February 15, 1908, he finally left the Commons after an attack of influenza, and on April 5 he resigned the Premiership. An excellent host and a man of culture and some scholarship, he possessed large means, exaggerated however by popular rumour, and was a liberal giver. A man of singular sobriety, serenity, and amiability, he was personally popular among his opponents. Like some American Presidents, he owed his elevation to the unpopularity of more conspicuous leaders among certain sections of the party; but few Premiers have risen more rapidly in public esteem during their tenure of office or have excited less personal hostility.

Sir Howard Vincent.—Sir Charles Edward Howard Vincent, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P. for Central Sheffield, died

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suddenly at Mentone on April 7, aged 58. The fourth s. of the Rev. Sir Frederick Vincent, eleventh baronet, he was educated at Westminster School and Sandhurst, served in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and was called to the Bar in 1876. From 1878 to 1884 he was Director of Criminal Investigations at Scotland Yard, where he introduced many reforms and was a popular chief. In 1885 he was elected Conservative member for the Central Division of Sheffield, defeating Mr. Samuel Plimsoll and another Liberal, and he held the seat till his death. He was a conspicuous advocate of Tariff Reform, having, indeed, been a "Fair-Trader" from the beginning of his political career, and a zealous Volunteer officer, and from 1884 to 1904 he had commanded the Queen's Westminster (13th Middlesex) Rifle Volunteer Corps. Though unable for reasons of health to serve with it in South Africa, he followed it thither during the war and travelled extensively over the field of operations. He was a man of many activities, political and otherwise, had reported in early life on the German and Russian armies, had written and lectured on military subjects, and had been correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* during part of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. He was appointed A.D.C. to the King in 1901, and knighted in 1896, and held several foreign orders. He married in 1882 Ethel Gwendoline, dau. of George Moffatt, M.P., of Goodrich Court, Herefordshire, and left one dau.

Count Tornielli. — His Excellency Count Joseph Tornielli Brusati di Vergano, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, Italian Ambassador in Paris since 1895, died in that city of apoplexy following influenza on April 9, aged 71. He had previously served in London and Madrid, and had been chief Italian Delegate to the Hague Conference of 1907. He had contributed largely to the Franco-Italian reconciliation which came about after the fall of Crispi, and was a conciliatory, though thoroughly patriotic, diplomatist, and was very popular in Paris, where he was at the time of his death the senior member of the Diplomatic Corps.

General Nicolas Petrovitch Linevitch, Russian Commander-in-Chief in Manchuria in the war with Japan, died in St. Petersburg on April 24, aged 70. B. at Tchernigoff, he entered the army in 1854, serving in the ranks in the Caucasus both in the Crimean War and subsequently, and in Central Asia, and became a captain in 1869. He distinguished himself in the war of 1877-8, commanded a rifle brigade for ten years in Transcaspia, and in 1895 was transferred to the Far East, commanding the first Siberian Army Corps in 1900 and assisting in the relief of the Pekin legations. He superseded General Kuropatkin in the chief command in the Russo-Japanese War after Mukden, but he was hampered by his deficient knowledge of scientific warfare throughout his later career.

On the 1st, aged 80, **Frau Malwine von Arnim-Kröchlendorff**, widow of Herr Oscar von Arnim, and only sister of the great Prince Bismarck. On the 2nd, aged 65, **Colonel Andrew Wilson Baird, R.E., C.S.I., F.R.S.**; had managed the railway during the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868, and made valuable observations of the tides on the Indian coast in connection with the Trigonometrical Survey of India. On the 2nd, **Captain Barton Rose Bradford, R.N.**; had served with distinction at the bombardment of Alexandria, commanding the volunteer party that spiked the guns of Fort Mex. On the 4th, aged 61, **His Honour Judge Richard Adams, K.C.**, County Court Judge of Limerick, formerly a prominent Dublin journalist on the Nationalist side; well known for his wit and humour. On the 5th, aged 43, **Captain the Hon. Ronald Henry Fulke Greville**, eldest s. and heir of Lord Greville; Unionist M.P. for East Bradford from 1896 to 1906, and prominent in London society. On the 4th, aged 63, **Professor Joseph Sucher**, sometime Conductor of the Orchestra at the Berlin Royal Opera. On the 5th, aged 74, **Sir Richard Cayley**, Chief Justice of Ceylon from 1879 to 1883. On the 6th, aged 78, **Lieut.-General Sir Drury Curzon Drury-Lowe, K.C.B.**, Colonel of the 17th Lancers, educated at Christ Church College, Oxford; entered the Army at twenty-four, and served in the Crimea, the Indian Mutiny, and the South African Wars of 1879-81, and Inspector-General of Cavalry at Headquarters, 1890-1; commanded the Cavalry in Egypt, 1882, when he decided the Battle of Kassassin and saved Cairo from destruction, was four times mentioned in despatches and thanked by Parliament. On the 6th, **M. Lassen**, Danish Minister of Finance. On the 6th, aged 83, **Major-General David Briggs**, Indian Army; Superintendent of the Army Transport Train in the Indian Mutiny; received letter of thanks from the Queen for his services. On the 6th, aged 69, **Gabriel Lindo**, a prominent member of the Jewish community in London, and sometime a member of the

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Common Council. On the 11th, aged 97, **Clementia**, widow of **Peter A. Taylor**, M.P., for many years advanced Liberal member for Leicester; had actively sympathised with the movements for the liberation of Italy and the abolition of slavery in the United States, and had vigorously promoted women suffrage in its early days. She had been the friend of Mazzini and J. S. Mill. On the 11th, aged 66, **Dr. Arthur Levysohn**, for twenty-five years editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*; had edited a German paper in French at Versailles during the German occupation in 1871, and had been correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* and *Indépendance Belge*. On the 12th, aged 55, **Joseph Johnstone Glover**, Provost of Dumfries for thirteen years continuously, and Unionist candidate for the Dumfries Burghs at the general election of 1906. On the 12th, in Paris, aged 63, **Hartwig Derenbourg**, member of the Institute, a high authority on Himyaritic inscriptions and Jewish antiquities, and one of the leading Arabic scholars of his time. On the 12th, aged 66, **Frederic Monier**, senator of the Bouches-du-Rhône from 1894 to 1903; a friend of Gambetta, whom he had saved from an attack by hired assassins at Cavaillon on February 17, 1876. On the 13th, aged 82, **M. Michalsen**, formerly Postmaster-General in Denmark, and the first to advocate a universal postage rate. On the 13th, **Colonel Henry Francis Blair**, sometime Bengal Engineers; had served in the Mutiny and the Ambala Campaign of 1863, and in the Afghan War (mentioned in despatches). About the 13th, aged 35, **Charles Maurice Detmold**, an eminent etcher, and illustrator in conjunction with his brother of Mr. Kipling's "Jungle Book." On the 13th, aged 87, **Franz von Leydig**, Professor of Zoology at Tübingen, and subsequently at Bonn University, an authority on Comparative Histology and Anatomy. On the 14th, aged 66, **Willie Edouin**, a well-known comedian with extraordinary powers of facial expression; had spent his early career in Australia, and achieved great success as an actor, though not as a manager. On the 14th, aged 77, **Henry Edward Bird**, for many years a famous chess player and writer on chess. On the 14th, **Lieut.-General Albert Henry Bamfield**, Indian Army; had served in the Sikh War of 1848-9 and the Indian Mutiny, and had been Inspector-General of the Punjab Police. On the 13th, aged 62, **Dr. Edith Pechey Phipson**. As Miss Pechey she was one of the earliest women students of medicine at Edinburgh, refused a scholarship there on account of her sex, she obtained a diploma from the Irish Royal College of Physicians and the M.D. of Berne in 1877, and was the first physician to the Kama Hospital for Women in Bombay. She greatly raised the standard of hospital nursing in India. She m. Mr. Herbert Phipson about 1891. On the 16th, aged 58, **Ralph Creyke**, Liberal M.P. for York from 1880 to 1885, and sometime High Sheriff of Yorkshire; in his later years a Liberal Unionist. On the 16th, aged 80, **Fritz von Werner**, a well-known German historical painter and follower of Meissonier. About the 16th, aged 75, the **Rev. Frederick Evans Anthony**, for fifty years a Professor at the Western Congregational College, and a prominent Nonconformist in the West of England. On the 18th, aged 84, **General Haralambie**, the last survivor of the three Lieutenant-Governors of Roumania between the fall of Prince Couza and the coming of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern in 1866. On the 18th, aged 49, **George Lawrence**, s. of the author of "Guy Livingstone," junior counsel for the Treasury, and Liberal candidate for the Guildford division of Surrey in 1892. On the 19th, aged 63, the **Ven. Frank Ernest Utterton**, Archdeacon of Surrey since 1906 and Canon of Winchester, and one of the founders of the Hostel of St. Luke. On the 19th, aged 74, **Sir David Vandeleur Roche**, second baronet, of Curass, Co. Limerick. M. (1), 1867, Isabella, dau. of Lord Clarina; (2), 1872, Mary Anne, dau. of Hugh Massey. Succeeded by his half-brother. On the 19th, aged 78, **Count Paul Schouvaloff**, Russian Ambassador in Berlin from 1885 to 1894, and a *persona grata* with both the Old Kaiser and William II. About the 20th, **E. S. Taylor** ("Walker Miles"), the author of many excellent little guides to footpaths in England, which saved many fieldpaths from disuse or destruction. On the 20th, aged 64, **Sir Joseph Caron, K.C.M.G.**, Minister of Militia in Canada from 1880 to 1892, and Postmaster-General from 1892 to 1896. On the 20th, aged 78, the **Hon. Montague Tyrwhitt-Drake**, Judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia since 1889. He had emigrated to the Colony in 1859, and had been a member of its Legislative Council and its Assembly, and President of its Executive Council. On the 21st, aged 70, **Professor Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli** of the Vienna University, a high authority on laryngology and leader of the movement for preventing tuberculosis. On the 22nd, aged 44, **Kassim Bey Amin**, Judge of the native Court of Appeal at Cairo, a fervent advocate of the emancipation and education of Moslem women. On the 22nd, aged 68, **Émile Gebhart**, Professor at the Sorbonne and author of many works on Greek and mediæval artistic and literary history, and a member

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of the French Academy. On the 22nd, **Francis Vaughan Hawkins**, Senior Classic at Cambridge in 1854, and late of Trinity, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn and a learned equity practitioner. On the 23rd, aged 64, **Charles Drinkwater**, assistant secretary of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and for ten years private secretary to Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada. On the 23rd, at Paris, suddenly, aged 30, Emmanuel, ninth **Duke de Chaulnes and Picquigny**, and descended on his mother's side from the Galitzin family; had recently married Miss Shonts of New York. On the 23rd, aged 71, **Colonel Lewis Mansergh Buchanan, C.B., F.R.G.S.**; had served in the Crimea and in the Indian Mutiny, and had travelled in, and written on, the Himalayas and Tibet. On the 24th, aged 60, the **Right Hon. William Slaney Kenyon-Slaney**, Colonel Grenadier Guards and Conservative M.P. for the Newport division of Shropshire since 1886; best known as author of the "Kenyon-Slaney clause" in the Education Act of 1902; a large landowner, and had been a noted cricketer and footballer; Eton and Christ Church; served in the Egyptian campaign, 1882. On the 24th, aged 72, the **Very Rev. Archibald Hamilton Charteris, D.D., LL.D.**, Professor of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University from 1868 to 1898, an eloquent preacher and eminent scholar, and author of important works on the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament. He had taken a considerable part in the abolition of patronage in the Scottish Established Church. On the 24th, aged 88, **Henry James Stonor**, formerly Judge of Marylebone and Brompton County Courts, and senior County Court Judge; a member of an eminent Roman Catholic family. On the 25th, aged 80, **Benjamin Warner**, head of a famous silk-weaving business carried on by his family since their immigration into England at the Edict of Nantes. On the 25th, aged 40, **Sir William Chaytor**, fourth baronet, High Sheriff of Durham in 1902; succeeded by his brother. About the 25th, aged 68, **Cardinal Portanova**, for twenty years Archbishop of Reggio di Calabria, Italy. On the 26th, aged 84, **Samuel Langham**, for many years Coroner of the City of London. On the 27th, aged 81, **Sir Joseph Percival Pickford Radcliffe**, third baronet, a member of a well-known Catholic family. M. 1854, Katharine, dau. of Sir Edward Doughty, who died 1906; succeeded by his s. On the 30th, aged 80, the **Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D.**, Rector of Trinity Parish, New York City, a s. of General John A. Dix, and one of the most conspicuous figures in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. On the 30th, aged 57, **Prince Emil von Schönaich-Carolath**, a novelist and poet of some repute. One of his works, "Melting Snows," was translated into English in 1905. In April, aged 86, **Professor Franz von Leydig**, sometime Professor of Anatomy at Bonn. In April, **Professor Ritter von Sickel**, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Vienna from 1857 to 1892. In April, aged 88, **Professor Ludwig Schmarda**, Professor of Zoology at Vienna from 1862 to 1883, and an eminent traveller and zoologist. In April, **Martin Rico**, an eminent Spanish pen-and-ink artist.

MAY.

The Archbishop of Capetown.—The Most Rev. William West Jones, D.D., died at Housel Bay, near the Lizard, Cornwall, on May 21, aged 70. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School, he was Scholar and Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and held the College living of Summertown from 1864 to 1874. On May 17 of the latter year he was consecrated Bishop of Capetown, and, as Metropolitan, he assumed in 1897 the title of Archbishop. He succeeded Bishop Gray, a well-known High Churchman, the antagonist of Colenso, and he successfully maintained the position won by his predecessor for the High Anglican party at the Cape. He was a member of the English Church Union, but he was not hostile to the Evangelical party. He was visiting England for the Pan-Anglican Conference, and had just completed the thirty-fourth year of his Episcopate.

The Dean of Peterborough. — The Very Rev. William Hagger Barlow, Dean of Peterborough since 1901, died on May 10, aged 75, after three weeks' illness. The s. of the Rev. Henry Barlow, Vicar of Pitsmoor, Sheffield, he was educated at the Grammar and Collegiate Schools of Sheffield and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained honours in Classics, Mathematics, Theology, and Moral Sciences (in which last he was second in the First Class of the Tripos) and won the Carus Greek Testament Prize. From 1861 to 1873 he was Vicar of St. Bartholomew, Montpelier, Bristol, from 1873 to 1875 Vicar of St. Ebbe's, Oxford,

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and from 1876 to 1882 head of the Church Missionary College at Islington, and from 1882 to 1887 incumbent of St. James's, Clapham. He then returned to Islington as Vicar, where he was very active both in parochial and general Church work. He had helped to improve the professional training of the clergy, and was connected closely with the Church Missionary Society and other institutions identified with the Evangelical party. As Dean he showed himself a Liberal Evangelical.

The Right Hon. J. A. Campbell, elder brother of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Conservative M.P. for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities from 1880 to 1906, died at the age of 83, in London, on May 9, after a long illness. He was b. in Glasgow and educated at its High School and University, and entered his father's business, ultimately becoming the senior managing partner. He was active in religious philanthropic and educational work in the city, had much to do with the rebuilding of its University, of whose governing body he was for eighteen years a member, and had sat on important Royal Commissions concerned with Scottish Education. He was a prominent office-bearer and a great benefactor of the Church of Scotland. He m. in 1854, Ann, dau. of Sir S. Morton Peto, and had one son and three daughters.

Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.R.S., the learned archæologist and geologist, died on May 31, after a brief illness, at his home at Britwell, near Berkhamsted, Herts, aged 84. The s. of the Rev. Arthur Evans, D.D., headmaster of the Market Bosworth (Leicestershire) Grammar School and of Anne Dickinson, who came of a family for many years engaged in papermaking, he was educated at his father's school and entered the business of his mother's relatives at Nash Mills, near Hemel Hempstead, Herts. He became a leading authority on a multitude of subjects—Numismatology, in which he wrote a work on "Coins of the Ancient Britons" in 1864; Geology and Anthropology, to which he contributed works of the highest order on the stone implements of Great Britain and Ireland, besides writing many papers on antiquarian or numismatic subjects in *Archæologia* and the *Numismatic Chronicle*. He was a good classical and Hebrew scholar, and a fluent speaker in French and German; indeed, his biographer in *The Times* mentioned that he had been known both to summarise a German speech in English and to address an Archæological Congress at Paris in French, in both cases without preparation. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and for many years its Treasurer and Vice-President; he had also been President of the Society of Antiquaries (1885-92), of the Anthropological Institute (1877-9), of the Institute of Chemical Industry (1892-3), of the British Association (1897), and of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and a corresponding member of the Institut de France. He was High Sheriff of Herts in 1881 and had been Chairman of Quarter Sessions and of the County Council. He was a man of varied and active energies, which were maintained to the very close of his life. He was thrice married. His eldest s., Dr. Arthur Evans, had earned fame as the explorer of the Palace of Minos in Crete.

M. François Coppée, one of the most popular poets and dramatists of his time in France, died on May 20 in Paris, after a long illness. B. at Paris, Jan. 12, 1842, of a Flemish family which had counted a poet in its ranks in the seventeenth century, he was the s. of a poor clerk in the War Office, and himself occupied a humble post under Government. Ill-health in early life had interfered with his studies; but he wrote many poems, which appeared in periodicals, and in 1866 attracted the attention of Ste. Beuve by his "Réliquaire"; nearly three years later Sarah Bernhardt played in his "Passant" and he found himself suddenly famous. He served in the war of 1870, and wrote patriotic poetry; and after the war he turned to a new and more domestic and homely type of verse in "Les Humbles" (1872). Later he wrote verses for special occasions, somewhat of the kind expected from an English Laureate. For a time he acted as dramatic critic of the *Patrie*, and he published novels and tales in prose. As a dramatist he wrote historical plays. He returned to Roman Catholicism after a severe illness, justifying his reversion in "Une bonne Souffrance." He was elected to the Academy in 1884. For many years he had, unfortunately for his reputation, been involved in the Nationalist and reactionary campaign of the *Patrie Française*, but it was his democratic sympathies that led him astray. His style was singularly simple and direct. He was a brilliant conversationalist and cordially liked by a wide circle of friends. His last years were a period of great suffering,

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which his recovered religious faith helped him to bear with fortitude. The death of a sister with whom he lived hastened his end. He left a prize to be awarded by the Academy to young poets of no private fortune.

M. Ludovic Halévy, the well-known librettist of the operas of Meilhac, Offenbach and Lecocq, a dramatist and novelist of high literary merit, and a member of the French Academy, died on May 8, aged 74. The s. of a Professor at the École Polytechnique, he began life as a Government clerk, but in 1863, after some minor compositions, began to collaborate with Meilhac and entered on his real career. "La Belle Hélène" (1864), "La Grande Duchesse" (1867), "Le Roi Candaule" (1873), and "Carmen" (1875) became classics of light opera, as "Frou-frou" (1869) did of comedy; and his novels, "Madame Cardinal" and "L'Abbé Constantin" (1882), secured him a permanent place in literature.

On the 1st, **Franz Peschka**, Minister without portfolio in the Austrian Cabinet, in which he represented more especially the German Nationalist and German Agrarian parties. On the 3rd, aged 71, **Sir Augustus Frederick George Warwick Bampfylde**, second Baron Poltimore, Treasurer of Queen Victoria's Household from 1872 to 1874. Succeeded 1858. M. 1858, Florence, dau. of R. B. Sheridan, M.P.; succeeded by his s. On the 3rd, aged 82, **General Stephen Türr**, of the Italian Army, a Hungarian who had helped in the liberation of Italy from the Austrian domination and served as Garibaldi's aide-de-camp in his expedition against Sicily in 1860. He had been captured by the Austrians while purchasing horses for the British Government during the Crimean War, and sentenced to death, but reprieved and exiled in deference to British interference. He had done much political work in the interest of Hungary and of Italy in the 'sixties, and had in later years actively promoted the Canal through the Isthmus of Corinth and the furtherance of international peace. On the 4th, aged 57, **Charles Edouard Chamberland**, sub-director of the Pasteur Institute and himself an important bacteriologist. On the 4th, aged 58, **Dr. Joseph Herold**, a leader of the young Czech party in Austria. On the 5th, aged 76, **John James Stevenson, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.**, a friend of Morris and Burne-Jones and an architect who had left his mark on his age, according to a correspondent of *The Times*, by the designs for the earliest schools of the London School Board, the new buildings of Christ's College and the University Chemical Laboratory at Cambridge, and the saloons and staircases of the Orient Liners. On the 5th, aged 68, **Albert de Lapparent**, Sécretaire Perpetuel of the French Academy of Sciences, and an eminent geologist. On the 5th, aged 82, **Dr. Theodor Duka**, aide-de-camp to General Görgey in the Hungarian Revolution of 1849, subsequently a British subject and surgeon in the Bengal Army, and a Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He had received the order of the Iron Crown from the Emperor-King in 1883. On the 7th, aged 83, **Edward Parkins Wolstenholme**, of the Chancery Bar, draftsman of the Settled Land Act of 1882 and one of the most learned conveyancers of his time. He was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. On the 7th, aged 71, **Balmanno Squire, M.D.**, for many years surgeon to the British Hospital for Diseases of the Skin and an authority on dermatology. On the 7th, aged 87, **John Hilton**, for forty years a prominent member of the United Kingdom Alliance, and for some time its Parliamentary agent. On the 7th, aged 80, **The Most Rev. William Benedict Scarisbrick, O.S.B.**, sometime Roman Catholic Bishop of Port Louis, Mauritius, and subsequently Archbishop *in partibus* of Cyzicus. On the 8th, the **Rev. Alfred James Poynder**, of St. John's College, Cambridge, since 1882 Rector of Whitechapel. On the 8th, aged 56, the **Hon. Mr. Justice Hungerford Tudor Boddam**, Judge of the Madras High Court since 1896, and previously Recorder of Newcastle-under-Lyme. On the 10th, aged 71, the **Rev. Eugène Lafont, S.J., C.I.E., D.Sc.**, a Belgian by birth, Science Professor at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, since 1865, and in later years Rector; an active worker in the administration of Calcutta University and a pioneer in science teaching in Calcutta. On the 10th, aged 85, **Sir George Cumming Fitzgerald**, fifth baronet; twice married; at his death the title became extinct. On the 10th, aged 58, **Sir Alexander Condie Stephen, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.**, Groom-in-Waiting to the King since 1901; had had a varied and exciting career in the diplomatic service as Consul-General in Eastern Roumelia, on special service in Khorassan during the critical time due to the Russian advance in Central Asia, and assistant on the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1885, when he witnessed the Penjdeh incident and rode thence with the British despatches to Astrabad on the Caspian. He was subsequently British representative at Coburg. On the 10th, aged 58, the **Hon. Charles Cameron Kingston**, Prime Minister of South Australia from 1892

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to 1899, previously Attorney-General of that Colony and subsequently Minister of Commerce in the Federal Government of Australia. On the 11th, aged 67, **Charles James Cullingworth, M.D.**, sometime Professor of Obstetric Medicine at Owens College, Manchester, and subsequently Obstetric physician at St. Thomas's Hospital, London; a high authority on gynæcology. On the 13th, aged 58, **Colonel Gordon Dewar**, Army Pay Department, Chief Accountant in the Scottish Command since 1905; had served in the Zulu and Soudan Wars, and with distinction in the South African War as Chief Paymaster. On the 13th, aged 64, the **Right Rev. Samuel Webster Allen**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Shrewsbury. On the 13th, aged 72, **Miss Louisa Stevenson, Hon. LL.D. Edin.**, a pioneer in the establishment of medical and University education for women, and an active worker in social reforms in Edinburgh. On the 13th, aged 78, **Mme. Guizot de Witt**, eldest dau. of M. Guizot, the Minister of Louis Philippe. Besides many books for the young, she wrote a History of England, and finished her father's History of France for her grandchildren. On the 14th, aged 78, **Sir John St. Aubyn**, first **Baron St. Levan**, Liberal M.P. for West Cornwall from 1858 to 1885, and subsequently first Liberal and then Unionist Member for the St. Ives' division; made a Peer in 1887; had done much to forward the mining and general interests of his county, and had been Mayor of Devonport. M. 1856, Lady Elizabeth Clementina, second dau. of fourth Marquess Townshend; succeeded by his eldest s. On the 14th, aged 71, **Sir Evan Colville Nepean, C.B.**, Director of Army Contracts from 1877 to 1891. On the 14th, **Edward Hughes**, a leading portrait painter, especially of women and children; had painted four portraits of Queen Alexandra, and many of various leaders of London society. On the 15th, aged 43, **Walter Wyckoff**, Professor of Economics at Princeton University, United States; had studied labour questions at first hand by working as an unskilled labourer, and recorded his experiences in two striking volumes, "The Workers" (1898-9). On the 16th, aged 88, **Eugène François Marie Henri**, ninth **Duke of Harcourt de Beuvron** in France. On the 17th, aged 59, **Sir Frederic Samuel Philipson Philipson-Stow**, first baronet, joint founder with Cecil Rhodes of the De Beers Diamond Mining Company and a native of the Orange River Colony. M. 1874, Florence, dau. of H. Hewitt; succeeded by his s. On the 17th, aged 79, **Jacques Blumenthal**, a native of Hamburg and popular composer of songs; since 1848 settled in London, and long prominent as a teacher. On the 19th, aged 61, **Rev. Robert Ewing, D.D.**, Hon. Canon of Salisbury, and sometime Exhibitioner of Balliol and Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. On the 19th, **Francis Fowke**, from 1871 to 1902 General Secretary of the British Medical Association and Manager of the *British Medical Journal*. On the 21st, aged 91, the **Rev. Albert Lowy, LL.D.**, for more than fifty years minister of the West London Jewish Synagogue; a high authority on Hebrew scholarship, secretary of the Society of Hebrew Literature, and also of the Anglo-Jewish Association. On the 21st, **Lieut. John George Haggard, R.N.** (retired), British Consul at Malaga since 1904, previously at Zanzibar, Tamatave, New Caledonia and elsewhere. On the 22nd, aged 61, **John Fulleylove**, Vice-President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours, well known especially by his drawings of Oxford. On the 24th, aged 87, **Tom Morris**, from 1864 to 1903 greenkeeper at St. Andrews and the best known of Scottish professional golfers. On the 24th, aged 97, the **Rev. Angus Bethune**, for sixty-seven years a clergyman in the Diocese of Durham, and for forty-nine years Vicar of Seaham, Northumberland. On the 25th, aged about 78, the **Rev. Thomas Vere Bayne, M.A.**, Student (and formerly Censor) of Christ Church, Oxford, and Keeper of the University Archives since 1885; Secretary to the Oxford University Commission of 1877; a well-known and popular member of the University. On the 25th, aged 61, **Edward Nicholas Fenwick**, for many years a Metropolitan Police Magistrate, and previously Stipendiary Magistrate at Bradford. On the 25th, **Tom Harrop Sidebottom**, Conservative M.P. for Stalybridge from 1874 to 1880 and from 1885 to 1900; a prominent Lancashire manufacturer. On the 25th, aged 70, **Adolf L'Arronge**, a well-known German writer of light comedy and a very successful theatrical manager. On the 25th, from a carriage accident, the **Rev. Foster Stable Barry**, Pembroke College, Cambridge, from 1861 to 1879 Headmaster of the Mercers' School, and since 1898 Rector of Badingham, Norfolk. On the 26th, aged 69, **Mirza Ghulam Ahmed Khan**, head of the Ahmadiyah or Quadian sect of the Moslems. He claimed to be the Moslem Messiah, and had probably 10,000 adherents in India. On the 26th, aged 65, **Colonel Sir Alfred Egerton, K.C.V.O., C.B.**, Treasurer to the Duke of Connaught's Household; had served in the Rifle Brigade and in the Royal Horse Guards. On the 27th, **T. F. Wetherell**, who had edited the *Rambler* and *Home and Foreign Review* in conjunction with Lord

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Acton, and subsequently the *North British Review*. On the 28th, **George Matthews Arnold**, eight times Mayor of Gravesend and a benefactor to the town; brother of Sir Edwin Arnold. On the 29th, aged 83, the **Very Rev. George Clark Hutton, D.D.**, for many years an ardent advocate of disestablishment in Scotland; Moderator of the United Free Church Assembly in 1907, and Principal of the United Presbyterian College from 1892 to 1900. On the 29th, aged 69, the **Hon. Valentine Graeme Bell, C.M.G.**, resident engineer on the Mont Cenis Railway in 1866-8; subsequently Director of Public Works in Jamaica, 1887-1908, when he revolutionised the communications throughout the island. On the 30th, aged 53, **M. Gaston Gerville-Réache**, a native of Guadeloupe, Radical deputy for that island from 1881 to 1906 in the French Chamber, of which from 1904 to 1906 he was a Vice-President. On the 31st, **Trevor Parkins**, Chancellor of the Diocese of St. Asaph. The obituaries of the month also included: **Colonel Henry Watts Russell de Coetlogon**, aged 69, for nearly twenty years an officer in the British Army, and subsequently in the Egyptian service; was on General Hicks's Staff on his expedition to the Soudan in 1883, but was left at Khartoum before the advance to Kordofan, and so escaped the fate of the rest. He was Acting-Governor of Khartoum till relieved by General Gordon, and subsequently served in the Egyptian police, and as British Consul at various places in the Pacific and the Southern States of the American Union. **Robert Blackford Mansfield**, aged 84, author of a once famous book of continental travel, "The Log of the *Water Lily*," describing the experiences of an English crew on German rivers. From a gun accident in the Soudan, aged 31, **Captain the Hon. Reginald George Benedict Forbes**, Gordon Highlanders, brother and heir presumptive of the Earl of Granard; had served with distinction in South Africa. **Professor Karl August Möbius**, aged 83, Director of the Berlin Zoological Museum from 1887 to 1905. **Professor Franz Buecheler**, of Bonn, one of the most eminent classical scholars of his time. **Dr. Eduard Glaser**, aged 52, a high authority on the history and geography of Arabia.

JUNE.

The Earl of Derby.—Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., sixteenth Earl, died suddenly at his seat at Holwood, Keston, Kent, on June 14, aged 67. The s. of the fourteenth Earl (Conservative Prime Minister) and brother of the fifteenth (Conservative and afterwards Liberal Colonial and Foreign Minister), he was educated at Eton, served in the Grenadier Guards, became M.P. for Preston in 1865, served as a Lord of the Admiralty in the Disraeli Ministry of 1866, and was returned for North Lancashire (beating the Marquess of Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire) in 1868. In 1874 he became Financial Secretary to the War Office and in 1877 to the Treasury, from 1878 to 1880 he was War Secretary, and Colonial Minister in the Salisbury Ministry of 1885. Raised to the peerage in 1886 as Lord Stanley of Preston, he was President of the Board of Trade from 1886 to 1888, and then succeeded the Marquess of Lansdowne as Governor-General of Canada, where he was very popular. Succeeding his brother in the earldom in 1893, and returning to England he held no further Cabinet Office, but was Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire, and served as Lord Mayor of Liverpool in 1895-6, and Mayor of Preston in 1901. M. in 1864 to Lady Constance Villiers, eldest dau. of the fourth Earl of Clarendon, he left surviving one dau. and seven sons, his successor in the title being Lord Stanley, Postmaster-General in Mr. Balfour's Government from 1903 to its fall in 1906.

Sir Edward Malet.—The Right Hon. Sir Edward Malet, fourth baronet, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., H.M. Ambassador to Berlin from 1884 to 1895, died at his sister-in-law's residence, Chorley Wood, Herts, on June 29; s. of Sir Alexander Malet, second baronet, and Marian, dau. of John Spalding. B. on October 10, 1837, and educated at Eton and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he entered the diplomatic service in 1854 as attaché at Frankfort, and served subsequently in Argentine, Brazil, Washington and Lisbon. In 1865 he went with Lord Lyons to Constantinople as second secretary and in 1867 to Paris. After Sedan he was sent by Lord Lyons to Bismarck with a letter asking if he would enter into negotiations with Jules Favre for an armistice. In response to an informal invitation sent through Malet M. Jules Favre visited Bismarck at Ferrières, but the negotiations proved abortive. During the Commune he was left in charge of the Archives of the British Embassy at Paris, and his services won him a C.B. Subsequently

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he served as Secretary of Legation at Pekin, 1871-3, Athens, 1873-4, and Rome, where he became Secretary of Embassy and acted as *Chargé d'Affaires*. He was temporary Minister at Constantinople in Sir Henry Layard's absence in 1878, and Agent and Consul-General at Cairo during the critical period of the Arabi Rebellion and the Soudan Expedition. He was made a K.C.B. in 1881, was Minister at Brussels in 1883-4, and then Ambassador to Berlin. He acted as British representative at the Berlin African Congress of 1885, and at the Samoan Conference at Berlin in 1889. It was understood that he declined a peerage on his retirement in 1895. Succeeded to baronetcy 1904. M. 1885, Lady Ermyntrude Russell, dau. of the ninth Duke of Bedford, but had no issue. He described his experiences in a volume of reminiscences entitled "Shifting Scenes."

Sir Redvers Buller.—The Right Hon. Sir Redvers Henry Buller, V.C., died on June 2 at his home, Downes, near Crediton, aged 68. B. on December 7, 1839, the s. of James Wentworth-Buller, M.P. of Downes, and Charlotte, dau. of Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, brother of the twelfth Duke of Norfolk, and educated at Eton, he entered the 60th Rifles in 1858, saw service in the Chinese War of 1860, the Red River Expedition of 1870, where he attracted the notice of Sir Garnet Wolseley, and the Ashanti War of 1873, where he was D.A.A.G. under that General. He was mentioned in despatches and made C.B. He commanded the Frontier Light Horse in the Zulu War of 1878, won the V.C., was thanked in despatches, and made a C.M.G. and *Aide-de-Camp* to the Queen. After an interval of Staff work at home and in the Boer War of 1881, he served with distinction as Chief of the Intelligence Department in the Egyptian War of 1882, received a K.C.M.G., and in the Soudan Campaign in command of the 1st Infantry Brigade under Sir Gerald Graham in 1884. He was at the battles of El Teb and Tamai, promoted Major-General, was chief of the Staff under Lord Wolseley in the following campaign, and took command of the Desert Column after Sir Herbert Stewart's disablement, defeating the Dervishes at Abu Klea. He was rewarded with the K.C.B. In 1886, he was appointed to put down moonlighting in Kerry, Clare and Cork, and expressed his emphatic opinion of the miserable conditions which generated it. In 1886-7 he was Under-Secretary for Ireland, and from 1887 to 1890 Quarter-Master General of the Forces, in which capacity he created what was subsequently known as the Army Service Corps. In 1898 he took the Command at Aldershot, and in 1899 was selected for the Chief Command in the South African War. There the pre-arranged plans of campaign miscarried, and after the defeat at Colenso and the disaster of Spion Kop he was practically superseded by Lord Roberts, but was left in command in Natal, and effected the relief of Ladysmith. After the junction of his Army with that of Lord Roberts he was recalled, rewarded with the G.C.M.G. and restored to the Aldershot command; but his singularly uncautious and undisciplined defence of his action in 1901 caused his removal, and he retired into private life. Weak in tactics and subject to sudden and erratic impulses—as when he proposed the abandonment of Ladysmith, and made the speech which closed his career—he was a singularly brave soldier, an admirable organiser, and adored by his men. He m., in 1882, Audrey, youngest dau. of the fourth Marquess Townshend.

Sir John Day, Judge of the Queen's Bench division of the High Court of Justice from 1882 to 1901, died at his residence, Falkland Lodge, Newbury, on June 13. B. on June 20, 1826, the s. of a Roman Catholic officer in the Army, he was educated at Freiburg and Downside College, Bath, graduated at the University of London, and was called to the Bar in 1849. He edited legal works and wrote commentaries on successive Law Procedure Acts, and went the Home Circuit, became a Q.C. in 1872, a Bencher of the Middle Temple in 1878, and its Treasurer in 1890. An effective advocate, as a Judge in criminal cases he was notoriously much more severe than his judicial brethren, and he was not in the first rank of legal luminaries. A Roman Catholic, he served on the Belfast Riots Commission of 1886 and on the Parnell Commission, the latter appointment being strongly objected to in Liberal quarters. His politics, however, remained unknown, and he was silent throughout the public proceedings. He was made a Privy Councillor on his resignation in 1901, but never sat on the Judicial Committee. He m. (1) in 1846, at the age of 20, Henrietta, dau. of J. H. Brown; (2) in 1900, Edith, dau. of E. Westby. He left a large family.

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The Marchese Prinetti.—Giulio Prinetti, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Zanardelli Ministry, from 1900 to 1903, died in Rome on June 9, aged 60. Entering the Chamber early, he was Minister of Public Works under Rudini in 1896, but proved too independent, and was eliminated at the end of 1897. Declining the Ministry of Finance offered him by General Pelloux in 1899 and aspiring to that of Foreign Affairs, already accepted by Visconti-Venosta, he received this latter post in the Zanardelli Ministry of 1901. His known hostility to the Triple Alliance at once created some alarm in Germany, but it fell to his lot to renew it in 1902, though by that time its character had considerably changed and its decadence was virtually avowed even in Germany. A stroke of paralysis caused his resignation in April, 1903. A vigorous, powerful, passionate man, he was not altogether diplomatic; but he was a thorough patriot, an excellent and hardworking Minister, and a zealous promoter of the interests of his nation in Albania and Tripoli as well as in Europe.

M. Gaston Boissier.—Marie Louis Gaston Boissier, the French Academician and distinguished Latin scholar, died on June 10 at his home at Viroflay, near Paris. B. at Nîmes on August 15, 1823, he entered the École Normale in 1843, but unlike his many distinguished fellow-pupils — among them Pasteur, Beulé, Burnouf, and others—remained a Professor and a man of letters throughout his life. He became teacher of rhetoric at the Nîmes Lycée, and, after publishing several works, including treatises on Plautus and Varro the antiquary, made his mark with "Cicéron et ses Amis" in 1865. He was made Professor of Latin Literature at the École Normale, was offered the succession to Sainte-Beuve at the Collège de France, and became a Member of the Academy in 1876, and its Permanent Secretary in 1895, and Member of the Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles-lettres in 1886. Among his many works may be mentioned two volumes of "Promenades Archéologiques," "Le Fin du Paganisme" (1891), a history of Roman religion under the early Empire, another of the opposition under the Cæsars, "L'Afrique Romaine" (1893), and works on Tacitus and on the Conspiracy of Catiline, the last named published only in 1905. He had been a contributor to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and to the *Temps*, and he also wrote works on St. Simon and Mme. de Sevigné. His second wife, who had died not long before him, was the dau. of the Orientalist Burnouf, and he had three daughters. His books are marked by close and wide study, and by thorough appreciation of the details and the spirit of Roman life.

Ex-President Cleveland. — Stephen Grover Cleveland, of New York State, President of the United States from 1885 to 1889 and 1893 to 1897, died at his home at Princeton, New Jersey, on June 24. He was b. in New Jersey on March 18, 1837, the s. of a Presbyterian Minister, entered business in a humble capacity on his father's death in 1853, but became a lawyer's clerk at Buffalo and held various local appointments. In 1881 he was elected Mayor of that city after a successful municipal reform campaign, and in 1882 Governor of New York, where he showed marked independence and uprightness. He was elected President of the United States—the first Democrat since Buchanan—in 1885, and was a vigorous and independent chief magistrate, frequently in conflict with Congress, a Civil Service Reformer and a strong opponent of high Protection. It was during his Presidency that the British Minister, Sir Lionel Sackville-West, was betrayed into an indiscretion with a view to capturing the Irish vote for the Republicans, and was sent home. On his defeat by General Harrison in the 1888 election he established a law practice in New York, but was re-elected President in 1888, this time with a Democratic majority in Congress. Under his second Presidency he promoted, but not with complete success, the reform of the Currency and of the Tariff, and suppressed strike disturbances by Federal troops at Chicago. He estranged public feeling, however, by his declarations on the Hawaiian trouble, and brought the Venezuela and Guiana frontier dispute to a crisis by his sudden and injudicious message to Congress of December 17, 1895, which nearly brought about a war with Great Britain. This difficulty was happily settled next year, but the silver craze alienated the Western Democrats, and in 1896 Mr. Bryan received the Democratic nomination. Since that date Mr. Cleveland had been out of politics. He m. during his Presidency in 1886, Miss Frances Folson, dau. of his former law partner.

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On the 1st, aged 68, **Louis Fréchette, LL.D., C.M.G.**, Clerk of the Legislative Council of Quebec, and a distinguished French Canadian poet. Among his works are "Mes Loisirs" (1863), "Veronica," a drama, and "Les Oiseaux du Neige." He was Laureate of the French Academy and a Knight of the Legion of Honour. On the 1st, aged 63, the Paris music-hall singer known as **Paulus**, whose singing of "En revenant de la Revue" gave strong stimulus to the Boulangist movement of 1887-9. On the 2nd, aged about 68, **Sir Henry Thomas Wrenfordsley**, Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands from 1890 to 1900; previously a Judge in Mauritius; and then successively Chief Justice of Western Australia and of Fiji. He stood for Peterborough as an Independent Conservative in 1877. On the 3rd, at Montreal, **Sir Robert Gillespie Reid**, a great railway contractor, the builder of much of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the great Bridges at Niagara Falls and over the St. Lawrence at Lachine, and the operator for some years of all the railways of Newfoundland. He was knighted in 1907. On the 3rd, aged 63, **Sir Henry Waldemar Lawrence**, third baronet, Sub-Treasurer of the Inner Temple, second s. of the hero of Lucknow, who was first baronet. Succeeded his nephew in 1898. M. 1873, Emily, dau. of Sir G. B. L'Estrange. Succeeded by his s. On the 3rd, at Charlottenlund, Copenhagen, aged 89, **Professor Michael Viggo Fausböll**, D.Phil., one of the greatest of nineteenth century Orientalists, and the editor of the *Dhammapada* and *Jâtaka*, the latter a collection of Pâli folk-tales, and of the Sutta Nipata, a collection of Buddha's discourses. On the 4th, **Sir James Arthur Hanbury, K.C.B., F.R.C.S.**, principal Medical Officer under Sir F. (afterwards Earl) Roberts on the Kandahar Expedition of 1881, and of the Egyptian Expedition in 1882. He retired from the Army in 1892. On the 4th, **Major-General William Oliver Swanston**, sometime Madras Army, who had served with distinction under Havelock and Outram in the Indian Mutiny. He retired in 1881. On the 5th, aged 78, **Cesareo Fernandez Duro**, Captain in the Spanish Navy, and a prolific writer on the history of his country and his service. On the 7th, aged 84, the **Rev. Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth, M.A., F.S.A.**, a well-known antiquary and editor of a collection of ballads. On the 8th, aged 83, the **Rev. Thomas Rees, D.D.**, of Cefn Coed, Breconshire, one of the best-known Calvinist Ministers in Wales. On the 9th, aged 83, the **Rev. William Henry Milman**, s. of Dean Milman; Rector of St. Augustine's and St. Faith's and Minor Canon of St. Paul's, and Librarian of Sion College, the library of which he had done much to improve. On the 10th, aged 64, **Sir William Phillips Sawyer**, since 1870 clerk to the Drapers' Company, and a great promotor of its work for technical and general education in connection with the People's Palace (subsequently the East London College), the transfer of the Bancroft School to Woodford, the Tottenham High School for Girls, and various Universities. On the 10th, aged 72, **Lieut.-General Sir Adam George Forbes Hogg, K.C.B.**, Bombay Army; had served in the Persian and China Wars, the Indian Mutiny, the Abyssinian Expedition, and the Afghan War of 1879-80, and had been Political Resident at Aden. On the 10th, aged 50, **Oliver Perry Belmont**, s. of the well-known New York banker, August Belmont, and a prominent American breeder of race-horses. On the 10th, aged 70, **Robert Webber Monro**, from 1901 to 1903 Chief Clerk of the House of Lords, and for many years previously engaged in the Private Bill Office, where he distinguished himself by his industry and ability. In early life he was in the Harrow and Oxford University cricket elevens, and he took an active part in charitable work. On the 10th, at Melbourne, aged 68, **Colonel John Montgomery Templeton, C.M.G.**, Victorian Defence Force; had been Captain of the Victorian Rifle Team at Bisley in 1897 and Senior Colonial Officer in the Diamond Jubilee Procession. On the 11th, **Dr. Edwin Rickards**, of Birmingham, President of the British Medical Association in 1880. On the 13th, aged 76, **Major-General John Ormsby Vandeleur, C.B.**; had served with distinction in Egypt in 1882 and the Soudan in 1884-5. On the 14th, aged 100, **Dr. Thomas Lambert Hinton, M.R.C.S.**, sometime Assistant Surgeon of the Royal Bengal Fusiliers, and the oldest member of the College of Surgeons. On the 15th, aged 78, **Sir Henry Ralph Fletcher-Vane**, fourth Baronet, Deputy-Lieutenant for Cumberland and Westmoreland. Succeeded 1842; m. 1871, Margaret, dau. of Thos. Steuart Gladstone; succeeded by his cousin. On the 16th, aged 50, **Bernard Henry Philip**, fourteenth **Baron Petre**; head of an old Catholic family; succeeded his brother (a domestic prelate at the Papal Court) in 1893. M. 1899, Audrey, dau. of Rev. W. R. Clark, D.C.L.; left one dau.; succeeded by his brother. On the 15th, aged 84, **Don Antonio Aguilar y Correa, Marquis de la Vega di Armijo and Marquis de Mos**, a grandee of Spain, Premier for a short time in 1906-7. Entered public life in 1855; a Minister under O'Donnell; helped to overthrow Queen Isabella; Ambassador to Paris in 1873, where he counteracted the Carlism of MacMahon's Government.

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On the 16th, **William Milburn**, a well-known Newcastle shipowner, President of the Chamber of Shipping in 1892, and of the Merchant Shipping Advisory Committee to the Board of Trade. On the 16th, aged 69, **Sir William Robert Burkitt**, sometime Judge of the Allahabad High Court. On the 16th, **Miss Mary Elizabeth Hawker** ("**Lance Falconer**"), the author of "Mademoiselle Ixe" and three other novels of great cleverness and some celebrity in the early 'nineties. On the 17th, aged 55, **Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy**, fourth Baronet, a member of a well-known philanthropic Parsi family of Bombay. Succeeded 1898; m. 1869, Goolabai Rustaniji Wadia; succeeded by his s. Originally Mr. Cowasjee Cursetjee Jejeebhoy, he dropped his name (according to family custom sanctioned by legislation) to take that of the founder of the baronetcy. On the 18th, aged 66, the **Rev. Angus Clerk**, Prebendary of Wells, and from 1885 to 1901 Vicar of St. Paul's, Bath. On the 18th, aged 63, at Ootacamund, **Major-General George Simpson, C.B.**, sometime D.A.A.G. of the Indian Army; had served in the Burmah Campaign of 1885-7. On the 18th, aged 60, **General Marie Firmin Gabriel Théophile Amourel**, commanding 15th French Army Corps; had served in the Tunis and Tongking expeditions of 1881 and 1885 and was an officer of the Legion of Honour. On the 18th, **James Crabtree**, a member of the Aston Villa Football Team, and among the most famous of Association football players. On the 19th, aged 84, **Mrs. Emily Mary Buxton**, widow of Charles Buxton, M.P., and dau. of Sir Henry Holland, physician to Queen Victoria, and friend of Macaulay, Hallam, Mrs. Gaskell, and other early Victorian notabilities. She herself was the centre of a hardly less brilliant circle. Her son, Sydney Buxton, was Postmaster-General in the Liberal Ministry of 1906. On the 20th, at St. Petersburg, aged 68, **Nicolas Andrievitch Rimsky-Korsakoff**, a leading Russian musician and composer of fourteen operas; for many years Director of the choir of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire; originally in the navy; described by a French paper as "an artist in instrumental embroidery." On the 20th, aged 42, **Walter Headlam**, Litt.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, one of the most distinguished of contemporary Greek scholars, and a brilliant writer of Greek verse. Educated at Harrow he took a First Class in the Classical Tripos, 1886, and was Porson Prizeman and four times Browne Medallist. He had done much work on Greek texts, and was preparing to complete Jebb's edition of "Sophocles." On the 21st, **Mrs. Beynon Puddicombe** ("Allan Raine"), the writer of Welsh novels of some distinction and considerable charm. On the 21st, aged 38, **Bertram Abrahams, M.B. Lond.**, Assistant Physician to Westminster Hospital, a rising medical writer. On the 21st, aged 72, **Henry Cecil Moore**, sometime R.E., builder of the Perim Lighthouse; afterwards entering the medical profession he became Health Officer for Hereford City, and President of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club. On the 22nd, suddenly, aged 47, **William Riach Cassie, M.A.**, Professor of Physics at Holloway College, of Aberdeen University and Trinity College, Cambridge. On the 22nd, **William B. Leeds**, formerly President of the Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railway, and one of the most talked of among American millionaires. On the 23rd, aged 56, **Lieut.-Colonel Henry Lonsdale Hallewell, C.M.G.**, sometime Royal Scots; had served in the Soudan, the Nile Expedition, and the Zulu and Boer Wars. On the 24th, aged 80, the **Right Hon. Sir William Vallance Whiteway, K.C.M.G.**, thrice Prime Minister of Newfoundland, between 1878 and 1889, previously Speaker of the House of Assembly, and Solicitor-General of the Colony from 1873 to 1878. On the 25th, aged 64, **Sir Arthur Havelock, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.**, successively Governor of Trinidad (1884-5), Natal (1885-9), Ceylon (1890-5), Madras (1895-1900) and Tasmania (1901-6). On the 24th, aged 87, the **Rev. George Goodman**, M.A. Cantab., sometime Canon of Melbourne Cathedral, and for fifty-one years incumbent of Christ Church, Geelong. On the 25th, aged 33, **Clement Gutch**, M.A. Cantab., sometime lecturer in Classics at King's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, and an able student and teacher of Classical archæology. On the 26th, aged 71, **Sir Edmund Bewley, K.C.**, Judicial Commissioner in the Irish Land Commission from 1890 to 1898, and previously Regius Professor of Feudal and English law in the University of Dublin. On the 26th, aged 86, **William John Evelyn**, M.P. for West Surrey, 1849-57, subsequently Conservative Member for Deptford, 1885-8, when he resigned after conversion to Home Rule, and was succeeded by Mr. (subsequently Mr. Justice) Darling after a memorable contest in which Mr. Wilfrid Blunt was defeated. Mr. Evelyn was one of the family of the famous John Evelyn, the diarist. On the 27th, aged 88, **Martin Henry Colnaghi**, a well-known picture dealer and collector. On the 28th, aged 52, **Lieut.-Colonel William Henry Hippisley**, sometime Royal Scots Greys; had served in the Zulu War of 1879, the Nile Expedition of 1884-5, and the South African War. On the 29th, **James Reid**, Unionist M.P. for Greenock, 1900-6. On the 29th, aged 83, the

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Rev. James Leigh Joynes, sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, an Eton master from 1849 to 1887. On the 30th, aged 71, **Joshua Brooking Rowe, F.S.A.**, an authority on Devonshire antiquities. About June 30th, at Quetta, aged 51, **Colonel William St. Lucian Chase, V.C., C.B., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.**, sometime A.A.G. of the Quetta division; had won his Victoria Cross in the Afghan War of 1880, and served with distinction in various frontier wars.

JULY.

Count Nicolas Pavlovitch Ignatieff, the celebrated Russian diplomatist, died at St. Petersburg on July 3, aged 76. He entered the Imperial Guard in 1849, served during the Crimean War on the Staff of General Berg, who commanded the Army defending the Baltic coasts, and was afterwards charged with a special mission to China. In 1856, being then a Colonel and an Imperial *Aide-de-camp*, he entered the diplomatic service as Military *Attaché* in London, and at once made his mark by a detailed report to the Tsar on the military position of Great Britain in India. He was then promoted General and appointed first Diplomatic Adviser to the Governor of Eastern Siberia, and then Russian Minister to Pekin, where he negotiated treaties of commerce with Khiva and Bokhara and the treaty of cession of the Ussuri province. In 1863, he was made chief of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office, but in 1864 was sent as Minister to Constantinople. The post was raised to an embassy in 1867. He took an active part in the negotiations which preceded the Russo-Turkish War, representing Russia at the Constantinople Conference early in 1877, and after its failure was sent in March of that year on a mission to the Great Powers, to justify the attitude of Russia in acting alone to reform Turkey. He also it was who drew up and signed on behalf of Russia the abortive Treaty of San Stefano in 1878. He was made a Count and appointed, in the next reign, Minister of Domains and subsequently succeeded Loris Melikhoff as Minister of the Interior, but his proposal to call a deliberative assembly was strongly opposed by M. Pobiedonostzeff, and in May, 1882, he retired from active public work. He was regarded throughout Russia as one of the most ardent of Panslavist patriots; and he was stated to have warmly welcomed the Anglo-Russian *entente*. From 1888 to his death he was President of the (Panslavist) Slavonic Charity Organisation Society.

Lord Blythswood.—Sir Archibald Campbell Campbell, first baronet, first Baron Blythswood, died at his seat in Renfrewshire on July 8, aged 73. The s. of Archibald Campbell of Blythswood and Mains, he had served with the Scots Guards in the Crimea, where he was severely wounded, and, retiring on the death of his father, had represented Renfrewshire as a Conservative from 1873 to 1874, and its western division from 1885 to 1892. He was active in county and political work in his district, was an active experimenter in physics, and greatly interested in military questions, and commanded the Renfrewshire Militia from 1874 to 1904. He had entertained Queen Victoria and various members of the Royal family. He was succeeded under special remainder by his brother, the Rev. Sholto Douglas Campbell-Douglas.

Mr. Joel Chandler Harris ("Uncle Remus") died at Atlanta, Georgia, early in July. B. in 1848 in that State and apprenticed to a printer, he became a journalist, and in 1876, after some experience in the West, he joined the staff of the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1876, and contributed to it the famous animal stories, obtained with but little change from the older negroes, of which "Brer Rabbit" is the chief hero. These were first published in a collected form in 1880 and were recognised as an important contribution to folk-lore. He had edited the *Atlanta Constitution* since 1890. Among his other works were "Tales of the Home Folks," "Mingo," and "Plantation Pageants."

Jonas Lie.—Jonas Lauritz Edemil Lie, the Norwegian poet and novelist, died on July 5 at Christiania, aged 74. Educated at Christiania University, he became a solicitor, but appears to have shown no special literary inclination till he published a volume of poems in 1866. In 1870, after a reverse of fortune, he made his fame with "Den Fremsynte" ("The Visionary") and in 1874 "Lodsen og huss Husfru" ("The Pilot and His Wife") completed his success. He afterwards lived in Germany and in Paris, and from 1891 at Christiania. Other works

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of his are "The Commodore's Daughters," "Niobe," and "One of Life's Slaves," and he also wrote fairy tales. He was regarded as the first of Norse novelists. A realist, he kept out of the excesses of that school.

Bishop Potter. — The Right Rev. Henry Codman Potter, D.D., Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York since 1887, died on July 21, aged 73. B. at Schenectady, N.Y., he came of a family distinguished in American history, and was the s. of Bishop Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and nephew of Horatio Potter, his predecessor in his see. Among his cures had been Grace Church, in the 'sixties the fashionable church of New York City. He had shown considerable interest in social questions, especially in social purity, and had specially condemned the laxity of the marriage law in many of the States. His popularity extended outside his own communion, and he was an eloquent if somewhat unconventional ecclesiastic.

On the 1st, aged 40, **Viscount Chelsea**, eldest surviving s. and heir of Earl Cadogan, and Unionist M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds from 1892 to 1900. On the 1st, aged 71, **Hamilton Noel Hamilton-Hoare**, for thirty-four years Treasurer of the Hospital Saturday Fund, and prominent in philanthropic work in London. On the 2nd, aged 78, **Charles Edward Newton**, partner in a Derbyshire banking firm, one of the Simeon Trustees, and prominent in Church and county affairs. On the 2nd, aged 69, **Professor Oskar Liebreich**, for thirty-six years Director of the Pharmacological Institute at Berlin; an eminent authority on drugs, and the chief introducer of choral hydrate. About the 2nd, at Bangalore, aged 74, the **Rev. James Duthie, D.D.**, for fifty-three years a Missionary in the Madras Presidency, mainly in Travancore. About the 2nd, **General Hardy de Périni (Jean de Villeurs)**, the author of six volumes on "Batailles Françaises" and of other important works on military history, as well as lighter literature. On the 4th, aged 85, **Major-General Sir Thomas Maunsell, K.C.B.**; had served in the Sikh War of 1848-9, in the Crimea, and in the Indian Mutiny. On the 4th, aged 72, **Professor Eberhard Schrader**, of Berlin, a leading Assyriologist. His work on "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament" had been translated into English in 1889. On the 6th, aged 76, **Major-General John Heron Maxwell Shaw Stewart**, R.E., sometime Indian Army, and Chief Secretary for Public Works to the Madras Government; had been active in charitable and local work in Paddington since his retirement in 1885. On the 6th, aged 79, **Field-Marshal Baron Walter von Loë**, sometime *Aide-de-camp* General to the Emperor Frederick, a life member of the Prussian Upper House, and frequently employed on ceremonial missions. He published his Memoirs in 1905. On the 7th, aged 87, **Charles James Dunphie**, for more than fifty years art critic of the *Morning Post*, and an accomplished writer of Greek and Latin verse. On the 8th, aged 75, **Colin Arrott Robertson Browning, C.I.E.**, for many years Chief Director of Education in the Central Provinces of India and in Oudh, and joint editor of an important gazetteer of the Central Provinces; an eminent Orientalist. On the 8th, **Sir William Farmer**, High Sheriff for Berkshire in 1895 and Sheriff of London in 1890-1. On the 9th, aged 70, **Sir Thomas Naghten Fitzgerald, C.B.**, a distinguished Australian surgeon; had acted as Consulting Surgeon to the Imperial Forces in the South African War. On the 9th, aged 79, **Frances**, widow of **John Cashel Hoey, C.M.G.** She was a popular novelist between 1870 and about 1890. On the 10th, aged 54, **Elisabeth Duchess John Albert of Mecklenburg-Schwerin**, *née* a Princess of Saxe-Weimar; her husband was Regent of Brunswick. On the 12th, aged 76, **Sir Henry Reader-Lack**, Controller-General of the Patent Office from 1884 to 1897, and for many years previously a senior clerk in the Board of Trade; had represented Great Britain on various commercial missions abroad. On the 13th, aged 50, **Sir Matthew Wood**, fourth baronet, a descendant of the Lord Mayor who championed Queen Caroline, and grand-nephew of Lord Chancellor Hatherley. M. 1894, Maud, dau. of Thomas Raynor Brown; succeeded by his s. On the 13th, **Dr. Michael Militchevich**, Servian Minister in London in 1901-3 and from 1906 to his death. On the 13th, aged 52, **Count de Merode**, President of the Belgian Senate, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1892-5. On the 15th, aged 68, the **Rev. Charles Bigg, D.D.**, Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford since 1901; had had a distinguished undergraduate career and been Headmaster of Brighton College, and Bampton Lecturer in 1886. He had written very valuable works on early Church history. On the 16th, aged (probably) 97, **Sir John Banks, K.C.B.**, Regius Professor of Physic in Dublin University from 1880 to 1898, Physician in ordinary to Queen Victoria in Ireland and sometime President of the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland; a writer of important medical papers, and (*inter alia*) on

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the madness of Dean Swift. On the 16th, aged 78, **Sir Thomas Brooke**, sometime Chairman of Quarter Sessions for the West Riding of Yorkshire, a prominent manufacturer and citizen of Huddersfield. On the 17th, aged 75, **Joseph Henderson**, a versatile and able portrait and marine painter, long settled in Glasgow, where he had exercised considerable influence on interest in the fine arts. On the 18th, aged 78, **Arthur Lister**, **F.R.S.**, younger brother of Lord Lister; a very high authority on the Mycetozoa. On the 18th, aged 68, **Professor Otto Pfleiderer**, of Berlin, a pupil of Baur at Tübingen. Hibbert Lecturer 1885, Gifford Lecturer 1894; an eminent and rather advanced theologian. Had written on "Paulinism," Early Christianity and New Testament Criticism. On the 19th, aged 81, the **Ven. Samuel Cheetham**, Archdeacon of Rochester since 1882, and for many years Chaplain of Dulwich College; Professor of Pastoral Theology, 1863-82, at King's College, London; sometime Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Hulsean Lecturer in 1896, and author of valuable works on Church history. On the 19th, aged 68, the **Very Rev. Robert James Shaw-Hamilton, D.D.**, Dean of Armagh in the Irish Protestant Episcopal Church. On the 19th, aged 74, the **Rev. William Johnson Ancient**, Secretary-Treasurer of the Anglican Diocese of Halifax, N.S.; began life as a seaman R.N.; was conspicuous in his efforts to save life at the wreck of the White Star steamship *Atlantic* in his Nova Scotian parish, on April 1, 1873. On the 20th, aged 57, **Louis Dyer**, **M.A. Oxon.**, sometime Assistant Professor of Latin at Harvard, and for many years resident in Oxford, a distinguished American scholar and archæologist. On the 20th, aged 74, **Demetrius Bikelas**, a leading Greek novelist; author of "Loukis Laras," and translator of Shakespeare into modern Greek. On the 20th, aged 55, **Joseph Ehrhart**, Socialist member of the German Reichstag since 1898, and prominent for many years in the party Councils. On the 22nd, aged 70, **Sir William Randal Cremer**, Liberal M.P. for Haggerston from 1892 to 1895 and from 1906 to his death, and one of the earliest working-men elected to Parliament. A carpenter by trade, he was Honorary Secretary of the famous "International" before it passed from its Labour into its Revolutionary phase, and for many years he had been a chief promoter of international arbitration. He had organised Garibaldi's reception in 1864. He was the chief originator of the International Parliamentary Union, and was awarded the Nobel peace prize in 1903, which he handed over to the International Arbitration League. On the 22nd, aged 91, **Captain James Ptolemy Thurburn**, **R.N.**; had served for thirty-seven years in the Navy, distinguishing himself specially in the suppression of the West African slave trade. On the 24th, aged 43, **Herr Walter Leistikow**, a prominent landscape painter of the modern Berlin School. On the 25th, aged 79, the **Rev. Peter Goldsmith Medd**, Rector of North Cerney, Gloucestershire, sometime Fellow of University College, Oxford; Bampton Lecturer, 1882, an authority on liturgiology and one of the earlier promoters of Keble College. On the 27th, aged 70, **Sir Thomas Stevenson**, **M.D.**, **F.R.C.P.**, senior scientific analyst to the Home Office since 1894, and for many years on the teaching staff of Guy's Hospital; had been professionally concerned in unravelling many celebrated murder cases, and was an authority on medical jurisprudence and public health. On the 27th, aged 89, **Charles John Todd**, for fifty years consecutively a member of the Corporation of London. On the 31st, aged 70, **James Plaister Harriss-Gastrell**, British Minister Resident and Consul-General at Bogota 1882-4, and Minister to the Central American Republics from 1884 to 1889; retired 1890. Late in July, in the Shetland Islands, **Alfred John Webb**, Nationalist M.P. for West Waterford from 1890 to 1895. According to the New York *Nation*, to which he was a frequent contributor, he was the s. of R. D. Webb, a member of the Society of Friends and a printer, with whom he worked on an anti-slavery paper in early life; he had visited the Australian gold diggings, returned to distribute relief in the Irish famine, and presided over the Indian National Congress. He wrote many articles on Irish subjects, and a compendium of Irish national biography.

AUGUST.

The Earl of Rosse.—Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart., K.P., F.R.S.; fourth Earl of Rosse and Baron Oxmanstown in the Irish Peerage, and an Irish Representative Peer since 1868, died at Birr Castle, King's County, on August 29, aged 67. The eldest s. of the third Earl (the distinguished astronomer) and Mary, dau. of J. W. Field, of Heaton Hall, Yorkshire, he succeeded 1867, and had been President of the Royal Dublin Society, and of the Royal Irish Academy, and was Chancellor of Dublin University, a member of the Senate of the Royal University of Ireland, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon. and Hon. LL.D.

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Cambridge and Dublin. Save on scientific subjects occasionally, he had taken little part in the business of the House of Lords, but he had done good astronomical work, and was prominent in local administration. M. 1870, Frances, only dau. of the fourth Lord Hawke; succeeded by his elder s.

The Rev. Charles Taylor, D.D., LL.D. (Harvard), Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, since 1881, died suddenly of apoplexy, at Nuremberg on August 12, aged 68. Educated at King's College, London, he was ninth wrangler and in the second class of the Classical Tripos in 1862, Tyrwhitt Hebrew scholar in 1864, and Kaye theological prizeman in 1867. He became a Fellow of his College in 1864, and subsequently wrote valuable text-books and other works on mathematics, and still more learned works on Biblical, theological and Rabbinical subjects. He was described by *The Times* as "a business-like if not brilliant Master, a hospitable Vice-Chancellor, and, as a borough Alderman, a useful link between Town and University." He had also gained some distinction as an Alpine climber.

Ira David Sankey, the evangelist, singer, and companion of Dwight L. Moody on their famous missions, died in Brooklyn, United States, on August 14. B. in Edinburgh, Pa., on August 28, 1840, the s. of a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, he early developed musical powers and, having joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, sang at revival meetings, and was invited by Mr. Moody to join him in 1870. He did so, resigning a good post in the Internal Revenue Department, and was associated with him till his death in 1900. He composed many of his hymn tunes, sometimes improvising them, and, following his colleague's earnest appeals, produced a profound impression on crowded meetings by his singing. The large sums produced by the sale of his hymn books were mainly given to Mr. Moody's institutions. Since 1903 he had been blind. He had been a generous benefactor to his birthplace. Latterly he had been a Presbyterian, but he cared little for sectarian distinctions.

On the 1st, **George Septimus Warmington**, Liberal candidate for Lewisham in 1891, and for Stratford-on-Avon division in 1892; Mayor of Lewisham in 1906; an active member of the former London School Board. On the 2nd, at Potsdam, aged 77, **Karl Friedrich Herrmann Lucanus**, chief of the private Civil Cabinet of the German Emperor. Best known as the official who brought to Imperial or Prussian Ministers his master's intimation that they had better resign, and therefore nicknamed "the Angel of Death"; but his real work was to instruct the monarch in public questions, and he did not abuse his great influence and opportunities. The s. of a Halberstadt apothecary, he had had a distinguished career in the Ministries of Justice and Public Worship; had been made chief of the Civil Cabinet on the Kaiser's accession and ennobled in 1888. On the 2nd, at Florence, **John Roddam Spencer-Stanhope**, for thirty-five years a popular resident in that city; had painted the remarkable reredos of its English Church, and picture in the Chapel of Marlborough College. On the 3rd, **Baron Ungern-Sternberg**, Russian Consul-General in London. On the 3rd, in Rome, aged 90, **Sigismund Nicholas**, Earl of Newburgh, also holder of several Scottish, Roman and Neapolitan titles of nobility; the s. of the Marchese di Bandini. His mother, an Italian lady of Scottish extraction, claimed and obtained the succession to the earldom in 1858, and he was naturalised by Act of Parliament, and succeeded her in 1897. M. 1845, Maria, dau. of Cavaliere Guiseppe Massani; succeeded by his s. On the 4th, aged 61, **William Lavino**, *The Times* correspondent in Paris since the death of Blowitz in 1903; born in Lancashire of naturalised Dutch parents, educated abroad, and entered business, eventually serving in the office of the Consul-General of Ecuador in Paris; became private secretary to the Ecuadorian Minister to Paris, did ambulance work in the siege, and made a success in journalism by getting Bazaine to defend himself in the *New York Herald* just after his escape from the Ile St. Marguerite. Joined the *Daily Telegraph* staff in Paris; eventually went to Vienna as *The Times* correspondent in 1878, where he made a great success in a very difficult post. Had done much by his writing to bring about the Anglo-French *entente*. On the 4th, **M. Simopoulos**, sometime Finance Minister in the Kingdom of Greece. About the 4th, aged 66, **Bronson Howard**, a popular American dramatist, several of whose plays in adaptations were familiar on the English stage. On the 5th, aged 64, **Vice-Admiral Peploe Tudor, C.V.O.**, Harbour Master of Kingstown since 1900. On the 6th, **William Bemrose, F.S.A.**, member of a well-known printing firm at Derby, author of standard works on wood-carving and china, and a life of the artist Joseph Wright. On the 7th,

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aged 69, the **Marchese Antonio Starabba di Rudini**, Prime Minister of Italy in 1891 and from 1896 to 1898. A native of Palermo, he suppressed an insurrection effectively when Syndic of the city, became its Prefect and subsequently Prefect of Naples, and deputy for Canicatti in 1869. He was Minister of the Interior under Menabrea, and succeeded Minghetti as leader of the Right in 1887. From 1882 onwards he was deputy for Syracuse. His Ministry fell, owing to the riots in Milan, in June, 1898. About the 7th, aged 95, **Thomas Ridley**, barrister-at-law and one of the most skilful conveyancers of his time. On the 9th, aged 64, **Colonel Sir William Everett, K.C.M.G.**; sometime Professor of Military Surveying at the Staff College; and A.A.G. at the War Office Intelligence Department 1893-1901; had done much work in delimiting frontiers in Asia and West Africa. On the 9th, aged 47, **Senhor Trinidade Coelho**, a Portuguese judge who had resigned as a protest against the Dictator's action; had written a "Political Manual for the Portuguese Citizen" and various educational works and short stories. About the 9th, aged 79, **William Downes Griffith**, Attorney-General for Cape Colony 1866-72; subsequently a County Court Judge. On the 10th, aged 77, **Arthur Ranc**, an eminent Paris journalist and politician; Senator for Corsica and chief editor of the *Aurore*, a vigorous adversary of the rule of Napoleon III., and for a time a member of the Commune of Paris, he was court-martialled and condemned to death in 1873, but escaped to Belgium, was amnestied in 1879, and actively defended the Republic both against Boulangism and during the Dreyfus case. On the 10th, aged 73, **Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton**, *née* Chandler, a well-known Bostonian writer of stories. On the 10th, aged 89, **Frederic Norgate**, once a member of the well-known firm of Williams and Norgate, publishers of Herbert Spencer's and other learned works; for the last forty years of his life a keen student and bibliographer. On the 12th, aged nearly 70, the **Rev. John Robson, D.D.**, for twenty-two years Minister of St. Nicholas U.P. Kirk in Aberdeen, and ex-Moderator of the U.P. Church. On the 13th, aged about 60, **Duncan Mackellar**, member of the Royal Scottish Society of Water-Colour Painters, an artist appreciated on the Continent as in Great Britain. On the 13th, aged 82, **Sir Charles Gage Brown, K.C.M.G., M.D. St. Andrews, F.R.C.P. Edin.**, for many years medical adviser to the Colonial Office and Crown Agent for the Colonies. About the 13th, aged 70, **Nugent Murray Whitmore Daniell**, one of the last of the old East India Company's servants in the Bombay Presidency. On the 14th, aged 62, **Professor Friedrich Paulsen**, successor to Eduard Zeller in the chair of philosophy at Berlin. The s. of a farmer in North Friesland, he began life as a theological student at Erlangen, but turning to philosophy, became a *privat-docent* at Berlin in 1875, and ordinary professor in 1896. He was a disciple of Fechner. On the 14th, **William Aronsberg**, a Jew born in the Baltic provinces of Russia; long an optician in Manchester and a liberal donor to its charities and art galleries. On the 14th, aged 64, **Michael Lambert**, a skilled mechanical engineer of Dublin, who forged the keys which enabled Stephens, the Fenian Head Centre, to escape from Richmond Prison, Dublin, in 1867. On the 14th, aged 78, **Tnyr Henry Burges**, Hon.-Colonel Mid-Ulster Artillery Militia, sometime High Sheriff of Armagh and Tyrone, first Mayor of East Ham. On the 16th, aged 52, **Emmanuel Arène**, Senator for Corsica, dramatic critic of the *Figaro*, a successful dramatist, and a member of the *République Française* under Joseph Reinach's editorship in the early 'nineties. On the 17th, aged 79, the **Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald**, member of the Legislative Council of Victoria, Australia, since 1864, Chairman of Committees in it since 1903, and prominent among the Roman Catholics of the State. On the 17th, aged 49, **William Jarvis Colquhoun, D.S.O.**, Naval Commandant for Queensland; had served for twenty-five years in the Australian naval forces and gained high distinction in the South African War at Paardeberg and elsewhere with the Naval Brigade. On the 18th, thrown off an outside car in Dublin, aged about 50, **Edward H. Ennis**, Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland, originally a journalist and barrister and then a Registrar in the Chancery Division of the Irish High Court. On the 18th, the **Hon. Louisa Charlotte Canning**, eldest dau. and last survivor of the family of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the famous diplomatist. On the 18th, aged 68, **Hugh Hutton Stannus, F.R.I., B.A.**, sometime lecturer on architecture at the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, and biographer of Alfred Stevens the sculptor. On the 19th, aged 68, **Hector France**, sometime a member of the Commune of Paris, a prolific and violently realistic French novelist. On the 19th, aged 46, **Colonel Sir Frederick Bridges Major Henniker**, fifth baronet, commanding 2nd Battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps; had served with distinction in the South African War. Succeeded 1906; unmarried; succeeded by his brother. On the 21st, aged 100, the **Rev. Thomas Lord**, the oldest Congregational Minister in England; for sixty-

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five years an active preacher, and for seventy a member of the Liberation Society. On the 21st, aged 40, **Captain John Gordon Edgeworth Craik**, Seaforth Highlanders, B.A., Merton College, Oxford, youngest s. of Sir Henry Craik, M.P.; had served with distinction in the South African War and in Somaliland and in the administration of the Soudan. On the 23rd, aged 94, **Mrs. Jessie Clay**, widow of the Rev. John Clay; a friend of Wordsworth, who wrote a well-known verse in her album, as also of Hartley Coleridge and Tennyson. On the 24th, aged 87, the **Rev. William Latham Bevan, M.A.** Oxon., Archdeacon of Brecon from 1895 to 1907, an authority on Welsh ecclesiastical history. On the 25th, aged 86, **Sir George Barclay Bruce**, a railway engineer of the first generation; had been engaged in the construction of the Border Bridge at Berwick-on-Tweed, and on the earliest Indian railways; a prominent Presbyterian. On the 25th, aged 78, **Sir Eyre Massey Shaw, K.C.B.**, head of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade 1866-91 and its organiser; had learnt his life-work as Chief Constable of Belfast; a native of Cork, graduate of Dublin University, and originally in the army. On the 25th, aged 56, **Henri Becquerel**, Member of the Institute and one of the most eminent of French physicists. On the 27th, at Madison, Wisconsin, aged 67, **William V. Vilas**, Postmaster-General and subsequently Secretary of the Interior under President Cleveland from 1885 to 1889, and Senator for his State from 1891 to 1897; had served in the Civil War and strongly opposed the new Democracy of Bryan in 1896. On the 27th, aged 65, **John Watson Spencer**, prominent in the Northumbrian steel industry, and an active Volunteer; had given 10,000*l.* to establish one of the residentiary canonries in Newcastle Cathedral. About the 27th, aged 83, **Comte Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld, Duc de Doudeauville**, French Ambassador in London in 1873-4, a member of the National Assembly in 1871, deputy for Mamers (with a short intermission) from 1876 to 1898, and an active Monarchist. About the 27th, aged 63, **Prince Tarkhan Nowravof** or **Tarkhanoff**, a leading Russian biologist. On the 27th, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, aged 61, **Sir William John Anderson**, Chief Justice of Trinidad and Tobago from 1900 to 1903, and previously Chief Justice of Honduras. On the 27th, aged 37, **Major George Ewen Eyre Gordon Cameron**, sometime Gordon Highlanders; had distinguished himself in the Tirah Expedition of 1897-8 and in the South African War, and had been adjutant of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, 1903-6. On the 28th, aged 61, **Captain George Herbert**, sometime 1st Battalion Royal Fusiliers, and Quartermaster of the Corps of Commissionaires since 1905. On the 29th, **Sir Henry Moore Jackson, G.C.M.G.**, Governor of Trinidad and previously of Fiji and the Leeward Islands, and Colonial Secretary of Gibraltar, in all of which posts he had done valuable administrative work. On the 29th, aged 80, **Frederick Kynaston Barnes**, sometime Assistant Constructor of the Navy under Sir Edward Reed, and subsequently Surveyor of Dockyards from 1872 to 1886; joint-author with Professor Rankine of an authoritative work on shipbuilding, and joint editor for some years of the "Naval Annual". On the 29th, aged 85, **William Day**, some thirty years earlier a famous jockey and trainer. On the 29th, aged 74, **Major-General James Gunter**, sometime Colonel commanding the 4th Dragoon Guards; had served with distinction in the Chinese War of 1860 and in the Crimea. On the 30th, aged 64, **Archibald D. Reid, A.R.S.A.**, a landscapist and portrait painter of some distinction and member of a family of artists. On the 31st, aged 59, **William John Stewart**, Stipendiary Magistrate of Liverpool since 1891; had taken an active part in founding Liverpool University College. On the 31st, aged 78, **William Guthrie, LL.D.**, Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and an authority on Scots Law.

SEPTEMBER.

Lord Sackville.—Sir Lionel Sackville Sackville-West, G.C.M.G., second Baron Sackville, died on September 3 at Knole Park, Sevenoaks, aged 81. The fifth s. of the fifth Earl de la Warr and of Lady Elizabeth Sackville, dau. of the third Duke of Dorset and Baroness Buckhurst, he entered the diplomatic service in 1847, and served as *attaché* in various Continental capitals, and from 1858 as Secretary of Legation successively at Turin, Madrid, and Paris. From 1872 to 1878 he was Minister to the Argentine Republic, and from 1878 to 1881 held the same office at Madrid. In 1881 he was sent as Minister to Washington, and in 1888 was trapped by a correspondent, professing to be an American citizen born in England, and in doubt how to vote, into expressing an opinion apparently favourable to President Cleveland's re-election. This was resented by the Democratic managers as likely to turn the Anglophobe Irish vote to support the Republicans, which, in-

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deed, was the correspondent's intention, and Lord Sackville's recall was requested by the United States Government, the principal cause assigned being his alleged imputation in the letter of discreditable motives to that Power in its action concerning the rejected Canadian fisheries treaty of 1888. He retired in 1889 from the diplomatic service. He succeeded his brother, the first Baron, by special remainder in 1888. He took an active part in local affairs, and threw open Knole Park to the public. Succeeded by his nephew; but the succession was disputed by the s. of an alleged marriage between the deceased Peer and a Spanish *danseuse*.

Canon Fleming.—The Rev. James Fleming, B.D., Canon of York, Vicar of St. Michael's, Chester Square, S.W., and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, died in London on September 1, aged 78. B. at Carlow of Irish parents and educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, he began his career as Curate of St. Stephen's, Ipswich, and from 1856 to 1866 was incumbent of All Saints Chapel, Bath. From 1866 to 1873 he was incumbent of Camden Church, Camberwell, and in 1873 was presented by the Duke of Westminster to the Vicarage of St. Michael's, Chester Square. In 1880 he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Victoria and in 1876 a Resident Canon of York. He was an eloquent and very popular preacher of decided Evangelical views, an active promoter of the Hospital Sunday Fund and of temperance work, and Honorary Clerical Secretary of the Religious Tract Society. He had refused the Deanery of Chester and an Australian bishopric.

The Right Hon. Sir Edward Hamilton, G.C.B., long a distinguished Treasury official, died on September 3, aged 61. The s. of the Bishop of Salisbury, he was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and became a Clerk in the Treasury in 1870, became Private Secretary to Mr. Lowe when Chancellor of the Exchequer, and subsequently to Mr. Gladstone from 1873 to 1874 and from 1880 to 1885. In the latter year he was appointed a Principal Clerk in the Finance Division of the department. He became Assistant Financial Secretary in 1892, Assistant Secretary in 1894, and Permanent Financial Secretary in 1902, retiring from ill-health in November, 1907. His services were most cordially acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone, between whom and himself a warm personal friendship existed and of whose work at the Treasury he published a sketch in 1898. He was created K.C.V.O. in 1901, L.S.O. in 1904, G.C.B. in 1906, and Privy Councillor in 1908.

General Sir Arnold Burrowes Kemball, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Colonel Commandant R.A., died on September 21, aged 87. He joined the Bombay Artillery in 1837, served in the Afghan War of 1838-9, and took a leading part in the expedition against Ahwaz in 1857, when Assistant Political Resident in the Persian Gulf. For his services he was specially commended by Lord Canning, Governor-General of India, and made a C.B. From 1859 to 1868 he was Political Agent and Consul-General at Baghdad, and in 1875 was British Commissioner to delimit the Turco-Persian boundary, and in the Turco-Servian and Russo-Turkish wars of 1876-7 was British military *attaché* at the Turkish headquarters, where he was conspicuous for his zeal and cool bravery. He became a General in 1880 and K.C.B. in 1878. He was a Director of the British East Africa Company.

Dr. John Churton Collins, Professor of Literature in Birmingham University since 1905, was found dead in a ditch on a farm near Lowestoft on September 15. He had been taking sedatives to ease pain, and was supposed to have slipped into the water when unconscious. B. in 1848 and educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and Balliol College, Oxford, he had devoted himself to the scholarly study of English Literature, had taken a prominent part in the University Extension Movement, and had written many books, the subjects including Bolingbroke, Tennyson, Swift, and the earlier English poets and dramatists. One of his chief objects was the recognition of literature as a subject of University study apart from philology, and to this subject he devoted much denunciatory eloquence. He had of late years given much attention to certain conspicuous and undetected crimes. He was a D.Lit. of Durham University.

Señor Salmeron.—Nicolas Salmeron y Alonso, sometime President of the Spanish Republic, died at Pau on September 21, somewhat suddenly, aged 70. B. at Almeria, he studied at the University of Granada, and began life as Professor of Philosophy at the University of Madrid. From the outset of his career he advocated democratic

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ideas in the Republican Press, and the revolution of 1868 found him in prison. He served as a member of the revolutionary committee, was elected a deputy in 1871, and, after the abdication of King Amadeo, supported the proclamation of the Republic, and, after serving as Minister of Justice in the Figueras Cabinet and President of the Constituent Cortes, was chosen President of the Republic on the resignation of Pi y Margall in July, 1873. Face to face at once with revolutionary Federalism and reactionary Carlism, he successfully repressed the Federalist revolt at Cartagena and Valencia; but was strongly opposed in Congress and, objecting to capital punishment, resigned on September 7, 1873, and was unanimously elected President of the Cortes. After the Bourbon restoration of 1874, he was constrained to give up his professorship on religious grounds, and in 1876 he took refuge in Paris, but in 1881 was recalled by Sagasta and reappointed, and in 1886 was elected Progressist Deputy for Madrid. He and his group stood between the revolutionism of Zorrilla and the opportunism of Castelar, but strove to unify the Republicans. Recently his federalist sympathies had led him to alliance with the Catalan Separatists, and he had vigorously opposed the Bill relegating offences against the army to military tribunals; indeed, his exertions probably shortened his life. In the election of 1907 he was nearly murdered at Barcelona. An eloquent speaker, he was unsuccessful as a practical statesman.

William Tallack, an ardent prison reformer, died on September 25, aged 77. A Cornishman and a member of the Society of Friends, he was attracted to the work of his life by the example of many eminent members of that body, and in 1866 became Secretary of the Howard Association, founded to combat crime and pauperism. In 1872 he published a volume on the defects in the criminal administration and penal legislation of Great Britain, and in 1889 a standard work, "Penological and Preventive Principles," which went through many editions and was translated into several languages. He was an earnest advocate of the probation system of criminal treatment and of preventive and educational means of dealing with crime. He was an ardent opponent of the death penalty and an earnest advocate of international peace and arbitration. "He showed," said *The Times* in an obituary notice, "what can be done in good causes when zeal and sincerity are united to knowledge, courtesy, and tact."

Señor Sarasate.—Pablo Martin Melitón de Sarasate y Navascues, the eminent violinist and composer, died at Biarritz on September 20, aged 64. B. at Pampeluna, he began to play his instrument in early childhood, and at 13 studied under Alard at Paris. He played first in London in 1861, and had performed in nearly every civilised country. A player of decided and sensitive individuality, he had, according to *The Nation*, "a curious personal, almost feminine fascination, and a technique of such ease that the most extraordinary difficulties became beautiful and interesting," together with a well-balanced grasp, acquired in later life, of classical music.

On the 1st, aged nearly 53, **Rear-Admiral Robert Archibald James Montgomerie, C.B., C.V.O.**; had served with distinction in the expedition to Khartoum in 1884-5, the punitive expedition against the Sultan of Vitu in 1890, and the operations against Venezuela in 1902; had been a well-known boxer and sportsman, and held the Albert medal for a gallant attempt to save life at sea; was a King's A.D.C. On the 2nd, aged nearly 70, **Sir Edward Birkbeck, Bart.**, Conservative M.P. for North Norfolk, 1879-85, and for East Norfolk, 1885-92; one of the chief promoters of the International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883, and Chairman of the National Lifeboat Institution. M. 1865, Mary Augusta, dau. of William, first Lord Hylton; made Baronet, 1866, but left no family. On the 3rd, aged 54, **Thomas Cairns**, M.P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne since 1906, and a prominent shipowner of the city; had been active in promoting local improvements as a member of the Council. On the 5th, aged 72, **Horatio Alfred Adamson**, Town Clerk of Tynemouth 1873-1904, and an authority on the antiquities of Northumberland. On the 7th, aged 73, **Wilson Lloyd, F.R.G.S.**, Conservative M.P. for Wednesbury, 1885-6 and 1892-5, sometime Mayor and Alderman of the town. On the 6th, aged 66, **Sir Robert Henry Maude, Bart.**, fifth Viscount Hawarden; sometime 7th Royal Fusiliers; succeeded his cousin, 1905; m. 1881, Caroline, dau. of Major Arthur Ogle; succeeded by his s., b. 1890. On the 7th, aged 89, the **Rev. Frederick Henry Marvell Blaydes, M.A., Ch.Ch. Oxon., Hon. LL.D. Dublin**; Rector of Harringworth, Northants, 1848-86; editor of Sophocles and Aristo-

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phanes, a well-known classical scholar. On the 7th, aged 71, **Lieut.-General Henry Alexander Little, C.B.**; had served in the Crimea and distinguished himself in the Afghan War of 1880-1 and in Burmah, 1886-7. On the 8th, aged 41, **Major Henry C. W. Villiers Stuart**, High Sheriff of Waterford County in 1898, and its lieutenant in succession to the late Duke of Devonshire; had served in the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa. On the 8th, aged 77, **Captain Stapleton Cotton, M.V.O.**, for forty-nine years a member of the Royal Body Guard. On the 9th, aged 70, the **Rev. Henry Montagu Villiers**, Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, a popular High Church clergyman and a representative of the diocese of London in Convocation; great-grandson of the first Earl of Clarendon. On the 9th, the **Rev. Joseph Waite, D.D.**, Hon. Canon of Newcastle, Master of University College, Durham, from 1865 to 1873 and sometime Proctor in the Convocation of York. On the 9th, aged 79, **Dr. Max Falk**, for many years editor of the *Pester Lloyd*. On the 10th, **Charles Algernon Whitmore**, sometime Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, Conservative M.P. for Chelsea from 1886 to 1906; a County Alderman and author of "Municipal London." On the 10th, aged 77, **General Sir Reginald Gipps, G.C.B.**, sometime Lieut.-Colonel commanding Scots Guards, and Military Secretary to the Duke of Cambridge, 1892-4; had distinguished himself in the Crimea and commanded the Home District, 1884-9. On the 10th, accidentally drowned in the Severn, aged 57, **George Griffiths Pruen, Ch.Ch. Oxon.**, for thirty-three years a master at Cheltenham College. On the 10th, aged 41, **Edward Percy Paton, M.D. Lond., F.R.C.P.**, a prominent member of the teaching staff of Westminster Hospital. On the 13th, at Château d'Oex, Switzerland, **Mrs. Adelina George Isabel Kingscote**, dau. of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and as "Lucas Cleeve" a well-known novelist. On the 13th, aged 88, **Dr. Johann von Schlumberger**, a manufacturer of Elsass-Lothringen, President of its Provincial Council, 1875-1903; an authority on its antiquities; ennobled 1895. On the 14th, **James Frances Oswald, K.C.**, Conservative member for Oldham, 1895-9. On the 14th, aged 68, **John T. Taylor, I.S.O.**, from 1878 to 1903 Assistant-Secretary to the British Museum; had superintended the removal of the Natural History collections to South Kensington; had served on the London School Board and County Council, of whose Education Committee he was the first Chairman. On the 15th, aged 87, **Alexander James Scrutton**, for many years prominent in the government of the London Stock Exchange. On the 15th, aged 72, **John Hawks Clasper**, one of the famous firm of boat builders, and the inventor of sliding seats in racing boats. On the 15th, aged 47, **Major Ferdinand Mansel Peacock**, sometime 13th Somersetshire Light Infantry; had distinguished himself in Burma, 1886-7, and in the South African War. On the 15th, aged 80, **Professor Frederick Adler** of the Berlin Academy of Architecture; had written much on various ancient buildings and a History of the Architecture of Berlin. On the 16th, aged 72, **Major-General Godfrey James Wigram, C.B.**, late Coldstream Guards; had served with distinction in the Crimea and the Egyptian Expedition of 1882. On the 18th, under painful circumstances (see Chronicle, *ante*), **Major-General Charles Edward Luard, R.E.**, aged 68; had devised a scheme for the re-armament of Gibraltar and served in the Kent County Council; of Huguenot extraction. On the 19th, **Dr. Stephen Wootton Bushell, C.M.G., F.R.G.S.**, physician to the British Legation at Pekin from 1868 to 1899; an authority on Chinese art and coins. On the 19th, aged 84, the **Rev. Walter Chalmers Smith, LL.D.**, for many years a leading U.P. Minister in Edinburgh, author of "Olrig Grange" and other volumes of poetry which had had a considerable vogue twenty years earlier. On the 19th, **Señor Sanchez Bustillo**, lately Spanish Minister of Finance. On the 20th, **Cuthbert Shields, M.A. Oxon.**, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, sometime Lecturer and Examiner for the old School of Law and Modern History; a man of wide and curious learning; had changed his name, originally Robert Laing. On the 20th, aged 66, **Sir Edward Noel Walker, K.C.M.G.**, Lieut.-Governor of Ceylon from 1890 to 1901; had previously served in various capacities in the West Indies. On the 20th, in Nigeria, aged 33, the **Hon. Oliver Howard**, Resident in Northern Nigeria since 1903; second s. of the Earl of Carlisle. On the 21st, the **Right Rev. James Carmichael**, Bishop of Montreal since 1906, previously co-adjutor Bishop, and for many years Rector of St. George's, Montreal. On the 21st, aged 85, **Colonel John Charles Downie Morrison, F.R.G.S.**, Royal Marines; had served with distinction in the Chinese War of 1857-61. On the 22nd, aged 76, **Colonel Sir Nigel Kingscote**, Paymaster of the King's Household; Liberal M.P. for West Gloucestershire from 1872 to 1885; for some years Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and connected with the Court since 1859; a keen sportsman and practical agriculturist. On the 22nd, aged 86, **Mabel Edith, Countess Russell**, wife of the second Earl, whom he

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divorced, and younger daughter of Sir Claude Edward Scott, fourth baronet; unfortunate also in her second marriage, and for some time on the music-hall stage. On the 22nd, aged 67, **Sir Joseph Leigh**, sometime Mayor of Stockport and Liberal M.P. for the borough, 1892-5 and 1900-6; a generous benefactor to the town. About the 22nd, aged 61, **George Nicholson**, Associate of the Linnæan Society, Curator of the Botanic Gardens at Kew from 1886 to 1901, Editor of the *Illustrated Dictionary of Gardening*. On the 22nd, aged 53, **Carnegie Robert Parker Jervis**, fifth Viscount St. Vincent, sometime Captain in the Berkshire Regiment; succeeded 1885; m. 1885, Rebecca, dau. of James Baston, whom he divorced 1896; succeeded by his brother. On the 23rd, aged 78, **Lieut.-Colonel James Horne Wade**, formerly 90th Light Infantry; had served with distinction in the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny. On the 24th, aged 60, the **Rev. Henry Adeney Redpath, D.Lit.** Oxon., Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East since 1898, Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford, and author of a standard concordance to that work. On the 24th, aged 60, **Sir Josias Christopher Gamble**, second baronet, an ex-Mayor of St. Helens, Lancs.; m. 1873, Isabella, dau. of G. S. Sanderson; succeeded 1907; succeeded by his s. On the 24th, aged 81, the **Rev. Robert Godfrey Faussett**, Vicar of Cassington, Oxon., student and Mathematical Lecturer of Christ Church, Oxon., 1850-5, and afterwards Treasurer of the "House." On the 24th, aged 75, the **Rev. Sir George Henry Cornewall**, fifth baronet; m. 1867, Louisa, dau. of Francis Bayley; succeeded by his s. On the 24th, aged 85, **Sir Samuel Canning**, the engineer who superintended the manufacture and laying of the Atlantic cables of 1865 and 1866, and the recovery of the first in the Atlantic; also concerned with the first cable and earlier with railway work. On the 25th, at Siena, aged 82, **William Farren**, a member of J. B. Buckstone's famous comedy company at the Haymarket Theatre about 1860, and one of a famous family of actors. On the 25th, aged 65, **Thomas Steadman Aldis**, St. John's College, Cambridge, Second Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman in 1866; his brothers were Senior and Sixth Wranglers; for many years an Inspector of Schools. On the 26th, aged 82, **Colonel George Leith Fraser**, late Bengal Staff Corps; had distinguished himself in the Sikh War of 1849 and the Indian Mutiny. On the 26th, aged 98, **Admiral Richard Moorman**; had done varied and distinguished service in the Navy from 1823 to 1866. On the 26th, **Sir Arthur Vernon Macan**, a prominent Dublin physician and an authority on gynæcology. On the 28th, aged 67, **Sir James Gibson Craig**, third baronet, prominent in the local administration of Midlothian and an active agriculturist; succeeded 1852; m. 1870, Julia, dau. of Archibald Buchanan of Curriehill; succeeded by his third s. On the 29th, aged 63, **Albert Maignan**, an eminent French decorative and historical painter. On the 30th, aged 84, **General Francis Hornblow Rundall, C.S.I.**, Colonel Commandant R.E., for many years in the Indian Public Works department and an authority on irrigation. On the 30th, aged 67, the **Rev. Henry John Wiseman**, St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th in first class Classical Tripos, 1868, for thirty-three years Master at Clifton College, and since 1892 Rector of Scrivelsby, Lincs. In September, aged 72, **E. Dwight Church**, a wealthy American collector of curios and books, owner of the finest library of "Americana" and of one of the most remarkable of Shakespearian collections.

OCTOBER.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., formerly British Minister at Teheran and Madrid, and one of the founders of the famous "Fourth Party," died at Brighton on October 11, the day before his seventy-eighth birthday. The s. of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D., a converted Jew of the tribe of Levi and a well-known and daring traveller and missionary, by his marriage with Lady Georgiana Walpole, dau. of the second Earl of Orford, he was educated at Rugby and abroad, and, after some experience as Foreign Office Clerk, *Attaché* at Florence, and Private Secretary to the Earl of Malmesbury and Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, he was sent to the Ionian Islands as Secretary to the Lord High Commissioner. Retiring on a pension when they were ceded to Greece, he became one of the brilliant band of contributors to *The Owl*, a real "society paper," in the 'sixties [see *post*, November, under Lord Glenesk]; travelled, and in 1874 entered Parliament as Conservative member for Christchurch. Supporting Lord Beaconsfield's Eastern policy, he represented Great Britain on the Commission appointed to frame a Constitution for Eastern Roumelia. In 1880 he was returned for Portsmouth, and it was he who first took advantage of Mr. Bradlaugh's election to raise dif-

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ficulties for the Government. He also helped to found the famous "Fourth Party" which, during 1880, was the chief fighting force on the Opposition side. The Primrose League, founded in 1881, was his idea; but he lost his seat in 1885, and was sent to Constantinople to arrange for co-operation with the Sultan, as suzerain, in the government of Egypt. He was in Egypt as High Commissioner—Mukhtar Pasha representing the Sultan—till 1887, and then negotiated a fresh Convention providing for the eventual termination, on certain conditions, of the British occupation. As provision was made for a re-occupation if necessary, France and Russia persuaded the Sultan to refuse his signature; Sir Henry at last left Constantinople in disgust, and the British occupation was never intermitted. Appointed Minister to Teheran in 1888, he effected the opening of the Karun River, and accompanied the Shah in his visit to Europe. He then became for a short time Minister at Bucharest, and then at Madrid for eight years (1892-1900), covering the critical period which comprised the Spanish-American War. Retiring at the age limit, he spent the rest of his life chiefly in London. He was made C.B. in 1859, K.C.M.G. in 1862, K.C.B. 1879, G.C.B. in 1889. He wrote some amusing "Rambling Recollections," a work on Spanish life and other books, and translated M. de Lesseps' lecture on the Suez Canal. M. 1852, Adeline, dau. of Sholto Douglas, who survived him.

Cardinal Mathieu, one of the most liberal and cultured of contemporary French prelates, died at a nursing home in London, whither he had come for the Eucharistic Congress, on October 26, aged 79. François Désiré Mathieu, the s. of Lorraine peasants, was b. in that province on May 28, 1829, and was first a student, and then a teacher, in the clerical seminary of Pont à Mousson. In 1878, however, he became Chaplain to a Convent, in 1890 parish priest of Pont à Mousson, and in 1893 he succeeded M. Freppel as Bishop of Angers. There he offended the Royalists by advising compliance with the advice of Leo XIII. to rally to the Republic, but later he paid a compliment to the kindness and piety of the Comtesse de Paris, declaring her morally worthy to wear the French crown. The Minister of Public Worship, who excused him, had to resign, and the Bishop himself was a target for Radical attack. From 1896 to 1899 he was Archbishop of Toulouse, and in 1899 he was made Cardinal and summoned to Rome. There his influence was liberal, and he was a great admirer of Cardinal Rampolla, whose candidature for the Papacy in 1903 he worked for ardently. It was vetoed by Austria-Hungary, and the intrigues of the friends of the various candidates were set forth by the Cardinal in an unsigned article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Under Pius X. he was not in favour at the Vatican, and was regarded as a Liberal, a Freemason and a traitor. According to his biographer in the *Temps*, his sarcastic tongue and his dislike for the state surrounding a Cardinal contributed to this result. He wrote two notable works, a History of the *Ancien Régime* in Lorraine (1879), and a History of the Concordat (1902), and he was elected member of the French Academy in 1906.

Charles Eliot Norton, an American scholar well known in England, died at Cambridge, Mass., United States, on October 21, aged 81. The s. of a New England divine and Professor at Harvard, Andrewes Norton, he graduated from that University at nineteen, entered on business, and in 1851 sailed to the East Indies as supercargo. On his return he gave up business, and in 1853 published his first book, an attack on the Brook Farm experiment in Socialism. In 1855 he travelled abroad with his mother and sisters, making Ruskin's acquaintance, staying in Italy and studying Italian literature and returning to Boston in 1857. He m. in 1862, and from 1864 to 1868 was co-editor of the *North American Review*. In 1868 he again visited England, becoming intimate with Carlyle and also with Edward Fitzgerald, whose Omar Khayyam he introduced to the American public. In 1874 he was appointed Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard University. In 1874 he organised a Turner Exhibition; in 1879 an exhibition of Ruskin's drawings in Boston and New York; in 1882 he helped to found a Dante Society of which Longfellow was the first President, and he himself the third. Among his writings were an essay on Dante's "Vita Nuova" (1859), "Notes of Travel and Study in Italy" (1861), and a translation of Dante's "Divina Commedia" (1891), and he edited the letters of Emerson, of Carlyle, and of Lowell, and the orations and addresses of C. W. Curtis.

Professor Lewis Campbell.—The Rev. Lewis Campbell, M.A. Oxon., LL.D., Hon. D.Litt., Emeritus Professor of

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Greek in the University of St. Andrews, died at Brissago, Lago Maggiore, on October 25, aged 78. A cousin of Thomas Campbell, the poet, he was educated at the Edinburgh Academy and Glasgow University and in 1849 became scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, but migrated to Balliol as a Snell exhibitioner in 1850. He obtained a First in Lit. Hum. and a Fellowship at Queen's, but after a short period of college work took the living of Milford, Hants, till 1863, when he became Professor of Greek at St. Andrews. In 1861 he had published an edition of Plato's "Theætetus," in 1867 he followed it by editing the "Sophistes" and "Politicus," and from 1861 to 1871 his "Sophocles" appeared. He helped Jowett in his translations, and in 1894 published an edition of Plato's *Republic*, and he translated Æschylus and Sophocles into English verse, and delivered the Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews in 1894—on religion in Greek Literature. He helped also in the Lives of Clerk Maxwell, whose schoolfellow he was, and of Jowett. He retired from his Professorship in 1891.

Sir George Livesey, chairman since 1885 of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, and a chief promoter of labour co-partnership, died on October 4, aged 74. Entering the company's service at fourteen, he had worked in almost all its departments, and his life, according to his biographer in *The Times*, was devoted to making and supplying gas at the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of cost. His claim to be remembered, however, rests on the remarkable scheme of profit sharing, or co-partnership, for the company's employees, which he introduced in 1889 amid much opposition and at the price of a gas stokers' strike, which he overcame at a cost of 100,000*l.*, having thereafter no trouble with the unions. The chief features of the scheme were an annual bonus on wages and salaries, and the encouragement (or compulsion) of the men to invest part of it in the company's stocks. He served on the Labour Commission of 1891-4.

"**Father Ignatius, O.S.B.**" (the Rev. Joseph Leycester Lyne) died on October 16 at his sister's house at Camberley, Surrey, aged 71. His father was a London merchant, his mother one of the Leycesters of Tabley, and he was a cousin of Dean Stanley; he was educated at St. Paul's School for a short time, at a private school in the country, and at Trinity College, Glenalmond, and early developed ultra-Catholic and monastic proclivities. After Church work as a layman in Scotland, he became Curate of St. Peter's, Plymouth, in 1860, being ordained, however, only on condition that he should not preach or take priest's orders for three years. In 1861 he became Curate of St. Peter's, London Docks, in 1862 wrote in advocacy of the revival of monastic life in the Church of England, and began a community in Suffolk, and in 1863 transferred it to Norwich; of the control of this, however, he was eventually deprived by an artifice. In 1863 he addressed the Church Congress at Bristol, but only obtained a hearing through the intervention of the Bishop. He preached in a number of London "High" churches between 1863 and 1868, sometimes encountering considerable opposition, but was then suspended from preaching in the diocese by Bishop Tait, and became an unattached preacher, standing between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and preaching usually in halls. In 1869 he founded a Benedictine monastery some three miles from the ancient abbey of Llanthony near Abergavenny, the name of which he took for it; but the institution was never very prosperous. He claimed to be a Father of the Order of St. Benedict; and he was admitted to the priesthood by a Syrian Archbishop of French extraction, the "Metropolitan of the Old Catholics of America," in 1898. His preaching, but for a few phrases suggesting modern Roman Catholicism, might have been that of an earnest Evangelical revivalist, and there could be no question of his fervour and sincerity, of his dauntless courage, or of his great power as a speaker. But he was eccentric, erratic, mediæval in his religious ideas, and almost always in conflict with constituted ecclesiastical authority. His life has been appreciatively written by the Baroness de Bertouch.

On the 1st, aged 72, **Caleb Rickman Kemp**, an eminent member of the Society of Friends, and Chairman from 1892 to 1908 of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On the 1st, aged 100, **Mrs. Louisa Clutterbuck**, *née* Capel, granddaughter of the fourth Earl of Essex, and widow of the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck, Rector of Long Wittenham. On the 2nd, aged 88, the **Rev. Robert Wheler Bush, F.R.G.S.**, sometime Headmaster of Islington Preparatory School, Rector of St. Alphege, London Wall. On the 3rd, aged 72, **Henry George Augustus Knox**,

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J.P. Berks, a County Councillor, and prominent in local affairs. On the 3rd, aged 48, **Bennett Hooper Brough**, F.G.S., Secretary of the Iron and Steel Institute and a high authority on mining. On the 4th, aged 41, **Major Charles Legge Eustace Robertson-Eustace**, D.S.O., First Battalion King's Royal Rifles; had served with distinction in South Africa and in Indian frontier warfare. On the 4th, aged 91, **Thomas Henry Baylis**, K.C., from 1876 to 1903 Judge of the Lord Mayor's Court of Passages, Liverpool. On the 5th, aged 71, **Marmaduke Francis Constable Maxwell**, eleventh Baron Herries in the peerage of Scotland and first Baron Herries in that of the United Kingdom; Lord-Lieutenant of Kirkcudbright and the East Riding of Yorkshire, and an active member of the County Council of the latter. M. 1875, Angela, second dau. of the first Lord Howard of Glossop. Succeeded his father in 1876 in the Scottish barony, the attainder on which, imposed on the ninth baron for supporting the Old Pretender, had been removed in 1858; succeeded in it by his elder dau.; the United Kingdom peerage, created in 1884, became extinct. On the 6th, aged 71, **Sir Robert Henry Symes**, six times Mayor of Bristol, and very prominent in its civic life. On the 8th, aged 65, the **Rev. William Covington**, Prebendary of St. Paul's and Rector of St. Giles in the Fields, for many years Vicar of Brompton, and one of the inaugurators of the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund. On the 7th, aged 62, **Jean Gustave Casset**, the inventor of a gun, and an eminent French artillerist. On the 9th, aged 64, the **Rev. J. Stockwell Watts**, a Congregational Minister, the great promoter of the "Liberator Relief Fund," for the succour of those ruined by the collapse of a notorious building society in 1886. On the 9th, aged 73, **Major-General John James Boswell**, C.B., of the Indian Army; had served in the Mutiny and distinguished himself in the Afghan War of 1878-80 and in various Indian frontier wars. On the 11th, aged 63, **Edward E. Michalls**, Unionist Candidate for Accrington in 1900, and for the Monmouth District in 1906; a prominent Stockport manufacturer. On the 12th, aged 70, **Princess Antoinette of Saxe-Altenburg**, Dowager Duchess of Anhalt; left a widow in 1902. On the 14th, aged 66, **Sir William Pollitt**, general manager of the Great Central Railway, and one of the chief promoters of its extension to London; High Sheriff for Cheshire in 1908, and prominent in various industrial enterprises. On the 13th, aged 77, **Dr. Daniel C. Gilman**, first President and chief organiser of the Johns Hopkins University (1875-1901), previously President of the University of California, and subsequently head of the Carnegie Institute at Washington; a United States Commissioner in the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary settlement. On the 14th, aged 76, **Dr. James Grey Glover**, for many years on the staff of the *Lancet*, and an active supporter of the Lister antiseptic treatment in its infancy. On the 14th, aged 53, **Samuel George Homfray**, a departmental manager in the Elswick Works and an engineer of considerable eminence. On the 16th, aged nearly 48, **Sir Elliott Lees**, first baronet, D.S.O., Conservative M.P. for Oldham, 1886-92, and for Birkenhead from 1900 to 1906; sometime Master of South Dorset Foxhounds; had served with distinction in the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa. About the 16th, in Bombay, aged 61, **Harry W. Williams**, for forty years manager of Reuters Agency in the East, a conspicuous Anglo-Indian journalist and war correspondent in Achin, Afghanistan and Tonking. On the 17th, aged 78, **Lewis Henry Isaacs**, Mayor of Kensington from 1902 to 1904, M.P. for Walworth, 1885-92; an architect, and designer of Holborn Viaduct Station and the Carlton Hotel. On the 18th, aged 68, the **Marquis Michitsura Nodzu**, Field-Marshal in the Japanese army, and a conspicuous figure in the Chino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. On the 18th, aged 58, **Ross Scott**, from 1900 to 1907 Judicial Commissioner of Oudh. On the 18th, aged 69, **Reginald Bosworth Smith**, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, a house-master at Harrow School from 1864 to 1901; a stimulating teacher, an enthusiast for natural history, and the biographer of Lord Lawrence. He had also written two standard works, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism" (1874) and "Carthage and the Carthaginians" (1878), and an attractive book "Bird Life and Bird Lore." On the 18th, aged 60, **Lieut.-Colonel Charles Thomas Bingham**, sometime Bengal Staff Corps, joint editor with Dr. Blandford of "The Fauna of British India." On the 19th, aged 78, **Sir John Henry Puleston**, Conservative M.P. for Devonport 1874-92, and for many years an Anglo-American banker; an ardent Welsh patriot, and active in philanthropic work. On the 19th, aged 82, **Major-General Alexander Ross Elliott Hutchinson**, sometime Bengal Staff Corps; had served with distinction in the Punjab Campaign of 1848-9, and in the Indian Mutiny. On the 19th, aged 69, **Dr. Friedrich Althoff**, a member of the Prussian Upper House, Professor of Law at Strassburg University, 1880-2, and from that year to 1907 an important official in the Prussian Ministry of Education. On the 20th, aged 81, **Cuthbert Collingwood**, B.M. Oxon., Fellow of the Linnæan Society, and the

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author of several books of travel and natural history and science. On the 22nd, **Captain Arthur Jermy Mountenay Jephson**, sometime Royal Irish Rifles; commanded a detachment in the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, and was taken prisoner by the natives; had written on his African travels. On the 22nd, aged 71, **Émile Maruéjouls**, member of the French Chamber for Villefranche (Aveyron) since 1880, Minister of Commerce and of the Interior in the Brisson Ministry of 1898, and of Public Works in the Combes Ministry, 1902-5. On the 23rd, aged 63, **Victor Leydet**, Vice-President of the French Senate since 1905 and a Radical Senator since 1897. On the 23rd, aged about 50, **Fitzroy Bell**, advocate of the Scottish Bar and founder with W. E. Henley of the *Scots Observer*, later the *National Observer*, one of the most brilliant of weekly reviews; Unionist candidate for Berwickshire in 1906. On the 24th, aged 75, **Joseph Charles Parkinson**, originally a clerk at Somerset House, then an active member of the staff of the *Daily News*, and a contributor to *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* under Charles Dickens; subseqnently a wealthy company director, and a well-known figure at the Reform Club. On the 24th, aged 69, the **Rev. William Quennell**, Rector of Shenfield, Hon. Canon of St. Albans, and Headmaster of Brentwood School, 1870-9. On the 25th, aged 76, **Sir Charles Malcolm Kennedy, K.C.M.G.**, for many years on the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office; had repeatedly served on special missions in connection with commercial treaties, fisheries, and submarine telegraphy; had been lecturer on international law at University College, Bristol. On the 26th, aged 85, **Giuseppe Biancheri**, for fifty-five years a member of the Italian Chamber and for over twenty years its President. On the 27th, aged 74, **Cardinal Casañas**, Bishop of Barcelona. On the 28th, aged 62, **Ponsonby William Moore**, ninth Earl of Drogheda in the peerage of Ireland, and an Irish representative Peer; a patron of art and music; succeeded his cousin 1892; m. 1879, Anne, dau. of George Moir, LL.D.; succeeded by his s. On the 29th, aged 81, **Richard Cope Morgan**, founder of the publishing firm of Morgan and Scott and of the *Christian;* a well-known Christian worker on the lines of undenominational Evangelical Christianity; had written various works, chiefly expository. On the 29th, aged 79, the **Rt. Rev. Sir Lovelace Tomlinson Stamer**, third baronet, Bishop Suffragan of Shrewsbury from 1888 to 1905; from 1867 to 1892 Rector of Stoke-on-Trent, where he was extremely active in all civic work; succeeded his father 1860; m. 1857, Ellen, dau. of Joseph Dent; succeeded by his s. On the 29th, aged 47, **Ralph St. John Ainslie**, sometime scholar of Oriel College, Oxford, a portrait painter of some distinction. On the 29th, aged 70, **Thomas Greenway**, one of the Railway Commissioners of Canada, long a member of the Dominion Parliament and Liberal Premier of Manitoba from 1888 to 1900. On the 31st, aged 72, **Sir Alfred Arnold**, Conservative M.P. for Halifax from 1895 to 1900, a barrister and a prominent local manufacturer. On the 31st, **Mrs. William Astor**, *née* Schermerhorn, a leader of New York society. On the 31st, aged 89, **Charles Benjamin Forsey, C.B.**, sometime Secretary of Inland Revenue, an expert in finance and in the chemistry of brewing and distilling. In October, aged 49, **His Highness Sir Shivaji Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.S.I.**, Maharajah of Indore from 1886 to 1903, when he abdicated; a loyal subject and munificent donor to Imperial purposes, but an unsuccessful ruler.

NOVEMBER.

Lord Glenesk, better known as Sir Algernon Borthwick, first Baron Glenesk and proprietor and sole director of the *Morning Post*, died on November 23, aged 77. The s. of Peter Borthwick, a Scotsman educated at Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities, who had taken an active part in urging gradual rather than immediate abolition of West Indian slavery and had been Conservative M.P. for Evesham, he was made Paris correspondent of the *Morning Post*—of which his father had become manager—at the age of 20, and in that capacity witnessed the *coup d'état* of 1851. Shortly afterwards he took his father's place on the paper for a time, and, having converted the loss on it into a small profit, was re-appointed on his father's death, and ultimately made sole director. A Conservative organ, it was yet a strong supporter of Lord Palmerston as an Imperialist, and its director refused the offer from him of a diplomatic post. In 1877 Mr. A. Borthwick (as he then was) bought the paper, and about 1896 left the chief control to his only s. Oliver, who greatly improved its fortunes, but died in 1905 at the age of 32. Hereupon, Lord Glenesk, who had been knighted in 1880, made a baronet

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in 1887, and a Peer in 1895, resumed and retained control. He had stood for Evesham at the Parliamentary election in 1880, but had been defeated by nine votes. He sat for South Kensington from 1885 to his elevation to the Peerage, and was Chairman of the Committee of Metropolitan Conservative members. He aided Sir Henry Wolff and Lord Randolph Churchill to found the Primrose League, and was thrice its Chancellor, and he was also one of the founders of the Institute of Journalists and President of the Newspaper Press Fund, to which, as to other charities, he was a generous contributor. He also was one of the founders and the editor of the famous *Owl* (1864-70), the first and ablest as well as the most audacious of "Society journals," which ceased publication when his marriage put a stop to his editorship. M. 1870, Alice, dau. of Thomas Lister, of Armitage Park, Staffs, and Lady Maria Theresa Villiers, dau. of third Earl of Clarendon; she died 1898. Besides the s. who predeceased him, he left one dau., who married Earl Bathurst in 1893. The title is extinct.

Sir James Charles Mathew, Lord Justice of Appeal from 1901 to 1906, died on November 9, aged 78. The s. of Charles Mathew of Cork, and nephew of Father Mathew, the Irish apostle of temperance, he had a distinguished career at Trinity College, Dublin, became a law student at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the Bar in 1854. He went the Home Circuit, and, after some years' waiting obtained a very large commercial practice, which was not permanently interfered with by his acceptance of a brief for the prosecution in the Tichborne case in 1873-4. He was made a Judge of the Queen's Bench in 1881, and had considerable influence on the development both of procedure in commercial causes and on British mercantile law. In 1901 he was made a Lord Justice of Appeal, and he retired, owing to age and infirmity, in 1906. A Roman Catholic and an enthusiastic Nationalist, he was Chairman of the Evicted Tenants Commission in 1892, on which he came into conflict both with counsel and with one of his colleagues, and the Commission was unsuccessful. He became Chairman of the Council of Legal Education in 1896; M. 1861, Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. Edwin Biron, Vicar of Lympne, Kent, and had several sons and daughters. One of the latter, who died in 1907, had married Mr. John Dillon, M.P.

Dr. Edward Caird, sometime Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and one of the most distinguished of British ethical philosophers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, died at Oxford on November 1, aged 73. Born on March 20, 1835, at Greenock, the s. of a partner in an engineering firm and brother of Principal Caird of Glasgow University, he was educated there and became an exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford. He took first classes in Moderations and Lit. Hum., won the Pusey and Ellerton University scholarship in Hebrew, and became Fellow and Tutor of Merton. He was a member of the famous "Old Mortality Essay Club," composed of junior Fellows and senior undergraduates or B.A.'s, which comprised T. H. Green, Bryce, Swinburne, Birkbeck Hill, Bywater, and its founder, John Nichol, and discussed philosophical subjects with a freedom that rendered it suspected in the Oxford of that period. From 1866 to 1893 he was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, where his lectures produced a profound effect, at any rate on the *élite* of his classes, and, with T. H. Green, he was the chief prophet in Great Britain of the Neo-Hegelian revival of a spiritual philosophy which succeeded the Positivism and phenomenalism that had been conspicuous in the 'sixties and early 'seventies. Through his brother, Principal Caird, he contributed greatly to the liberalising of Scottish theological thought. In 1893 he succeeded Jowett—"the Master" *par excellence*—as Master of Balliol; and he achieved himself well in a difficult and new sphere till 1907, when he resigned owing to failing health. His works included "The Philosophy of Kant" (1878), which treats the philosopher perhaps too exclusively as a forerunner of Hegel; a short sketch of the system of the latter author, and a volume of lectures on the "Evolution of Religion," delivered on the Gifford Foundation at St. Andrews. He held honorary degrees of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, St. Andrews, and Glasgow. He m. 1867, the dau. of Rev. John Wylie; she survived him.

Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., died at Paris on November 1, the day before his 62nd birthday. Born at Rostrevor, Ireland, in 1846, he passed through the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and joined the Royal Artillery in 1848. He retired from active service, however, after some years and engaged in business in Russia, representing English firms;

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served in the Soudan with the transport force and was mentioned in despatches; was made Commercial Attaché for Russia and the East in 1887, and attended the Shah on his visit to England in 1889; showed marked financial ability, and was employed in commercial treaty negotiations with Turkey and Bulgaria, and was appointed British Commissioner on the International Financial Commission set up at Athens in 1897. In 1898 he became British delegate on the Ottoman Public Debt Council, and in 1900 Financial Member of the Council of the Viceroy of India. He was successful there in completing the reform of the currency by the formation of a gold reserve, and was mainly responsible for the famous despatch adverse to tariff reform of October 22, 1903, though in later years he took a different view. Resigning in 1905, he became connected with various City enterprises, serving, however, in 1906 on the International Commission in Crete. He was described as a man of wide and varied knowledge and ability, a keen and almost quixotic sense of honour, and extraordinary benevolence and kindness of heart, dissembled under an affected cynicism.

Professor William Edward Ayrton, an eminent physicist and electrician, died on November 8, aged 61. Educated at University College School, he studied under Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin), was in the Indian telegraph service from 1867 to 1872, and from 1873 to 1879 Professor at the Imperial Engineering College in Tokio, Japan; then from 1879 to 1884 Professor at the Finsbury College of the City and Guilds Technical Institute, and from 1884 to his death at the Central College of that body at South Kensington. In conjunction with Professor Perry he did much for the application of electricity to lighting and traction, and for the development of electrical meters. He became F.R.S. in 1881 and twenty years later was awarded a Royal Medal. His wife (*née* Marks) was also distinguished for her researches in electricity.

Victorien Sardou, the first of contemporary French dramatists, and characterised by *Le Temps* as "the stage incarnate," died on November 8, aged 77, at his home in Paris. The s. of a hard-working private schoolmaster who eked out his income by compilations for dictionaries and similar works, he showed in his youth a taste for historical reading and for observation of life in the streets. Refusing to adopt his father's profession, he maintained himself by private tuition and writing for an encyclopædia, and in 1854 had his first drama, the *Taverne des Étudiants*, accepted at the Odéon. It was an utter failure; but in 1857 he m. an actress, Mdlle. de Brécourt, and in 1860 made a decisive success with the *Pattes de Mouche*. After that his supremacy was established. His *forte* lay rather in the arrangement and development of plot and details than in psychological drama or "problem plays," and he was extraordinarily careful about the staging and management of his pieces down to the most trifling particulars, and perfectly ready, according to some interesting reminiscences sent by Mme. Sarah Bernhardt to *Le Temps*, to sacrifice his own text if the piece seemed likely to benefit. Among his best known comedies were "Nos Intimes" (1861), "La Famille Benoiton" (1865), "Nos Bons Villageois" (1866), "Rabagas" (1872), which was supposed to have a political bearing; "Divorçons" (1880); "Madame Sans-Gêne" (1893); and among his dramas, "Fédora" (1882), "Theodora" (1884), "La Tosca" (1887), rendered more famous by the acting of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, and "Thermidor," which was played twice at the Comédie Française in January, 1891, and suppressed as exciting political demonstrations for and against the Revolution. He was elected to the French Academy in 1876 and made Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour in 1906. By his second marriage with Mme. Soulié he had several children, one of whom also became a dramatist. An incessant worker, he had acquired considerable wealth and had made remarkable collections of furniture, pictures, and books—these were chiefly at Marly, in a historic mansion dating from the reign of Louis XIV. and bought with the proceeds of "La Famille Benoiton."

On the 1st, aged 57, **Rear-Admiral Leslie Creery Stuart, C.M.G.**; had served with distinction at the bombardment of Alexandria, in operations on the Niger, and during the Samoan crisis of 1899. On the 1st, aged 38, **Cecil Goodrich Dolmage, F.R.A.S.**, author of a valuable work on astronomy. On the 2nd, aged 75, **General Sir John James Hood Gordon, G.C.B.**; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny, the Afghan War of 1878-80, and various frontier campaigns; was Assistant Military Secretary for Indian Affairs, 1890-7, and member of the Military

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Council of India, 1897-1907. On the 2nd, aged 67, **Sir Robert Hawthorn Collins, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.**, tutor of the Duke of Albany (H.R.H. Prince Leopold) and afterwards Comptroller of his household. On the 2nd, aged 47, **Harro Magnussen**, a prominent German sculptor. About the 2nd, aged 44, **John Enright**, of Castleconnell, the "most accomplished salmon fly caster of the age." On the 4th, **John Pinkerton**, Nationalist M.P. for Galway City from 1886 to 1900. On the 4th, aged 91, **Antoine Hébert**, a French painter of some note. On the 4th, aged 76, **Charles Townsend**, Liberal M.P. for North Bristol 1892-1895, and prominent in local administrative work. On the 4th, **Tomas Estrada Palma**, first President of the restored Cuban Republic. Elected chiefly on sentimental grounds as a prominent revolutionist, he had proved too weak to keep his subordinates in order, had asked for United States intervention, and had been constrained to resign in 1906. He had taken part actively in the Cuban revolution of 1868-78 and had been Postmaster-General in Honduras. On the 5th, aged 69, **Archibald John Little, F.R.G.S.**, an eminent geographer and authority on the Far East. On the 5th, **Miss Meredith Jemima Brown**, founder of the Shaftesbury Institute for working girls in Marylebone. About the 5th, aged 93, **Andrew Graham**, from 1864 to 1903 first assistant at the Cambridge Observatory, and author of the great Star Catalogue published for that institution in 1897. On the 6th, aged 100, **Sir Henry Alfred Pitman, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians from 1858 to 1889 and for some years treasurer of the General Medical Council; knighted in 1883 for his services to medical education. On the 6th, aged 64, **Frank Hardcastle**, Conservative M.P. for the West Houghton division of Lancashire from 1885 to 1892, High Sheriff of the County in 1895-6. On the 6th, aged 79, the **Rev. Robert Bruce, D.D.**, Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1898 and for fifty years pastor of the Congregational Church at Huddersfield. On the 7th, aged 84, **Sir John Tomlinson Hibbert, K.C.B.**, Liberal M.P. for Oldham from 1862 to 1864, and again from 1877 to 1886 and 1892 to 1895; had served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, Under-Secretary of the Home Department, Secretary to the Admiralty and Secretary to the Treasury, and had been very active in local administrative work in Lancashire. On the 7th, aged 56, **Major Robert Hutchinson Campbell Tufnell**, sometime 30th Madras Native Infantry; had been Curator of the Madras Museum, and was a recognised authority on Indian coins. On the 8th, aged 75, **Martin Ridley Smith**, sometime partner in a well-known London Banking firm (Smith, Payne & Smith) and famous as a cultivator of carnations. On the 8th, **Colonel John Alexander Man Stuart, C.B., C.M.G.**; had served with distinction in the Far East, the Soudan, the Nile Expedition of 1884-5 and elsewhere. On the 9th, aged 64, **Sir Joseph Duveen**, a native of Holland, well known as a leading art dealer in London, and the donor to the nation of valuable art treasures and a Turner annexe to the Tate Gallery. On the 9th, **Alderman A. J. Reynolds**, Lord Mayor of Birmingham. On the 9th, **Dr. James Fletcher, LL.D.**, entomologist and botanist to the Dominion of Canada, and a high authority on his subjects on the practical as well as the scientific side. On the 9th, aged 57, **Thomas Greenwood**, editor of the *Pottery Gazette*, a publisher and an active promoter of the public library movement. On the 9th, aged nearly 66, **Sir Walter Thorburn**, Liberal Unionist M.P. for Peebles and Selkirk from 1886 to 1906, a prominent local manufacturer and a model employer. On the 11th, aged 79, **Lieut.-General Sir Richard Sankey, K.C.B.**, sometime Madras Engineers; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny and the Afghan War in 1879, and had held many important Civil appointments in India. On the 11th, aged 87, the **Rev. Thomas MacCullagh**, President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1883. On the 12th, aged 75, **Mme. Favart** (Pierrette Ignace Pingaud), a famous French actress in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. On the 13th, aged 90, **Mrs. Eliza Blackie**, *née* Wyld, cousin and widow of Professor J. S. Blackie, and the friend of many celebrated literary men. On the 14th, aged nearly 59, **Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Deacon Barry, K.C.V.O.**, sometime Director of Naval Ordnance, and Admiral-Superintendent of Portsmouth Dockyard 1905-6. On the 14th, aged 86, **George Seton, F.R.S. Edin., F.S.A.**, for many years Secretary in the General Register Office, Edinburgh, representative of the Cariston branch of the famous Seton family, and a prolific and versatile writer on many subjects, especially genealogy. On the 14th, **Henry Boden**, a prominent manufacturer of Derby and an ardent sportsman. On the 14th, aged 84, **Major-General Charles Blewitt**, sometime Colonel Commanding the 65th York and Lancaster Regiments; served with distinction in the New Zealand War of 1863-5. On the 15th, aged 68, **Sir Henry Bergne, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.**, British Delegate on the permanent Sugar Bounties Commission; had had a long and distinguished career at the Foreign Office, and represented Great Britain at several international conferences. On

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the 15th, aged 56, **General Count von Hülsen-Häseler**, Chief of the German Emperor's Military Cabinet since 1901. On the 15th, aged 62, **M. André Luchaire**, Professor of Mediæval History at the Sorbonne, author of an important work on Pope Innocent III. On the 15th, aged 68, **Mme. Arvède Barine** (Mme. Charles Vincent), the author of brilliant literary essays on Alfred de Musset, Bernardin de St. Pierre, and various eminent French princesses and others. On the 15th, **Mme. Katti Lanner**, once famous as a ballet dancer, and from 1875 to 1905 an eminent trainer of dancers; by birth an Austrian. On the 15th, **George Banks Rennie**, an eminent mechanical engineer, designer of a special type of floating dock. On the 16th, aged nearly 79, **Sir Henri Joly de Lothinière, K.C.M.G.**, a prominent Liberal Canadian politician, sometime Prime Minister of Quebec, Minister of Inland Revenue in the Laurier Cabinet of 1896, and Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia, 1900-6. On the 16th, aged 84, **Hermann von Schelling**, s. of the famous German philosopher, Prussian Minister of Justice, 1889-94, and a member of the Prussian Upper House. On the 17th, aged 74, **Sir Godfrey Clerk, K.C.V.O., C.B.**, Colonel Commandant 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade, Groom-in-Waiting to the King; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny and had held numerous appointments as Military Secretary to Indian Lieut.-Governors. On the 19th, aged 64, **Sir Bhashyam Aiyangar, C.I.E.**, Judge of the High Court of Madras from 1901 to 1904. On the 19th, aged 74, the **Rev. George Edward Jelf, D.D.**, Master of the Charterhouse since 1907, for many years Canon of Rochester, and an active preacher and missioner. On the 19th, aged 73, **Major-General William Clive Justice, C.M.G.**; had served in the Indian Mutiny and held commands in West Africa, Jamaica, and Ceylon. On the 19th, aged 72, the **Ven. Anthony Stocker Aglen**, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Canon of Perth Cathedral; a winner of the Newdigate Prize Poem at Oxford and a versatile writer. On the 22nd, aged 57, **Sir Charles Henry Dundas**, fourth baronet; succeeded his brother 1904; succeeded by his brother. On the 23rd, aged 71, **Lieut.-General Sir Clement Henry Wilkinson**, sometime 16th Lancers, and previously of the 95th Foot; had served in the Indian Mutiny; commanded the cavalry brigade in the Afghan War of 1876-80 and the Egyptian Expedition, and held various Indian commands. On the 23rd, aged 73, **Sir Ralph Littler, K.C., C.B.**, Chairman of the Middlesex County Council and of the Middlesex Sessions, formerly of the Parliamentary Bar, an able advocate and a stern judge. On the 23rd, aged 70, **Colonel James Shrubb Iredell**, Bombay Staff Corps; had served in the Mutiny and distinguished himself in the Afghan War of 1879-80. On the 25th, aged 68, **Sir Alfred de Bock Porter**, since 1888 Secretary to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in whose service he had spent his working life; an active Nonconformist and Liberal; a singularly able adviser and administrator. On the 25th, aged 93, **Henry George Allen, K.C.**, Liberal M.P. for Pembroke from 1880 to 1885 and for Pembroke Boroughs 1885-6; afterwards a Unionist; long Chairman of the Pembrokeshire Quarter Sessions and County Council. On the 26th, aged 68, **William Alfred Elliston, M.D.**, President of the British Medical Association in 1900 and of the Medical Defence Union; a prominent Ipswich practitioner. On the 27th, aged 65, **Colonel Frederick Ralph Carr**, 1st Devonshire Volunteer Artillery; had distinguished himself when a naval lieutenant in operations in West Africa and in the Naval Brigade in the Zulu War of 1879. On the 27th, aged 62, the **Rev. John Barton, M.A. Cantab.**, for many years a C.M.S. Missionary in India, where he was Principal of St. John's College, Agra, and inaugurated the Cathedral College at Calcutta; subsequently incumbent of Trinity Church, Cambridge, from 1877 to 1895, and then Secretary of the Church Pastoral Aid Society; an ardent promoter of mission work. On the 29th, **Julia**, wife of Leonard **Huxley**, and a granddaughter of Dr. Arnold of Rugby and sister of Mrs. Humphry Ward; principal of one of the most successful girls' schools in England. On the 30th, aged 94, **Robert Richardson Dees**, a prominent Newcastle solicitor, and a partner of the first Lord Armstrong before the latter deserted law for engineering. On the 30th, aged 88, **Captain Hay Bartlett King, R.N.**; had served with distinction in the Baltic against Russia in 1854.

DECEMBER.

Sir Cornelius Marshall Warmington, K.C., first baronet, died on December 12, aged 66; originally a solicitor, he was called to the Bar in 1869, took silk in 1892, and enjoyed for many years a large Chancery practice. He was Liberal M.P. for West Monmouthshire from 1886 to 1895, when he gave up his seat to Sir William Harcourt, defeated at Derby; and though of great

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professional merit, he was never raised to the bench, though it was rumoured that he refused the post of a Law Officer in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry. He was Vice-Chairman of the Council of Legal Education, had been Chairman of the Bar General Council, and Treasurer of the Middle Temple. M. 1871, Annie, dau. of Edward Winch; created baronet 1908; succeeded by his eldest s.

Cardinal Lecot (Victor-Lucien-Sulpice), Archbishop of Bordeaux, died suddenly at Chambéry on his way from Rome on December 19, aged 77. A Chaplain of Gardes Mobiles in the Franco-German War, and *curé* of Compiègne, 1872-86, he had been appointed Bishop of Dijon in 1886 and made Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1890, and Cardinal Priest in 1893. He was a decided Liberal, welcoming the Papal direction to "rally" to the Republic, and declaring for that form of government in February, 1894. He was a strong supporter of Cardinal Rampolla for the Papacy in 1893; and after the separation of Church and State he attempted to form an *Association Cultuelle* in his own diocese, for which he was commended in the Chamber by M. Briand; but though the Vatican did not condemn this association, it forbade imitation of it elsewhere. He also desired to arrange for the continuance of public worship under the Public Meetings Law, but here again the Vatican proved irreconcileable.

Mr. Lowes Dickinson, an artist of some repute and one of the last survivors of the "Christian Socialists" of 1848, whose views are represented in *Alton Locke*, and who included F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, and J. M. Ludlow, died in London on December 15, aged 89. He had painted many portraits, of which that of Charles Kingsley, in the National Portrait Gallery, is perhaps the best known; others were of General Gordon (posthumous), Gladstone, Bright, Cobden, Lord Napier of Magdala, Lord Kelvin, and various eminent members of the University of Cambridge. His s., Mr. Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, became Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and is distinguished as a man of letters.

On the 1st, aged 79, **Lieut.-Col. John James Henry**, late Army Medical Corps; had served in the Indian Mutiny and was distinguished in the New Zealand War of 1863. On the 1st, aged 75, **Colonel Alexander Copland, C.B.**, of the Indian Army; had served with distinction in frontier warfare, and in the Afghan War of 1878-80. On the 3rd, lost overboard from the Boulogne-Folkestone mail steamer, aged 60, the **Hon. Alfred Dobson, C.M.G.**, sometime Attorney-General of Tasmania, Agent-General of that State since 1901. On the 4th, aged 69, **Colonel John Henry Crowdy, R.E.**; distinguished in the naval operations in Japan in 1864. On the 5th, aged 72, **Thomas Calthorpe Blofeld**, Chancellor of the diocese of Norwich, from 1877 to 1906 Recorder of Ipswich, and also Chairman of Quarter Sessions till 1908. On the 5th, aged 74, **Herr Joseph Zemp**, President of the Swiss Confederation, 1895, and again in 1902; a representative of Lucerne; born in the Entlebuch; had been a member of both Houses of the Federal Legislature, President of the National Council, and for seventeen years a member of the Federal Executive; as head of the Railway Department had carried out the purchase of the Swiss Railways for the Confederation; a Roman Catholic. On the 6th, aged 85, **Thomas David Taylor**, chief proprietor of the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, previously editor and proprietor of the *Bath Chronicle*; had co-operated in founding the Institute of Journalists. On the 5th, aged 64, **Charles Edward Beevor, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, a high authority on the nervous system. On the 5th, aged 72, **Eduard von Rindfleisch**, a high authority on tuberculosis and on pathology in general; had succeeded Virchow as Professor at Würzburg, 1894-1906. On the 6th, aged 46, **Philip Benedict Joseph**, fifteenth **Lord Petre**; succeeded his brother in June, 1908; m. 1888, Julia Mary, dau. of George Cavendish Taylor; succeeded by his s. On the 7th, aged 74, the **Right Rev. Henry Frank Johnson, D.D.**, Bishop Suffragan and Archdeacon of Colchester since 1899, previously Rector of Chelmsford and Archdeacon of Essex; a High Churchman and an active and highly esteemed cleric. On the 7th, aged 74, **William Ireland Knapp**, for many years Professor of Modern Languages at Vassar College, United States, and subsequently at Yale and Chicago Universities; an authority on Spanish literature. On the 7th, aged 41, **Major Arthur Poole Shewell**, Indian Army; had served with distinction on special famine duty, on the Aden Boundary Commission, and in the Mohmandi expedition. On the 7th, aged 74, **Canon George Thomas Palmer**, since 1875 Rector of Newington (South London) and Rural Dean. On the 8th, aged 76, **Admiral Sir John Kennedy Erskine Baird, K.C.B.**, younger s. of Sir David

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Baird, second baronet; had served during the Russian War in the Baltic, and shown himself an able strategist during the naval manœuvres of 1888. On the 8th, suddenly, at Dijon, aged 48, the **Rev. Robert Charles Fillingham**, Vicar of Hexton, Herts; in early life a most fervent High Churchman, subsequently a Liberal ultra-Protestant and somewhat erratic Evangelical; had incurred episcopal censure for assisting to ordain a Nonconformist Minister. On the 9th, at Bombay, **Caroline, Lady Clarke**, dau. of General H. P. Fellowes, and wife of Sir George Sydenham Clarke, Governor of Bombay; a Lady of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem; greatly esteemed both in India and Victoria, where her husband was Governor 1901-4. On the 9th, aged 34, **Harold Tremayne**, Literary Secretary of the Tariff Reform League, 1903-6. On the 10th, aged 67, **Sir Ewen Cameron, K.C.M.G.**, London manager of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank from 1890 to 1905, and a leading authority on Chinese finance; knighted 1901. On the 10th, aged 76, **Robert Durning Holt**, first Lord Mayor of Liverpool, and for more than thirty years a member of the City Council; a prominent Liberal and active in charitable work. On the 12th, **Mme. Elodie Mijatovich**, wife of a prominent Servian publicist and ex-Minister, herself an Englishwoman and author of a history of modern Servia and writer in various journals (notably the *Speaker*) on the politics of her adopted country. On the 12th, aged 79, **James Shell**, from 1879 to 1904 a Metropolitan Police Magistrate, and a Bencher, and sometime Treasurer of Gray's Inn. On the 12th, aged 53, **George Herbert Brown**, sometime High Sheriff of co. Down, a prominent yachtsman. On the 13th, aged 65, the **Rev. Arthur Gilbert Girdlestone**, since 1877 incumbent of All Saints, Clapham Park; an active Evangelical and an Alpine climber. On the 14th, aged 58, **Nicholas Valerianovitch Muravieff**, Russian Ambassador to Italy since 1905, previously a member of the Russian Ministry; President of the Hague Court of Arbitration on the Venezuela claims in 1903, and in 1905 one of the Russian representatives in the peace negotiations with Japan. On the 15th, aged 77, **Hugh Annesley**, fifth **Earl Annesley**, sometime Scots Guards; had served with distinction in the Crimea and been M.P. for Cavan from 1857 to 1874; an Irish representative peer and an ardent horticulturist. M. (1) 1877, Mabel, dau. of Colonel W. T. Markham, who died 1891; (2) 1892, Priscilla, dau. of W. A. Moore; succeeded by his s. by the first marriage. On the 15th, at Naples, aged 63, **Eustace Neville-Rolfe, C.V.O.**, Consul-General in that city. On the 16th, aged 61, at Allahabad, **Sir Walter Colvin**, brother of Sir Auckland Colvin, and for some years a member of the Legislative Council of Agra and Oudh. On the 16th, aged 46, the **Hon. William Addington Winthrop Pellew**, brother of the actual Viscount Exmouth and heir presumptive. On the 16th, aged 39, **Robert Edward Codrington**, Administrator of North-West and previously of North-East Rhodesia. On the 16th, aged 64, **M. Edmond Stapfer**, Dean of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris; author of a well-known work on Palestine in the time of Christ. On the 17th, aged about 68, the **Rev. Frank Nutcombe Oxenham, D.D.**, Chaplain of All Saints' Church, Rome, since 1891, an advanced High Churchman and writer on eschatology. On the 17th, aged 85, **Joseph Whittall**, Fleet Paymaster, R.N., Assistant Secretary to the Royal Statistical Society from 1873 to 1891. On the 18th, aged 76, **James Cleland Burns**, brother of the first Lord Inverclyde, and a member of a family associated with the Cunard steamship line. On the 18th, aged 60, **Reginald Stanley Faber, F.S.A.**, long Honorary Secretary of the Huguenot Society, and President of the Bibliographical Society in 1905. On the 19th, aged 64, **Sir Thomas Cleeve**, thrice High Sheriff of Limerick and prominent in various local industries. On the 19th, at the Hague, aged 51, **J. Henry Texeira de Mattos**, a well-known Dutch sculptor of animal subjects. On the 21st, aged 70, **Sir Philip Alfred Muntz**, Unionist M.P. for the Tamworth division of Warwickshire since 1885; one of a prominent Warwickshire family of German extraction; himself a keen agriculturist and breeder of Shire horses. M. 1859, Rosalie, dau. of his uncle, P. H. Muntz, M.P.; made a baronet in 1902; succeeded by his s. On the 21st, aged 78, **Major-General Dawson Stockley Warren, C.B.R.A.**, had served with distinction in the Crimea, in the Afghan War of 1880, and in the Soudan in 1885. On the 22nd, aged 57, **John Laidlay Bashford**, for some years a lecturer at Berlin University and Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* and *Westminster Gazette*; an ardent promoter of Anglo-German friendship. On the 22nd, aged 78, **Thomas McKie, Hon. LL.D. Edin.**, advocate of the Scotch Bar, author of a volume of poetry and travels, and Liberal candidate for Dumfries in 1886 and 1892. On the 23rd, at Agra, aged 24, **Other, Robert Windsor-Clive, Viscount Windsor**, eldest s. of the Earl of Plymouth, A.D.C. to the Viceroy of India. On the 23rd, at Colombo, *en route* to Australia, **Harold Wright**, Stipendiary Magistrate in the Staffordshire Potteries since 1893, Liberal candidate for the Chorley division of

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Lancashire in 1885 and for Greenock in 1886. On the 24th, aged 67, the **Ven. Albert Eden Seymour**, Prebendary of Exeter, Archdeacon of Barnstaple and Vicar of Ilfracombe, previously Vicar of Barnstaple and of Bromsgrove; an advanced High Churchman and respected parish priest. On the 24th, aged 80, **Baron (François Auguste) Gevaert**, Director of the Brussels Conservatoire, an operatic composer, and a historian of music. On the 25th, aged 57, **John Francis Waggett**, an eminent equity draftsman and Chancery barrister. About the 26th, **William Blain, C.B.**, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Auditor of the Civil List. On the 27th, aged 76, **William Milner Fawcett, F.R.I.B.A.**, architect of the Cavendish Laboratory and various new College buildings at Cambridge. On the 28th, aged 84, **Lieut.-Colonel Edward Neville**, sometime Scots Guards; distinguished himself in the Crimea. On the 29th, aged 71, **Edward Augustus Gruning, F.R.I.B.A.**, a well-known architect, chiefly of modern buildings in the City of London. On the 31st, aged 74, **Sir Surr William Duncan**, first Bart.; a large manufacturer at Leeds and benefactor of the district; unsuccessful Conservative candidate for Pudsey, W.R. Yorks, 1885, and for Wisbech, Cambs, 1891 and 1892; cr. 1905; m. (1) Mary, dau. of William Kenyon; (2) Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Copley Heaton; succeeded by his son. In December, at Madras, aged 59, **Prof. Richard Pischel**, Professor of Sanskrit in Berlin University since 1902, previously at Halle, Kiel, and Breslau, and author of an authoritative grammar of Sanskrit.

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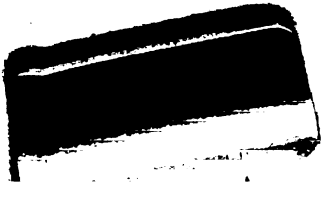

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